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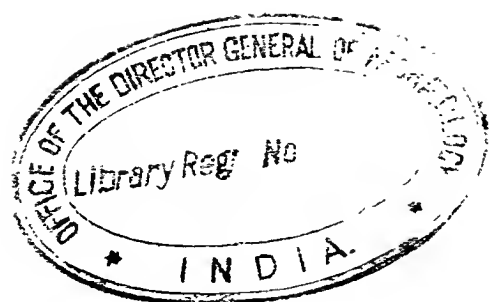
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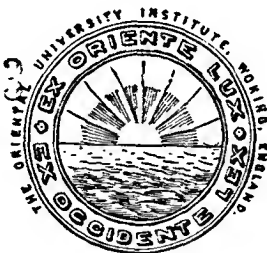
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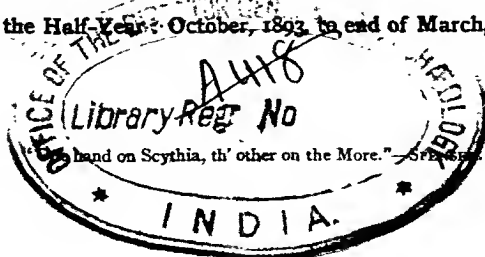
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H. A.

THE IMPERIAL
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AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1894.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN INDO-CHINA.

BY GENERAL SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, K.C.B., V.C., R.E.

OUR difficulties with France are mostly due to our defective comprehension of each other's point of view and manner of thought. From the same data the deductions of an Englishman and of the most serious of Frenchmen seem to be separated by an impassable gulf. British commerce always precedes the British flag, but France believes that trade follows the flag and consequently she is always endeavouring to strengthen her position and increase her influence in foreign parts with the idea that they may sooner or later be useful to her merchants. English policy permits only of defending substantial interests, which have been created by individual enterprise, while France adopts a forward policy and then seeks to create solid interests to justify it. The Englishman relies on his own resources, the Frenchman depends on the assistance and protection of Government. It is as difficult for an average English rate-payer to realise that a war should be undertaken or a territory invaded for the sake of an idea, as it is for an ordinary Frenchman to conceive an Empire or even a Colony founded for the sake of commerce, yet the French are proud to go to war for an idea and are ready to believe that England fights in order to increase her commerce. By comparing the history of the English in Burma with

that of the French in farther India an estimate may be formed of the advantages and dis-advantages of the systems of Colonial enterprise adopted respectively by England and France.

THE ENGLISH IN BURMA.

English settlements were established at Siriam, Prome, Ava and Bhamo early in the 17th century but there was no treaty between England and Burma before that signed by Alompra, the founder of the last dynasty, about the year 1750; for many years the settlers had a precarious existence, British Envoys were ill-received at Ava, and British factories were destroyed at Siriam and elsewhere; in 1818 the Burmese Governor of Ramree demanded the cession of Ramoo, Chittagong, Moorshedabad and Dacca and threatened to storm, capture and destroy the whole of the English possessions; in 1824 the Burmese invaded Cachar and threatened Chittagong and Calcutta. At that time the Burman Empire besides Burma proper and the Provinces of Pegu, Aracan and Tenasserim embraced Mogoung, the Northern Shan and Kachin States, Assam, and Munnipur and had as tributaries all the Shan States as far as the Mekong river. War was declared by England on the 25th March 1824, and Sir Archibald Campbell having defeated the Burmese in general actions at Rangoon, Donabew, Prome, Mallown and Pagan signed the treaty of peace at Yandabo on the 24th February 1826. By the treaty of Yandabo, the King of Ava renounced his claims to Assam, Cachar and Jyntea. The British Government retained the conquered provinces of Aracan, Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui and Tenasserim, and it was agreed that accredited Ministers of each Government should reside at the Court of the other. Relations with Burma were not satisfactory after the war for the terms of the treaty were not strictly enforced and Lord Dalhousie reviewing the situation said—

“For a quarter of a century the Burmans had been allowed to disregard this treaty with impunity. They had been permitted to worry

away our envoys by petty annoyances, they had vexed our commercial Agents at Rangoon into silent departure from their posts. On more than one occasion they had threatened a recommencement of hostilities against us and always at the most untoward time. Every effort was made in vain to obtain reparation by friendly means. Our demands were evaded, our officers were insulted, and War became inevitable."

In April 1852 a force under Major General Godwin C.B. arrived in the Rangoon River and took the Pagoda defences of Rangoon, they then took Bassein by assault and occupied Prome. Godwin afterwards defeated the Burmans at Pegu, Prome and Donabew.

Having taken possession of all Pegu, Lord Dalhousie determined to go no farther, so a proclamation to that effect was issued, no treaty having been made with the King, and peace was declared on the 20th December 1852.

The relations between the British Government and the Court of Ava were still governed by the Yandabo treaty of 1826 under which each Government might place a Resident at the Court of the other, and commercial treaties were concluded in 1862 and 1867. From 1863 to 1879 a British Political Agent resided at Mandalay and managed to prevent the Burmese from totally ignoring their treaty obligations, but after the accession of Theebaw to the throne, and the massacres of his relations, harmony with the Court became impossible and the British Resident, who had tolerated many insults, at last withdrew from Mandalay in 1879.

During the new King's reign, and in the absence of a British Representative, atrocities were frequently committed at Mandalay, chief among such incidents was the massacre of prisoners in Mandalay Jail, outrages were committed on British vessels, trade was hampered, bands of robbers infested Upper Burma and occasionally raided into British territory. A treaty signed in 1873 was ratified in 1883 by which France was permitted to accredit a diplomatic and Consular Agent to the Court of Ava; and concessions were sought from King Theebaw which would have given into French hands the control over the railway and steam

navigation of the Upper Irrawaddy, and in fact the whole trade of Upper Burma.

At last an event happened which roused the British Government to action, the Burmese Government having tried to levy unjustly a ruinous fine from the Bombay Burma trading Corporation the Government of India demanded that an envoy should be suitably received at Mandalay, who would settle the dispute and that, for the future, a British diplomatic agent should be allowed to reside at Mandalay, with proper securities for his safety, and should be honorably treated by the Burmese Government; the Court of Ava rejected these propositions and on the 7th November 1885 King Theebaw issued a proclamation in which he stated that the English barbarians seeking to destroy the Buddhist religion and to violate national traditions and customs and to degrade the Burman race were preparing for war, and that, if these heretics should come and in any way attempt to molest or disturb the State, His Majesty would himself march forth with his Generals, Captains and Lieutenants and with the might of his army would efface these foreigners and conquer and annex their country. This was the last straw of insolence that broke the back of the camel of British forbearance.

On the 15th November 1885 a British Force invaded Burma by way of the Irrawaddy River, captured the great frontier fort of Gwe-gyoun-Kamyó and the Redoubt of Minhla, defeated the enemy who was strongly entrenched at Myingyan on the 24th, and made Theebaw prisoner in his Palace at Mandalay on the 28th November 1885. On 1st January 1886 the territories formerly governed by King Theebaw were declared to be part of her Majesty's dominions, and on the 1st March 1886 the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, Viceroy and Governor General of India, in presence of the notables of Burma assembled at Mandalay, proclaimed the annexation of Upper Burma to the British Empire. A country that for years past had been in a condition bordering on anarchy was not rendered tranquil

in a day by word of command, but military force was required to subjugate the districts. Upper Burma is now perfectly quiet and except in the outlying tracts, disturbances are practically unknown.

The first Burmese war in 1824 was caused by Burman violation of British territory, by Burman interference with States allied to England, and by Burman threats of invasion and was undertaken to vindicate the honour of the British Government, to bring the Burmese to a just sense of its character and rights, to obtain an advantageous adjustment of our Eastern boundary, and to preclude the recurrence of similar insult and aggression in future. At its conclusion the Tenasserim Provinces were annexed by England, but if there had been any desire for aggrandisement all Burma might have been subjugated, as Sir Archibald Campbell's force was within a few miles of Ava.

The 2nd Burmese war was caused by the disregard of commercial treaties and insolent hostility of the Court of Ava, this resulted in the annexation of Pegu, Lord Dalhousie having determined to take no more territory. The 3rd Burmese war was precipitated by the attempt of Burma to do injustice in the case of a British commercial firm, and was undertaken in defence of British trade which was seriously threatened, it resulted in the annexation of Upper Burma. In each case England was with difficulty moved to make war and was moderate after her victory, the inhabitants of the territories annexed were infinite gainers by the annexations and no other State suffered from them, for the countries subjugated were thrown open to the commerce of the world.

Under British rule Burma has been provided with roads, railways and bridges to facilitate communication by land, and with steamers to carry her commerce by sea and river; men of science are employed in the development of her mines and forests; hydraulic works have been undertaken to promote irrigation and navigation: Chinese, Shans, Kachins, Hindoos and Mahomedans have been introduced

to supply the labour so much needed for agricultural operations; relief works have given food to the people in time of famine; hospitals have alleviated the sufferings of the sick; peace and safety have been substituted for anarchy and tyranny.

The progressive value of the Seaborne trade of Burma for the following years is shown below :

YEAR.	IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.		TOTAL.				
	Lakhs of Rupees.								
1866-67	255	...	...	231	...	...	486
1871-72	315	...	...	378	...	...	693
1876-77	471	...	...	551	...	...	1,022
1881-82	638	...	...	806	...	...	1,444
1883-84	731	...	...	872	...	...	1,603
1886-87	770	...	...	869	...	...	1,639
1887-88	1,013	...	...	891	...	...	1,904
1888-89	932	...	...	825	...	...	1,757
1889-90	956	...	...	1,016	...	...	1,972
1890-91	1,010	...	...	1,236	...	...	2,246
1891-92	1,050	...	...	1,267	...	...	2,317

The following tables show that the commerce of all nations is encouraged in the Ports of Burma.

The value of the imports of private merchandize during the year 1891-92 was Rupees 10,50,06,247 and there was an extraordinary increase in the imports from the following countries as is shown below :

	1890-91.		1891-92.	
	Rs.		Rs.	
Austria	3,937	...	1,15,827	...
Belgium	36,172	...	3,22,451	...
France	31,501	...	3,07,492	...
Germany	14,26,836	...	33,87,759	...
Holland	16,186	...	13,37,106	...

The value of the export trade of the year 1891-92 to Europe as compared with 1890-91 is—

	1890-91.		1891-92.	
	Rs.		Rs.	
United Kingdom	1,58,58,370	...	2,08,51,628	...
France	4,59,110	...	2,74,112	...
Germany	99,060	...	16,90,788	...
Italy	3,200	...	82,531	...
Spain	1,32,980	...	1,71,208	...
Egypt	2,96,81,580	...	3,85,36,939	...
Malta	69,76,700	...	58,13,606	...
Other European Countries .	1,80,170	...	76,347	...
Total	5,33,91,170	...	6,74,97,159	...

The value of the inland trade between Lower Burma and Siam, Karenni and the Southern Shan States, and between Upper Burma and China, the Shan States and the Kachin hills in 1891-92 was Rs. 1,16,13,774 or a net increase of 4.25 per cent. over that of 1890-91. The exports to China principally via Bhamo were valued at Rs. 13,87,033 and the imports at Rs. 6,97,452.

In the report by "The Times" of Lord Lansdowne's recent visit to Burma we read that

"Upper Burma which in 1886 was just emerging from oppression and misrule, is in 1893 one of the most prosperous provinces of the Empire, that the older provinces have not been slow to avail themselves of the openings afforded by the new era of prosperity in Upper Burma. Since the annexation in 1886 the internal trade has more than doubled. Her sea borne commerce has leapt up at the rate of 10 million Rupees a year from 120 millions to 180 millions between 1886 and 1892. The revenues of Lower Burma which increase *pari passu* with the extension of cultivation and with the growing numbers and prosperity of the inhabitants have mounted up from 25 millions to 43 millions of Rupees since 1885. Including Upper Burma the total is now close on 55 millions, or more than double the revenue before the annexation."

THE FRENCH IN INDO-CHINA.

The French occupation of Indo-China was avowedly undertaken in the interests of the Church and of commerce. At the instigation of the Abbé Huc "the Emperor Napoleon III. willed to put a stop to the constantly recurring persecutions against Christians in Cochin-China, and to secure them the efficacious protection of France," so Admiral Rigault de Genouilly was ordered in 1858 to transfer his forces from China to attain this object; Cochin-China was invaded and three of its provinces were ceded to France. By the treaty of Saigon in 1862, full rights of navigating the great River of Cambodia were granted to France and she occupied temporarily the Citadel of Vinh-luong. In 1867 Admiral de la Grandière, the French Governor seized the remaining three Provinces of Cochin-China. In 1863 Cambodia came under the protectorate of France. In 1867 Siam formally recognized the French Protectorate on condition that France should never take

possession of Cambodia, that the provinces of Battambang and Angkor should remain in Siamese possession, and that the boundary between Cambodia and the above named provinces should be defined by a Franco-Siamese Commission, and this was done in 1868.

In 1866 French explorers ascended the Cambodia River to the borders of Yunnan, afterwards Monsieur Dupuis reported that the Song-koi or Red River was navigable. In 1873 M. Garnier was sent to Hanoi with wide discretion and a few troops at his command, he thought fit to assault the Citadel and assert the Protectorate of France over Tong-king.

In 1874, the Fortresses held by the French in Tong-king were relinquished, but French Consuls were appointed and the Red River was opened to French commerce; from 1882 to 1885 war was again carried on by France in Tong-king till China ceded Langson to France and recognized all the treaties concluded between France and Annam and agreed to a joint delimitation of the boundary between Tong-king and China, thus Tong-king became a part of the French Empire. Annam was next attacked, its capital Hué was taken, French protection was acknowledged throughout Annam and the suzerainty of China was thrown off. In 1884, notwithstanding the treaty with Siam of 1867, Cambodia was incorporated in the French Empire. In 1893 Siam has been compelled to renounce all claims to territory on the left bank of the Mekong, she has been prohibited from maintaining Forts or troops on the Mekong, in Angkor and in Battambang, and France will establish Consulates at Khorat, Nuang Nam and elsewhere, and she occupies Chantaboon temporarily.

In 1893 the long cherished desire for a vast French Empire in Indo-China is gratified; the French flag protects thousands of square miles of territory in the far East, French arms have gained victories and avenged defeats; the French hunger for land and thirst for glory are for the

moment satisfied ; the spread of the Catholic religion, most fervently desired by Louis XIV., is not put forward to-day so conspicuously as it was in the time of that monarch, but the idea of opening Western China to French trade still fascinates the French imagination. It was believed that trade with Yunnan might be carried by the Mekong River, so first Saigon and next Cambodia were taken, then the Song-koi seemed to be a better route so Tong-king was brought under French jurisdiction, then all Annam followed under the yoke, and lately the frontier of Annam has been pushed Westward so as to include the great water-way of the Mekong River, but the long hoped for commerce has not been attained. In 1880 Mr. Colquhoun observed that 97½ per cent. of the Tong-king imports were from the British port of Hong Kong and only ½ per cent. from Saigon, the French capital, while 79 per cent. of the exports went to the British Colony and Monsieur Philippe Lehault gives the commerce of Tong-king in 1889 as follows :

IMPORTATION.						FRANCS.
Marchandises de France	...	...	...	...	...	6,578,572
Numéraire de France	...	...	...	...	...	9,046,000
Marchandises des autres pays	...	...	...	...	...	17,173,912
Numéraire provenant des autres pays	...	...	...	...	...	288,260
EXPORTATION.						
Marchandises à destination de la France et de la Cochinchine						447,444
Marchandises à destination des autres pays	...	...	...	...	...	10,161,564
Numéraire	...	...	...	...	...	4,469,628

From this statement it would seem that consequent on the imposition of heavy duties on British, German and Chinese goods the proportion of such merchandise imported into Tong-king has decreased, but France sent 9 millions of francs to Tong-king of which nearly one half was exported to foreign countries and nearly 96 per cent. of the exports of goods was to foreign countries. Even at Saigon the trade is in English hands, although it is burdened with heavy duties, while French imports have preferential rates varying from 50 to 70 per cent.

If France had succeeded in obtaining power over Ava, the Shan States and Karenni in 1885 she would have secured all the Southern trade routes from Yunnan to the Ocean, she would have been able to attack Siam from the North, East and South and Siam would soon have been effaced from the map of Asia. By the treaty of Bangkok of October 1893 France has not only annexed vast territory but has provided a basis for re-opening at any moment the whole question of Franco-Siamese relations and, it may be accepted as certain, if other powers do not intervene, that all Siam will sooner or later be annexed by France.

If the treaty as signed in October 1893 be ratified, not only will France gain fair Provinces and the water-way of the Mekong, but she will also have temporarily interrupted the commerce of Bangkok (be it remembered that 90 per cent. of that commerce is English) and will have thwarted the design of Siam to construct a line of railway from Bangkok to Khorat, a project which M. de Lanessan has always wished to frustrate as he foresaw that it would attract the trade of the Upper Mekong to Bangkok. It is reported that this line of railway which was under construction by British Engineers has already been abandoned. In fine it may be stated that France deliberately places obstacles in the path of foreign merchants and foreign enterprise, in the endeavour to protect French interests, but this policy tends to stifle all trade and so far the acquisitions of France in Indo-China cannot be considered a commercial success, such a financial record as that of Burma cannot be found in her Colonial experiences.

BUFFER STATES.

Marshal Bougeaud has graphically described the gallantry of English soldiers when attacked and has extolled their coolness and discipline, after having beaten an enemy in quietly forming to oppose renewed assaults. Wellington knew well how to profit by the special qualities of his soldiers and was the greatest exponent of defensive-

offensive tactics. The system that had been found to suit British soldiers in action was adopted by the British Government in its political conduct in Burma, England on every occasion suffered grievous wrong and insult from Burma before she changed from defensive to offensive action. Wars in the far East are unpopular in England; the British Parliament did not so much as thank the Army that overthrew the dynasty of Alompra and added a rich province equalling France in area to the British Empire. England has no desire for war or aggrandisement and would therefore gladly accept a Buffer between her frontier and that of an enterprising European State. Buffer States are differently regarded by different rulers and Statesmen; for instance Afghanistan, the buffer between England and Russia, was said by the late Amir Shere Ali to be the shield of India.

Abdurrahman, before he had been recognized as sovereign, begged for the sympathy and protection of England and Russia.

"This would redound to the credit of both, would give peace to Afghanistan and quiet and comfort to God's people."

This same Abdurrahman, now the Amir of Afghanistan, has carefully explained to his people that he owes his throne neither to Russia nor to England, but that it was "given by God." His Highness being the strongest of rulers and most astute of statesmen is careful to provide himself with Artillery and small arms and resents every attempt at intrusion or interference on the part of his powerful neighbours. During the reign of Abdurrahman, Afghanistan will probably continue to be an efficient buffer State.

French colonial policy appeals to the imagination; it proposes to found colonies for the glory of God, for the protection of the Church, for the glory of France, for the sake of commerce, to spite England.

Travellers and surveyors reconnoitre the country, books are published, maps are drawn and coloured in order to

point out the so-called rights of France, the duty of tearing up inconvenient treaties, and the necessity for annexing territories. Each authority claims more than his predecessor. So long ago as 1884 Mr. J. Ferry included in the minimum of French rights and sphere of action all the territory that lies between the left bank of the Mekong and the frontier of China. Monsieur de Lanessan speaking of the rational limit of the French Empire in Indo-China says :

"Ayant repris les provinces du grand Lac qui dépendaient autrefois du Cambodge, le bassin du Mékong et celui du Se Moun, nous devrions nous attacher à respecter et à protéger au besoin l'indépendance du Siam,"

while Mr. Lehault in his *Carte politico-économique* of Indo-China published in 1892 shows

"the desirable, probable and rational evolution of the economic sphere of action of France in the valleys of the Mekong and of the Menam and a part of Southern China."

In this map the French tint extends far North of the City of Yunnan, East of Yunnan it is bounded by the Si Kiang almost to Canton, its Western limit is the Tanen Toung range of mountains from China to the Gulf of Siam, so that it includes all Siam except the Malay Peninsula.

So long as French possessions in the East did not exceed the limits of Cochin-China, there was no question of neighbourhood between France and England, but France has expanded of late years and proposes to extend its borders still farther. Siam is not a buffer, but only a screen of so weak a texture that it has been pierced and torn to pieces in its late collision with France. France and England have now determined that there shall be an intermediate zone between the French and British possessions and that the breadth of the zone shall be about 80 superficial kilometres, that agents representing the two countries shall examine the course of the River Mekong from its entry into Xien Kheng until its entry into Luang Prabang and the limits of the provinces of Xien Kheng and Muongnan. It has been agreed that the navigation, transit and means of communication in the neutral zone and also in the State of Xien Hong, shall be free.

The sovereignty of the neutral zone may probably be offered to China and it will be a happy event if she will accept a territory burdened with such difficulties and possibilities as the possessor of a buffer State between France and England may expect to encounter. It is necessary that the buffer shall be strong, watchful, unaggressive yet prepared to resent liberties, and it is obvious that no State except China could undertake such responsibility.

THE FRANCO-SIAMESE TREATY.

When the treaty and convention between France and Siam were signed in October 1893, the main interests that had to be considered by England were first that the English and French possessions should not be contentious and next that British trade should be secure from injury by the blockade of Bangkok or by other action on the part of France. France has accepted the principle of a buffer-State between the territories owing allegiance to France and England respectively, and no doubt arrangements will be made by these powers for safe-guarding British commercial interests in Siam. Recent events however indicate that England must immediately take measures to facilitate the transport of its produce from Yunnan to the sea by way of the Yangtze Kiang to Nankin, or of the Si Kiang to Canton, if the railway from Sumao to Maulmein and Bangkok and the line proposed from Western China to Mandalay prove to be physically, politically or economically impossible; that it is expedient to come to an understanding with China in anticipation of military activity on the part of her strong and restless neighbours; that it is the imperative duty of England to take naval command of the Gulf of Siam and of the China Sea, and as agitation on the North West Frontier may be expected whenever the Eastern portion of Her Majesty's Empire is disturbed, or threatened, it is necessary that an Army distinct from that required for home defence may always be held in readiness in England to take the field in the interests of

India. It cannot be too often repeated that power to attack is the only real defence, the only assurance of Empire. A home army is required as the second line of defence, but in order that England may maintain her place among nations the British Navy must command the sea and an efficient British Army must be disposable to fight abroad.

NOTE.—In preparing this paper I have consulted and used Parliamentary Blue Books on Burma 1886 and '87. Administration Reports of Burma, Magazine Articles, the Times of 30th Sept. and 3 December '93, Yule's "Mission to the Court of Ava," Browne's "Coming of the Great Queen," J. G. Scott's "Burma," the works of de Lanessan and Lehault, Mr. Curzon's writings, Boulger's writings and most of all Gundry's "China and her Neighbours."

A CHECK TO "THE FORWARD POLICY."

BY EX-PANJAB OFFICIAL.

IT has already been pointed out that it is part of the policy of Russia to encourage us to make annexations in the direction of Afghanistan and to break down the natural barriers of the numerous Hindukush States, so that her own advances on India may be facilitated. The advocates of a "Forward policy" are, therefore, her best friends, whilst those who would concentrate the strength and resources of India on and *in*, India itself are her real opponents. That the former have received a check in the Durand Mission, there can be little doubt, for, whatever may be said to the contrary, it was confined to the restoration of friendly feelings between the Amir of Afghanistan and the Government of India by mutual concessions as to the Indo-Afghan frontier. Incidentally also, no doubt, the Amir has been prepared for any rectification of his assigned or real territory in Shignán and Raushan and on the Pamir that in the interests of *la haute politique* may be agreed to between the British and the Russian Foreign Offices on the basis of the Granville-Gortshakoff agreement of 1873.

The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* has, not unsuccessfully, taken a part in discussions which came within its special range. It strongly opposed the mission of Lord Roberts, not from any want of appreciation of this distinguished General, but because of the singular want of tact which, whilst the Amir was ill and worried by the Hazara rebellion, selected a Commander-in-Chief, and that too the man identified in Afghan opinion with the Kabul executions, to meet the very Generalissimo, Ghulam Hyder Khan, whom he had proscribed, and to discuss, accompanied by a strong British force, "in a friendly spirit" what the Amir deemed to be encroachments on his dominions, rights or claims. I then suggested that the Amir would be willing to meet *any one*, provided he was *not* Lord Roberts, but that this one

should be a person well-acquainted with Persian and that he should go under the protection of an Afghan escort. This has been done and the man selected was the very Foreign Secretary, the "Wazir-i-'Ázim" whose visit would be construed as a great compliment to the Amir whereas that of Lord Roberts was a menace, not to speak of the danger which that gallant officer ran from the revenge of the relatives of killed Afghans.

More than this: in spite of the inspired threats of the *Times*, the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, there has been no war on Afghanistan for fancied slights, but there has been instead a "give and take" Mission, as was suggested in this Review, in response to Mr. Pyne's unofficial visit, to consider *the Amir's grievances*, and now the silly roars of the Lion, in rage with his own tail, have become the gentlest cooings of the sucking-dove and the only question is whether Sir M. Durand is to retain the really valuable presents he has received in deference to the Amir, or to make them over, in accordance with official usage, to the Treasury or Tosha-Khana to be sold for the benefit of the State along with the decrepit Elephants and painted roarers of routine-Nazzars from Indian Chiefs?

Nor has the Amir given up anything he ever really had, except, perhaps, the moral influence over certain independent Afghan tribes that would have formed an admirable recruiting-ground for him in the event of invasion by a foreign "infidel" foe. We should rather have strengthened his influence as "*primus inter pares*" for, although we are now in possession of that ground, its fertility and fidelity to us are infinitely less than to a Muhammadan prince. As for Chitrál, the Amir never had anything to do with it, except that it paid a tribute in slaves to Badakhshán which Abdurrahman, as the friend of the Badakshi Chief, Jehandár Shah, at one time scarcely considered a province of Afghanistán. Nor did even Amir Sher Ali take any notice of the proffered allegiance of the former Mehtar of Chitrál, the famous Amán-ul-Mulk, the father of the present

ruler, who wished to check the expected encroachments on him by the Maharaja of Kashmír, whose place we have taken and who has been our catspaw in our most unjust war on Hunza-Nagyr and Chilás, in which ancient Aryan organizations have been destroyed.

Our policy in the gradual conquest of India has ever been to surround big native States with buffers and then to neutralize them; to take possession of the two sides of their main rivers and of other means of communication; to prevent their holding relations with other States except through us and then, in many instances, either to annex them on a breach of treaty or to keep them as safety-valves for native ambition in a loyal sense, as a comparison with our rule and as a strength to it by their internal indigenous development. By our possession of Kurrum, Kabul lies at our mercy, and by the hold on Quetta and New Chaman we can have Kandahar within a fortnight whenever we like. By alienating the Afghan tribes from the Amir we still more hold him in the palm of our hands. It is for him to judge whether an addition of six lakhs to his yearly subsidy of 12 lakhs can purchase more men and arms for a smaller Afghanistan, and thus render it stronger, than the willing obedience of nearly 100,000 fighting independent clansmen in times of need. With the Indus Pathan-Kohistan, he had never anything to do and very little, at any time, with Bajaur, Swat and what is still independent in Kafiristan. The whole of Dardistan has ever been beyond his influence and of the existence of Hunza-Nagyr he, probably, heard from us for the first time.

When it is, therefore, considered how little we wish to interfere with the Waziris or even with those Beluchi tribes that the Amir once claimed, and that we can never hope to do more than "influence" the numerous races and States intervening between India proper and the Russian outposts; when we know that the policy of the present Government is distinctly against any "forward" movement, not to speak of annexation or any increase of expen-

diture in the shaken condition of Indian finance; when the salutary change from a menacing, to a friendly, mission to the Amir is mainly due to the military advisers of the Secretary of State for India, the folly and ignorance of those Radical M.P.'s will be appreciated at their real value who try to put the following questions to puzzled Under-Secretaries and Parliament and who thereby seem actually to invite the evils which they dread :

QUESTIONS TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT IN THE YEAR OF OUR
LORD, 1893.

Has the Amir agreed that Chitrál, Bajour, Swat and other States of Indus-Kohistan(!) shall be regarded as beyond the sphere of His Highness's influence, though Asmar is said to be retained by him?

If those principalities and tribes of the Hindukush have been brought definitely within the sphere of British influence, what is the extent of *jurisdiction* of the Indian Government and how can it be applied to those outlying regions and what *legislation* or *public procedure* will be required to sanction that *jurisdiction*?

Also, if, as stated, Waziristan(!) and Wana, as well as the Kurm Valley, are to be brought unreservedly under British influence and withdrawn from that of the Amir, will the terms of the Treaty to that effect be placed before Parliament? Also, will the reports of Dr. Robertson, or other political agent for Chilas, Gilgit and relating to Kafiristan shortly be published?

The "*Pioneer*" makes an encouraging reference to our intentions regarding the tribes to be put "under British influence":

"If they choose to be friendly and well-behaved they will not be interfered with, any more than the Afridis have been in the Khyber districts."

The following extract also from the same paper gives a very fair account of our new sphere of abstinence or aggression:

"Taking the Hindu Kush as the northern boundary, the line runs along the Chitral-Badakshan-Kafiristan border southwards to a point north of Asmar in the Kunar Valley; thence south-eastwards to the border of the Peshawur District, so as to include Bajour and Swat. Landi Kotal remains the limit in the Khyber, and the Afridi country comes within the line to the south of the Pass. The Kuram Valley is already British territory, and further still to the south the tribesmen of Darwar, Waziristan and Wana come within our sphere of influence. Zarmelan lies to the south-west of Waziristan and is important as guarding the northern approach into the Zhob Valley. The line from Zarmelan trends to the south-westwards until the Peshin plateau is reached, then crosses the Khwaja Amran range, takes in New Chaman with its railway terminus, and passes on southwards to Shorawak and thence westwards to the Helmand, so as to include Chageh. Eastwards of this boundary the independent tribesmen will have to recognise that they have no concern with Kabul."

There are successes, however, which, ill-used, may be worse than defeats. Sir M. Durand will now have to put the break on the impetuous course of Frontier Officers, anxious for promotion, distinction or, that bane of honest work, decorations, for overcoming the difficulties which they themselves create. In some of the provinces of Chinese Tartary, it was a significant rule that whenever a famine or disturbance occurred in one of them, their Governor was fined or decapitated. If, similarly, *that* Frontier Officer only were rewarded, of whom *nothing* is heard, either in the way of praise or blame, like the model-woman of Pericles, there would be lasting peace on our frontier and a great extension of British influence. Let the children and poor praise him as was Abbott at Abbottabad and let him only take care that his conduct does not cause blame to reach superior authority. Indeed, with fewer Reports and fewer transfers of officers throughout India, there might be fewer Saviours of that continent, but there would be less requiring to be saved and there would be a quiet, because permanent and local, rule. If, therefore, Sir M. Durand forbids his political officers from making any proposals leading to interference or, worst of all, "jurisdiction" or "legislation," among the independent tribes now under our "influence," even with the prospect of an Ilbert Bill as something to hope for, he will show a moral courage far greater than his physical pluck—largely due to common sense and good health—which has enabled him, as it has other successful travellers, to trust his safety to Afghan hosts.

If he, however, has alienated Afghan tribes from the Amir he will have broken down, as I feared, another barrier to Russian approach, already open by the Pamirs against the Amir's reluctant opposition in our interests; let him not further facilitate and precipitate the inevitable by allowing any official interference to demoralize and emasculate the tribes. Let our "influence" be confined to keeping them independent from one another and ourselves,

combining only against foreign invasion. It took Russia 40 years before she could conquer *one* Circassia by living Walls of besieging armies that gradually rose to 200,000 men and she could not have conquered it at all, had we, even when at war with Russia ourselves, not prevented provisions and munitions from reaching the Circassians by the Black Sea. It was there that the few fruits of the Crimean War were lost and we not only opened the way of Russia to Constantinople, but also gave her that almost impregnable position in the Caucasus which became the lever of her more recent and complete Central Asian successes. Here in the Hindukush, we have 36 Circassias, each stronger than the one on the Euxine and without a sea to get round them, but our folly in making military roads for Russian invaders, as towards Hunza, is destroying alike physical obstacles and the native methods and genius of resistance. Many of these tribes have kept their independence for 1400 years and, unaided, would keep it for ever, or for several centuries, if the analogy of Circassia be accepted. Still, it is something that the advocates of "the Forward Policy" will not be allowed to do any *more* mischief; what they have done being quite sufficient to lose, and to have to reconquer, an Empire. In the meanwhile, we know that we have to defend a reduced Afghanistan; "one step more will rouse the British lion," till such step is taken, but, if we leave the independent tribes alone, many generations of Secretaries may yet succeed one another in the Foreign Department of the Government of India.



*With the Maharajah Duleep Singh's
Compliments*

MAHARAJA DULEEP SINGH.

BY SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.

IT is not without reluctance that I have consented to write an article on the late Maharaja Duleep Singh. It would not be fitting that a Review devoted to Oriental subjects should be altogether silent when so imposing a name, though only a shadow and semblance of royalty, passes into the land of shadows for ever. Yet it is impossible to write of the Maharaja without special reference to the later years of his life, when, abandoning the traditions of loyalty to the British Government, which had been the guiding principle of the policy of his illustrious predecessor and reputed father, he posed before the scandalized public of Europe and Asia, as a declared enemy of England and a friend and ally of all who could be held to be her foes. The generous and wholesome apophthegm which tells us to say nothing except good of the dead applies to private persons alone. Who are we to rake into unwelcome truth and lay bare the faults and vices of those who have passed behind the dark curtain which, sooner or later, enshrouds and conceals us all? Are there no skeletons in our own cupboards, no past episodes which we desire enemies and friends to alike forget? Let us sharpen our rapiers to fight, face to face, with our foes. Death closes all; and forgiveness, if not forgetfulness, is the last sacrament. But with great personages, sovereigns and statesmen, there can be no paltering with the truth in regard to their public utterances and actions. They belong to history; they stand out as landmarks of example or of warning; as friendly lights or as rocks to avoid. It is not of such that we can say with Dante

Non ragioniam di lor ma guarda e passa.

Ingratitude and treason are not to be lightly passed over by biographers or historians, the more especially when the

offence is deliberate and long-continued, and when the abject submission was only more contemptible than the revolt from loyalty and honour. Her Majesty the Queen was pleased to graciously accept the submission; but no princely generosity on the part of a justly offended Sovereign can blot out the record of crime and disgrace. But I propose to touch lightly and briefly on the less creditable portion of Duleep Singh's life, and will leave the unpleasing duty of the *advocatus diaboli* to others. I have however so lately written for the University of Oxford on the life and times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh that I may be excused for recording a few remarks on the fortunes of the last of the reputed children of the founder of the Sikh Monarchy, and of the circumstances under which he, the accident of an accident, became distinguished.

Kharrak Singh who succeeded his father in 1839, and died in November of the following year, in a very suspicious manner, was the only son, legitimate or illegitimate, born to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, so far as popular opinion in the Punjab and the evidence of contemporary witnesses are worth anything. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the secret history of native Indian Courts, and the curtain which closes the entrance to the women's apartments is almost as impenetrable to the outside world as the curtain of death of which I have just spoken. But the great Maharaja had few reticences. He was a ruler of men; and although he was very susceptible to feminine influence, he neither believed in, nor regarded, feminine virtue. He was indifferent to the scandalous stories which attached to many of the ladies of his household; and the various children whom, from time to time, they presented to him as his own, he accepted without demur, and assigned them estates, large or small, as they or their mothers were in favour. These supposititious, but acknowledged, sons were seven in number; the eldest being Maharaja Sher Singh who succeeded to the throne in 1841, and was assassinated by Sirdar Ajit Singh on the 15th September, 1843; and the

youngest, Duleep Singh* who was born in February, 1837. Whoever his father may have been, he was certainly not Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who, at this time, was a paralysed cripple, old before his time from the exposure and hardships of his stormy life and his constant excesses, which two years later, caused his death. Maharaja Duleep Singh himself did not lay any great stress on his royal descent. Writing to me on the 8th May, 1885, he says, "Whatever might be my origin—and it is a wise childe (*sic*) who knows his father—the British Government after having acknowledged me as heir to the Lion of the Punjab for the last 38 years, cannot now when rather too late in the day put aside my claims." This was true enough, and in India it is difficult and often impossible to decide cases of paternity. In old days, when the British Government used to claim and rigorously exercise the right of escheat, many long and irritating controversies took place as to the legitimacy of declared heirs to chiefships; but since the right of adoption was generally granted by Lord Canning, and the Government declared its desire that native States should be perpetual and surrendered its right to inherit where there was no direct male heir, the question of legitimacy has become of little importance. In the case of Duleep Singh it was even of less moment than usual; for Maharaja Sher Singh, who was not less supposititious, had already succeeded to the throne, and Duleep was undoubtedly acknowledged by Ranjit Singh, who caused a salute to be fired at his birth, and he was subsequently acknowledged as Maharaja by the British Government who maintained him on the throne from 1846 to 1849. The truth was that Jindan, the mother of Duleep Singh, was greatly in favour with the old monarch fast falling into dotage; she was the only one of the women of the Court who amused him with her wit and dancing, and although she had never been married to him, he was quite willing to

* Duleep Singh is not in accordance with scientific orthography, but as the Maharaja so spelt his name it is adopted here.

humour her in such a trifle as the acknowledgment of her son. She was undoubtedly a woman of great ability and force of character, and her fierce temper made her dreaded by the powerful Sikh barons and even the redoubtable Chancellor Raja Dinanath. General MacAndrew, who commanded the escort when she was banished from the Punjab in 1849, and removed from the fort of Sheikh-apúra to the North Western Provinces, has described to me her outburst of fury when she started on her compulsory journey and realized that her opportunities for intrigue were over. She abused him in unmeasured terms and cursed the Sikh officers of the escort for permitting the mother of their Maharaja to be treated with such indignity. Everyone was afraid of her, Jowáhir Singh her brother, and Lal Singh, her lover; and as her cleverness was equal to her spirit, she might have played a great rôle in the Punjab and have steered the ship of the State through the troubled waters of the Regency had she not allowed her passions to overmaster her discretion. Her lovers were worthless men, greedy and unscrupulous and, between them, they ruined the State and destroyed the chance of the young Maharaja. But Duleep Singh always showed a great affection for his mother; and was never satisfied till he persuaded her to live with him in England. The first time I met him was about December, 1860, at Spence's Hotel in Calcutta where he was waiting for the Rani to join him and proceed to England. He had been anxious to go up country and pose in the Punjab as the exiled monarch returned for a space to gladden the eyes of his bereaved people; but Lord Canning had no wish for more rebellion than he had already suppressed, so the triumphal progress was prohibited, and the Maharaja proceeded no further than Calcutta.

The entry of Duleep Singh on the political scene was in storm and bloodshed. He had, with his mother, been sheltered at Jammu by the Rajas Guláb Singh and Dhyán Singh who were the most powerful men at Court in the

closing years of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. They kept him in their own hands as a trump card to play when the state of the game required it. But the Sindhanwalia chiefs, to whose family Ranjit Singh had belonged, determined to win the rubber by force if not by skill. They assassinated Maharaja Sher Singh, his son and heir Partáb Singh and the Minister, Raja Dhyan Singh on the same day, the 15th September, 1843, and proclaimed Duleep Singh King. But Hira Singh, the son of the murdered Minister, gained the army by lavish promises and the Sindhanwalias were besieged in the Lahore fort which was quickly taken by assault, and Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh, the most able leaders of the clan, were put to death. Hira Singh then proclaimed himself Prime Minister or Wazir: but seven months later he was himself assassinated and Jowahir Singh, the drunken and debauched brother of Rani Jindan, the Queen Mother, was made Minister through his sister's influence. He was utterly unable to carry on the administration with decency, or to hold in check the mutinous army, which had learned its strength and was in a chronic state of mutiny. He found no means of pacifying them, except by raising their pay and increasing their numbers, and when these expedients were exhausted, the fate of Jowahir Singh was sealed. The excuse was the murder of Prince Peshora Singh, one of Ranjit Singh's reputed sons, a fine young fellow and popular with the troops, whom the Minister caused to be murdered at Attock to remove a possible danger to his sister's ambitious schemes. The army on this rose in revolt, and killed Jowahir Singh, in spite of the entreaties of Rani Jindan, who unveiled, seated on an elephant, and with the young Duleep Singh in her arms, went to the camp to beg for her brother's life. His death did not improve matters and Raja Lal Singh, the acknowledged lover of the Rani, succeeded as Minister; but the army, under the control of its committees or *panchayets* grew in power and audacity until the Queen Regent and her advisers, finding themselves altogether

unable to control it, contrived to direct its fury against the English rather than against themselves. The first Sikh war was deliberately arranged at Lahore, not to protect the Punjab against aggression or to avenge any grievances at the hands of the British, but to break the spirit and power of the Sikh army which would otherwise in a short time have swept away Duleep Singh, the Queen Regent and the obnoxious Minister and have set up a military despotism in their place. The result is well known. After a fierce and bloody campaign the Sikhs, who had fought with the greatest gallantry though led by incompetent or treacherous generals, were finally defeated at Sobraon with great slaughter, and in February the British army was encamped under the walls of Lahore. Duleep Singh had knelt to Lord Hardinge the Governor General and begged for forgiveness and he had been again resealed on the throne, though his kingdom was shorn of Kashmir, which was granted to the old fox and time-server Raja Gulab Singh, and the districts between the rivers Satlej and Beas were added to British India.

The attempt was first made to govern the Punjab through the Minister Lal Singh, and the Queen Mother: but it was found impossible, owing to their treachery and intrigues. It lasted till the close of the year when Raja Lal Singh was convicted of treason in instigating the Muhamadan Governor of Kashmir to resist the occupation of that province by Raja Gulab Singh who was obnoxious to the Rani because he had not joined the Sikh army on the Satlej. His desertion indeed was paid by the English with Kashmir. If his troops had joined the Sikhs, our conquest of the Punjab would have been exceedingly difficult. As it was, the Sikhs always say that at Sobraon we were only better than they by one finger; and they are not far wrong. This treachery the Queen Mother determined to avenge—and hoped, by opposing the transfer of Kashmir, to gain the patriotic party to her side. But the Sikhs were not yet ready for another fight: and Lal Singh was denounced, tried, convicted of treason and

banished to British India. As this paper is partly written to show that the chief grievances of Duleep Singh were imaginary; that his early misfortunes were due to the conduct of his own people, his Ministers and his mother; it may be interesting to give a description of Lal Singh, the favourite of the Queen Mother, who, with her, did most to ruin the Punjab and the infant Maharaja. But for them and their friends, Duleep Singh might have reigned long and happily at Lahore, the warm friend and faithfully of England, who would have been as careful of his independence as it had been of that of the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh from whom he derived his claim.

“Raja Lal Singh rose to power, by the exercise of arts which in a civilized community would have sent him to the scaffold. He was one of the chief instigators and chief actors in the murders of Raja Hira Singh, of Misr Beli Ram and of Bhai Gurmukh Singh.

“His intrigues with Maharani Jindan were so open and shameless that they even scandalized a people whose immorality was proverbial. By ingratitude, treachery and cunning he succeeded in acquiring the wealth and power for which better men are indebted to their virtue or their genius. He had great opportunities for serving his country, but he resolutely chose the evil in preference to the good. Had he possessed one spark of patriotism he might, after the Satlej campaign, have saved Kashmir to the Punjab. His Ministry was supported by the whole strength of the British Government. Major Lawrence stood by him, with no petty interference, but offering wise and generous advice, which this greedy minister never cared to follow; and when, at length, his jealousy of Maharaja Gulab Singh led him into treason, his fall from power was hailed with joy by all: by the army which hated him for the cowardice and imbecility which had been its ruin and by the chiefs whose estates he had seized to enrich himself and his creatures.”*

* This description of Raja Lal Singh was written by me in 1863, at a time when the events of his career were comparatively recent, and when

After this, a second treaty was made on the 16th Dec., 1846, defining the manner and amount of assistance which the Sikh chiefs desired the British Government to afford during the minority of Duleep Singh; and appointing a Council of Regency of eight prominent Sikh statesmen under the general advice and control of Sir Henry Lawrence, the British Resident. This arrangement was to continue until Duleep Singh reached the age of 16 years, or such previous date as the Governor-General might consider fitting: the terms of the military occupation were prescribed and the defrayment of its cost, and £15,000 a year was assigned for the maintenance of the Queen Mother, who was altogether excluded from State affairs. Her influence was, however, still exercised in secret, and she did not cease to intrigue against the existing order of things. Early in 1847, she was certainly cognizant of, if not the instigator of a conspiracy to murder the Resident and Tej Singh, the President of the Council, and a few months later she prepared an elaborate scheme to insult the latter and the British Government. Tej Singh was created Raja of Sialkot and, in accordance with custom, it was necessary for the Maharaja, at the ceremony of investiture, to impress on the forehead of the President a saffron mark (tika), as a sign of Rajaship. This, instigated by his mother, who hated Tej Singh, the late Commander-in-Chief, for a similar reason to that which had caused her hostility to Raja Gulab Singh, the boy Maharaja refused to do. He folded his arms and drew back, and the Resident had to call on Bhai Nidhan Singh, the official head of the Sikh religion, who stood by, to perform the ceremony. This occurrence, showing the constant enmity of the Rani to the Administration, resulted in her removal from Lahore to the fort of Sheikhapura, some 20 miles distant, where she remained till her final removal to Benares.

among my Sikh friends were many of the statesmen and courtiers of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and of the Regency.

The military revolt soon followed, known as the second Sikh war of 1848-49; headed by Sirdar Chattar Singh, to whose daughter, Tej Kour, the Maharaja Duleep Singh had been betrothed in 1843, his son Raja Sher Singh and Diwan Mulraj, Governor of Multan. Its history has been often written. Suffice it to say that after a severe struggle in which Afghans and Sikhs united to oust the British from the Punjab, the war was terminated by the decisive victory of Gujrat, and Lord Dalhousie who had become Governor General, declared Maharaja Duleep Singh deposed and the Punjab united to British India.

This act of annexation was justified by Lord Dalhousie in a masterly Minute, which clearly, soberly and without sophistry states the arguments which decided his action. It was confirmed by the Court of Directors and by Parliament, and the Punjab has ever since remained the most friendly, loyal and orderly province under British rule.

It is only as concerning Maharaja Duleep Singh that we can here consider the annexation of the Punjab. As an act of State it is old history and needs no justification. If any be required, let it be found in the prosperity of the province and the loyalty of its people to the Queen-Empress. But so far as Duleep Singh is concerned and his later attitude of hostility to the British Government, it may be observed that there was obviously no other course than his deposition. Lord Dalhousie wrote :

“By maintaining the pageant of a throne we should have just enough of sovereignty to keep alive among the Sikhs the memory of their nationality and to serve as a nucleus for constant intrigue. We should have all the labour, all the anxiety, all the responsibility which would attach to the territories if they were actually made our own; while we should not reap the corresponding benefits of increase of revenue and acknowledged possession.”

Again he writes : “When I am fairly convinced that the safety of our own State requires us to enforce subjection of the Sikh nation, I cannot abandon that necessary measure

because the effectual subjection of the nation involves in itself the deposition of their Prince. I cannot permit myself to be turned aside from fulfilling the duty which I owe to the security and prosperity of millions of British subjects by a feeling of misplaced and mistimed compassion for the fate of a child."

The second treaty of Lahore, signed and accepted by the Maharaja and the Council in March 1849, was no more than the terms granted by the conquerors to the vanquished ; regarding its provisions and their interpretation it will be necessary to say something hereafter. It arranged for the deposition of the Maharaja and the confiscation of the State property and fixed a suitable provision for him and his relatives.

This document was declared by Duleep Singh and his advisers in later years to be a high-handed act of power, exercised for the exclusive benefit of the stronger party against the weaker, without any justification from any treaty or right created by international law. But such a complaint is trivial. The terms imposed by conquerors are always a high-handed act of power ; and if the party on whom they are imposed were not the weaker it is obvious that they would not have been imposed at all. Duleep Singh had, indeed, received all possible consideration from the British Government. The first war of 1845 was caused by an insolent invasion of British territory by the Sikh army without any offence given by the English, except that the anarchy at Lahore compelled them to strengthen their frontier garrisons. It was the fruit of the ambition, the maladministration and folly of Duleep Singh's mother and her advisers ; and if, after Sobraon, it had been decided to depose the Maharaja and annex the Punjab there was no moral objection to such a step. No doubt the policy of annexation was considered ; but the Government was not then prepared to undertake so onerous a charge, and contented itself with taking the Jalandhar Doab, as, after the war of 1870, Germany annexed Alsace and

Lorraine. If Duleep Singh had been deposed in 1846, he would have had no legitimate ground of complaint. He was personally irresponsible, it is true; but he was bound by the acts of his mother and the Ministers of his State. *Væ victis* is the rule of the East; and conquest conveys the only divine right. By conquest, Ranjit Singh the Great and his father Maha Singh and his grandfather Chattar Singh won all their possessions: by conquest, and by no other right, the throne of India has been won and held century after century; by the sword we won it and hold it to-day: and to pretend that the Punjab did not belong to the English, after the first war, according to all the rules of Asiatic politics, is ridiculous. But it was convenient to limit the exercise of our rights; and in this limitation there can be no doubt that, with men of honour like Sir Frederick Currie, Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence at the head of affairs, Duleep Singh would have reigned as securely as Maharaja Ranjit Singh, though not so autocratically, had not the same birds of evil omen, the Rani Jindan and Lal Singh, stirred up strife a second time, and troubled the waters which were settling down. In estimating the causes of the second war we need not lay too much stress on the intrigue and initiative of the Rani. Her power was broken after the banishment of Lal Singh and her own seclusion at Sheikhapura, but what influence she had was for evil and it certainly affected the weak minded Chattar Singh and his son who were anxious, for reasons of private ambition, to see Duleep Singh married to the daughter of their house. But the soldiers of the Khālsa who were thoroughly disaffected and who, during the stormy years succeeding the death of this great Maharaja, had drunk so deep of power as to have lost their heads, would never have returned to their villages and have beaten their swords into ploughshares without a second trial of strength with their foreign conquerors, without a second crushing defeat which might convince them that they had no other salvation than in kissing the rod which smote them. The Queen mother,

the boy prince, the traitor minister were all puppets set dancing by Fortune in the great world-play which signified the domination of England in the East ; and although, had they been wise and virtuous, they might have delayed the catastrophe it could not have been averted.

But of what had Duleep Singh to complain? The intervention of the English certainly saved his life and gave him the name of monarch for a few years, together with the solid and honourable rank and wealth which attached to the style of Maharaja after his deposition. He, if he claimed to be of the stock of Ranjit Singh, could not complain that what had been won by the sword was lost by the sword. The obligations which the British Government voluntarily assumed after the first war, of guardian during the minority of the young prince, were modified or cancelled by the second war which passed a sponge over the slate, on which the Government then wrote the new terms of 1849, in accordance with which alone their subsequent conduct towards the Maharaja could be criticized. The relation of guardian and ward as between the British Government and Duleep Singh had been purely sentimental. His birth, his parentage, his surroundings entitled him to no special consideration. He was a mere shuttlecock kept awhile in the air by the contest of hostile parties in the State. He was personally innocent : but the sins of the fathers are visited on the children ; and where the father was doubtful the sins of the mother, in this case, were sufficient for the condemnation of the child. The terms as agreed in the second treaty of Lahore were as follows :

“(i.) His Highness the Maharaja Duleep Singh shall resign for himself, his heirs and successors all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab or to any sovereignty power whatever.

(ii.) All the property of the State, of whatever description and wherever found shall be confiscated to the Honourable East India Company in part payment of the debts due by the State of Lahore to the British Government and of the expenses of the war.

(iii.) The gem called the Koh-i-noor, which was taken from Shah Shooja-ul-Moolk by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, shall be surrendered by the Maharaja of Lahore to the Queen of England.

(iv.) His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the Honourable East India Company for the support of himself, his relatives and the servants of the State, a pension of not less than four and not exceeding five lakhs of Company's rupees per annum.

(v.) His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour. He shall retain the title of Maharaja Duleep Singh Bahadour, and he shall continue to receive during his life such portion of the above-named pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government and shall reside at such place as the Governor General of India may select."

With the deposition of the Maharaja and the annexation of the Punjab the public and historical life of the Maharaja closed; and I do not propose in this sketch to dwell upon the incidents of his life as a private gentleman. A few particulars of the more noteworthy events will suffice.

Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Login was appointed superintendent of his establishment, and a young Englishman, Mr. Barlow, his tutor; and, in February, 1850, he was removed from Lahore to Fatahgarh where he lived happily and honourably, with a large retinue, spending his summers in the hills, shooting, hunting, and acquiring the elements of an English education till March 1854, when he left India for England.

It was at Fatahgarh that Duleep Singh became a convert to Christianity. According to his account, the decision was his own. He says that he asked his Brahman attendant to read to him passages from the Bible with which he was much impressed and which to his intelligence compared favourably with the superstitious doctrines of his Hindu priest. He suddenly declared his intention of becoming a Christian; and after testing his sincerity Dr. Login applied

to Lord Dalhousie who consented to his baptism which took place at Fatahgarh in 1853. Lord Dalhousie subsequently presented him with a Bible, in which the following inscription seemed to suggest that the Scotch Governor General had but a small sense of humour, seeing that it was he who deprived Duleep Singh of his earthly kingdom :

“ To His Highness Maharaja Duleep Singh.

“ This Holy Book, in which he has been led by God’s grace to find an inheritance richer by far than all earthly kingdoms, is presented, with sincere respect and regard by his faithful friend Dalhousie, April 5, 1854.”

In England the young Maharaja was received with great kindness and honour ; and for many years was a prominent person in society and at Court, where his handsome face, brilliant costume and numerous jewels were a frequent and picturesque addition to State functions. In private life he adopted the dress and habits of an English gentleman. He was devoted to sport and his means allowed him to indulge his tastes without stint. He resided in turn at Wimbledon, Roehampton, Castle Menzies in Perthshire and Mulgrave Castle in Yorkshire, till, it being decided that he should live permanently in England, the estate of Hatherop in Gloucestershire was unfortunately selected, at an ultimate cost of £185,000 ; for Duleep Singh found it unsuitable and, with the consent of the Government, which made an advance of £110,000, purchased the estate of Elvedon in Suffolk which he held till his death and which became famous for the extent and richness of its game preserves. For the extravagance and maladministration which caused both Duleep Singh and the Government much trouble and embarrassment, he must not be held too responsible. The British Government has never yet, with all its experience and the warning of innumerable failures, understood how to train Indian princes during their minority, and Duleep Singh was no exception. A mistaken generosity surrounded him during his earlier years with every luxury

and indulgence, and the means which prudence suggested of counteracting these early demoralizing influences were omitted when he came to England. As he had been permitted to embrace Christianity, and had thus cut himself loose from Indian ties and associations, he should have been treated as a young English nobleman and received the severe and indeed ascetic training which has preserved the English aristocracy wholesome and vigorous and popular, in spite of the disadvantages of wealth and prescription which have made effete the nobility of a great part of Europe. But a mistaken idea of what was due to his rank induced the Court of Directors to refuse him permission to go to a public school or the University and the consequence was that his education was very inefficiently conducted, and shooting straight and playing a fair game of whist were the chief accomplishments with which he was furnished for life. In 1864 the Rani Jindan died and, in accordance with her last wishes, Duleep Singh took his mother's remains to Bombay where they were burnt and the ashes thrown into the sacred river Nerbadda. On his return to England he met, in Egypt, a German lady, the daughter of a merchant in Alexandria, whom he married and by whom he had several children who survive him.

The Maharaja's allowance, which had been fixed at £12,000 p.a., had been increased to £15,000 in 1856, when he reached the age of eighteen; and to £25,000 in 1862. The Maharaja's extravagant habits soon made this ample allowance insufficient, and it was further reduced by the interest on advances made to him by the Government; while his estates were encumbered by the enormous sums lent by the Government for their purchase, a sum of £283,000 having been expended on the Suffolk estates alone. His affairs reached a crisis in 1880, when they were thoroughly examined by the Government and to pay off his debts further sums were advanced with the condition that the estates would not be considered hereditary but would be sold at his death.

From this date the sentiments of the Maharaja underwent a change. He became embittered and surrounded himself with men who found their advantage in persuading him that he had been treated with harshness; that the terms of the treaty of 1849 had been violated and that by agitation and possibly by legal action he might compel the Government to improve his position and surrender what he fancied was his ancestral fortune. Failing this, he was prepared to throw off his allegiance to England and make common cause with her enemies; to renounce Christianity; and to appeal to the Sikhs as their leader and king.

The chief among his grievances was that the whole of the treaty allowance of not less than four and not more than five lakhs of rupees was not paid to him to utilize as he chose for his own expenses and in the support of his relatives and servants of the State, and that the lapses on the death of pensioners were not paid to his account: further that this pension was not hereditary. Now whatever may be thought of the policy of the Government or its generosity, there can be no possible doubt of the validity of its position as defined by treaty. Sir Charles Wood in a memorandum of 1860, showed this very clearly. The terms of the treaty were moreover precise and specific. The pension was to form the provision for himself, his relatives and servants of the State; the Maharaja was only to receive such portion as should be allotted to him personally, and that only during good behaviour and for his life. The right to lapses had been fully considered by Lord Dalhousie who decided against the claim, and he must be supposed to have understood what he meant by the terms he had himself granted. The position of the Government was simply this, that they had no obligation to give the Maharaja a larger pension than they considered sufficient; and the provision for the family after his death was entirely at their discretion. The Government contention was legal, but ungenerous and short-sighted. Naturally Duleep Singh was dissatisfied. Having treated him as a prince

for thirty years, with an exaggeration of etiquette which was, in my opinion, unnecessary and foolish ; the Government should have declared their intention of making an hereditary grant, strictly entailed, for the continued dignity of the family. The title of Prince, which in England is an awkward solecism applied to a British subject not of the royal family, should have been dropped by the sons, the eldest of whom, receiving an English title and an hereditary estate, would have become merged in the ranks of the English aristocracy, while the family descent would not have compared unfavourably, in the circumstances of its origin, with that of some of our noble houses, the members of which carry their heads very high to-day. An impartial judgment must allow that a great portion of the trouble and shame which the conduct of Duleep Singh brought upon both himself and England, during the last ten years of his life, should be charged to the crass mismanagement and unsympathetic attitude of the India Office. It was a great public scandal that a deposed Prince, who had for a generation been an honoured guest in England and had been specially favoured by Her Majesty and the Royal Family should have been allowed to range about Europe as a rebellious outcast ; denouncing the bad faith of the British Government. Such an outrage on good taste should never have been tolerated ; and that it was possible was due to official red-tape and incapacity. Duleep Singh was certainly unpractical and impracticable. He was a vain, silly, uneducated man, easily imposed upon ; the victim of intriguers and traitors. His extravagance and his self-will were irritating enough to the official mind. But he was, after all, what the Government had made him. Their unwise refusal to give him a sound and sensible education and their injudicious bringing-up had ruined his character as completely as the drugs so often administered to an Oriental Prince debauch his will and his intellect. They had spoilt him with adulation and luxury and were surprised that the seed which they had sown came up in

thorns and thistles. The India Office was as incompetent to manage a spoilt child like Duleep Singh, as Frankenstein to control the monster to which he had given life. There is no reasonable doubt that if Maharaja Duleep Singh had been treated with ordinary intelligence and generosity, England would have been spared the humiliating spectacle of a prince whose kingdom she had absorbed begging for bread and revenge in the streets of Moscow and Paris. The existence of the scandal was in itself the condemnation of the India Office.

It is not for a moment disputed that the pretensions of Duleep Singh were not preposterous. Chief among them was the claim to the ancestral real and personal property of his father Maharaja Ranjit Singh; estates acquired by himself, his father or his grandfather, together with jewels and personal property. Under the treaty of 1849, all the property of the State of whatever description and wheresoever found, was confiscated to the East India Company. These estates and jewels Duleep Singh argued were not State property; and the confiscation of private property was not contemplated in the treaty, nor was the forfeiture of ancestral estates a punishment which could have been enforced against an innocent child, however guilty the responsible leaders of the State may have been.

When Maharaja Duleep Singh left the solid ground of State right for the delusive bog of private inheritance he was in a difficult position. As Maharaja he had been accepted by the British Government who recognised the order of things which they found after the first Sikh war. He had been placed on the throne as the result of a palace intrigue and the farce was played as a serious drama. But private property and ancestral right were different things. To succeed, in days of revolution, to the throne of a successful soldier, a certificate of legitimacy was superfluous. But to inherit ancestral property, an ancestor was necessary, and this, Duleep Singh was not in a position to produce. It was a physical impossibility that the paralysed Maharaja

Ranjit Singh should have been his father; and Rani Jindan his mother, who was the daughter of a Sikh trooper taken into the Zenana as a wild *gamine* whose playground was the gutters of Lahore, could not claim any ancestral property on her side of the family.

In the second place there was no distinction between State and private property in the case of inheritance to Ranjit Singh. His father, grandfather and himself had been mere predatory leaders in the days of the collapse of the Mogul Empire; they had taken what they could, where they found it. There was but one law in those days :

“The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.”

Everything possessed by these chiefs was robbed from somebody else, won by the sword and kept by the sword.

In India, generally, the prince is the State. “*L'état c'est moi.*” All the land is his property and his subjects only hold it during his pleasure. The confiscation of the State property includes that of so-called private and ancestral property. The Koh-i-noor was, it is true, made the subject of a special clause in the treaty: but this was merely on account of its great value and the interest attaching to it. This gem had been for hundreds of years the prize of victory. Ranjit Singh alone had stolen it without a fight from a fugitive prince who had sought his protection. The English won it in fair fight and it belongs by historic prescription to the Empress of India.

The question of the claims to private and ancestral estates by a member of the late ruling family had been discussed many years before it was raised by Duleep Singh. I was employed by the Government to examine and report on the claims of Prince Shahdeo Singh, the son of Maharaja Sher Singh eldest reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who asserted his right to the large estates of his maternal grandmother Mai Sadda Kour, a famous woman in her time and the head and leader of the powerful

Rámgarhia confederacy. His pretensions were at once brushed aside, for the reasons stated above. The Rámgarhia estates had been confiscated by Ranjit Singh as an act of State ; just as those claimed by Duleep Singh had been confiscated by right of Conquest.

On the closing years of Maharaja Duleep Singh's life we will not dwell. The picture is a painful one. His brain, weakened by continued brooding over his imaginary wrongs, in part gave way, and no absurdity was too great for him to perpetrate. The disaffected and the designing found him an easy victim. Strange faces from the Punjab appeared in London, and "His Majesty" Duleep Singh was openly talked of at the Northbrook Club, with the same spirit as that in which Jacobites used to toast the Pretender over the water. Among others who were drawn by Duleep Singh to England was Sirdar Thákur Singh, a well-meaning stupid old chief, the eldest surviving member of the Sindhanwalia family from which Maharaja Ranjit Singh had sprung. The old man had for many years been a friend of mine and I urged him not to make a fool of himself by allowing Duleep Singh to advertise him as a partisan. But the candle is the doom of the moth ; and Thákur Singh, with his allowances confiscated, died a poverty-stricken disappointed man, thrown aside by Duleep Singh who had written to me that he should share his last crust. The Maharaja issued a proclamation to the Sikhs which, whether composed by himself or his English advisers, was a model of burlesque literature and which was treated by the Sikh people with contempt. To everyone who would listen, in season and out of season, he poured forth his hatred of the British Government and his determination to be revenged. The last time I saw the late Mr. John Bright in the Reform Club he told me how he met the Maharaja in a brush shop in Piccadilly, and there, to the astonishment of the shopmen, he had discoursed in a loud voice and at great length on the enormities of the Government. A Parsi friend of mine and his, Mr.

Manockjee Cursetjee, showed me a letter which he had received from the Maharaja in 1884 announcing his change of creed from Christianity to Sikhism for the reason that Christianity was the religion of robbers and plunderers and violators of solemn engagements.

At last he determined to go himself to India and set himself at the head of his faithful subjects. This luxurious, selfish and foolish man, who had no experience of the rough side of life and had only sufficient brains to preserve and kill partridges, prepared to set himself in array against the forces, moral and material, of the British Government. I was consulted by the Secretary of State as to the expediency of allowing him to go to India and gave my opinion that Duleep Singh was ready for any mischief and that it was inexpedient to allow him to leave England : that the Sikhs did not care two straws about him, but they were an excitable race ; that no one could calculate what might be the force of national sentiment and that only madmen took lighted candles into powder magazines. I was told that the advisers of the Crown considered that it would be illegal to prevent the Maharaja leaving England ; but that under the Regulations, the Viceroy could forbid him from going to the Punjab or wherever else might be thought inconvenient.

It is possible that the Maharaja's journey to India was a mere piece of *fanfarronade* intended to impress the Government and obtain better terms ; but Duleep Singh was weak enough to take himself seriously. At any rate the piece fell very flat. On the arrival at Aden of the steamer which carried Cæsar and his fortunes, in April, 1886, he was arrested by the General commanding the garrison and taken on shore with his family, servants and baggage. The General gave him most kindly hospitality in his own house, and as the Maharaja gave his parole that he would not attempt to leave Aden, he was subjected to merely nominal restraint. After a fortnight he expressed his intention of remaining himself at Aden but sent his

family back to England, where he might have gone himself had he chosen to do so. He then became very anxious to be reinitiated as a Sikh and to take the *pahul* or Sikh baptism. The Government made no objection, and after some difficulty the necessary number of the faithful were gathered together and the ceremony was duly performed. The weather became very hot and the Maharaja fell ill and at last, thinking he had endured enough for conscience' sake, he left Aden for Marseilles on the 3rd June.

Thus fell the curtain on the dignified portion of the life of Duleep Singh. After this, rejecting the proffered help of the British Government, he drifted into the position of a dissatisfied political refugee, ready for treason if any Power could be found weak enough to buy his tinsel sword and his fanciful pretensions. Russia, who has a keen eye for profitable pretenders, would have none of him, and his stay in Moscow was only associated with poverty and humiliation. He at last took up his residence in Paris, and there he died a few months ago, having made a tardy submission to the Queen who was graciously pleased to forgive his past misconduct.

Thus passed away a notable figure in the history of the Victorian Court. Poor shadow and simulacrum of royalty ; a monarch without a kingdom ; an exile and a foreigner ; a wild creature in a gilded cage. The instincts and passions of the East were strong in his blood, and the civilization of the West could not satisfy him. He wore it as a garment to be thrown off, like the Christianity which was with him a fashion and not a belief. Old wine does not suit new bottles, and the East and the West refuse to commingle.

In this sordid tragedy which closed a once brilliant life, England has not been free from blame. It is for her now to take care that the children of the late Maharaja, who are without reproach, be adequately and honourably provided for. Whatever may have been the terms of the treaty of 1849, in their interpretation of which the Govern-

ment was undoubtedly correct, the fact remains that Duleep Singh, whatever his origin, was still a ruling monarch whose kingdom was rightfully annexed by England, and the claims of his children must be decided not by mere considerations of economy and legal right, but generously and with due regard to the honour of the English nation.

Letter of Dr. Leitner to Sir Lepel Griffin.

I beg to send you the most striking of my recollections of Maharaja Dhulip Singh. They extend over twenty-four years and confirm our view that it is scarcely possible for a native of India to live in England as an Englishman, even under the most favourable conditions, without injury to his character and influence. They may also incidentally show that if it was wise first to denationalize him, it became necessary afterwards to stop him at Aden. They will further throw a side-light on the feelings with which he was regarded by Russians, if not by the Sikhs.

In 1869 I was astounded by Sirdar Thákur Singh Sindhanwalia, the hereditary foe of Ranjit Singh's family, asking me to be the bearer of a complimentary letter and of some trifling presents to his distant relative Dhulip, whilst on short leave to England. Dhulip Singh, the picture of an English country-gentleman, called on me, and, without any solicitation on my part, offered to subscribe a thousand Rupees annually to the Panjab University which I was then engaged in founding with you, "*provided the Bible was taught in it.*" As the Institution in question was undenominational and mainly intended for the promotion of secular Oriental learning, the offer had to be refused, though it was re-iterated by the Maharaja "in order to spread the Gospel among his benighted fellow-countrymen."

In 1876 I was in a waiting-room at the Strassburg Railway Station. A party of Russian Officers rushed in eagerly discussing Indian Affairs and, before I had time to make my presence known and to leave, I heard

them express "regret that Maharaja Dhulip Singh was such a good Christian, as he was thereby utterly lost to Russian objects among the Sikhs."

That there were such objects of certain Russians, if not of Russia, may be inferred from a distinguished Russian Orientalist, who some years later visited me at Lahore and at whose service I had placed an English-knowing Sikh as Cicerone to Amritsar, requesting the latter to furnish him with those songs in which the Sikhs were supposed still to wish for the return of the glorious reign of Ranjit Singh. My Sikh was horrified at the request and the *savant* departed *rê infecté*.

At the beginning of 1884, whilst on leave in England, Dhulip Singh asked me to see him at his rooms in London in order, *mirabile dictu*, to get my opinion as to an Opera which he was then composing. I heard a portion of it, but did not feel that I was competent to say more than that it was very different from the minstrelsy of any of the Sikh Gurus. He then informed me that a family-priest had come over to England to teach him the Sikh faith and he handed to me a printed book on his grievances. Opening it at random I saw a claim to the private property of Ranjit Singh far exceeding the total amount of the revenue of the whole province, for which Lord Dalhousie had thought it worth while to annex the Panjab. I told this to the Maharaja and also that I had been at Gujranwala and knew that Ranjit Singh's property had never been anything like what he stated. He said, alas! that he was in the hands of "good Lawyers" who were preparing his case, I believe by personal inspection of the property in question. He thought that "according to Sikh ideas, a king could do no wrong." I pointed out that this was a feudal *European* notion and utterly opposed to the republican constitution of the Sikh Khalsa, of which Ranjit Singh was merely the highest executive Officer and, I added, without any *arrière-pensée*, that the strength of the Sikhs consisted in their loyalty to the British Government, when he explained that

they were. above all, attached to Ranjit Singh's family. He wished to live as a private gentleman at Delhi, but I ventured to strongly dissuade him from such a course.

Shortly after, I had occasion to reprimand certain Punjabi Students who *would* call on "His *Majesty* the Maharaja Dhulip Singh," instead of studying and who joined a Meeting at an Indian Club at which it was announced that he would invade the Panjab *next year* with a Russian Army! They were encouraged by one of those English meddlers, who spoil Indians in this country.

In 1885, on my return to India, I met a party of fine-looking simple-minded Sikh peasants who had a case at the Chief Court at Lahore. They asked me when Dhulip Singh was coming to the Panjab and were sure that in that event taxes and cow-killing would be abolished. The native papers, as a rule, sympathized with him, for he had grievances and a name and had not yet published his seditious proclamation. (See Extracts from native papers in the *Civil and Military Gazette*.)

In 1886 the Indian Government, suspecting him to have prompted an anonymous seditious proclamation in the Panjab, stopped him at Aden, when on his way to India.* (See Simla Telegram in the *Times* of Sept. 8, 1886.)

1887 and 1888 the Maharaja devoted to his Russian plans.†

* The following telegram appeared in the *Times* of July 5th, 1886.—*Ed. A. Q. R.* :

"The Maharajah Dhulip Singh has written an extraordinary letter to the *Times of India*. He begins by saying that before quitting England the Indian Government offered him £50,000 provided that he promised never to return to India. He declined, adding that he would not accept £500,000. His health having broken down, owing to his residence at Aden, he is going back to drink the German waters. But although prevented from reaching Bombay, he goes on to say, other roads remain. When he returns, he can land at Goa or Pondicherry, or enter the Panjab through Russia.

"In the latter event he supposes that the whole Indian army would be sent to resist him. The Indian taxpayers, he adds, will be glad to hear that he has resigned the miserable stipend paid under the iniquitous treaty of annexation. When restored to health, he hopes to appeal for pecuniary aid to the Oriental liberality of his brother Princes and of the people of India. If, however, this Government should veto their generous impulses, he will transfer his allegiance to some other European Power, which will doubtless provide him with maintenance."

† The following telegram appeared in the *Times* of Monday, January 9th, 1888.—*Ed. :*

Paris, Jan. 8th.

I am authorised to publish the following letters, the originals of which are in my hands, addressed by Dhulip Singh to one of his friends. However unimportant the

In 1889 the public proclamation of Dhulip Singh to the natives of India destroyed any chances that he might ever have had. owing to its European melodramatic tone and its suicidal half-knowledge of the very native feeling to which he appealed.* He received an indignant disclaimer from the Sikh Khalsa and the Sikhs generally, who rightly consider themselves as a bulwark in the Punjab against all aggression on British rule.

writer may now be, they are curious productions and contain passages which deserve to be known, especially by the English Public. As they were despatched from Russia, it may be presumed that the writer counted on their being perused by vigilant Russian Officials before they were sent off, and that he thus wished to convey assurances of devotion to the Czar :—

“Hotel Billo, Moscow, Oct. 28th, 1887.

“Monsieur le Comte,—I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst., and return you my best thanks for it. It is very pleasing to make the acquaintance of one who hates the English as much as I do. I much regret to inform you that the President of your great Republic did not behave courteously towards me, as M. Grévy has not up to the present sent me a reply to a letter I addressed him asking for French protection, so as to enable me to reside at Pondicherry, some months before I quitted Paris.

“But that now matters very little, as my destiny has brought me to the feet of my Sovereign the Emperor of Russia, whom I am prepared to serve with my life should he ever desire to employ me in his service. Thanking you from my heart for your kind sympathy towards my countrymen, whom I hope one of these days to deliver as predicted of me in a prophecy written in the year 1725 by the last religious teacher of the Sikhs.

“I remain your faithful DULEEP SINGH,

“Sovereign of the Sikh nation and proud, implacable foe of England.”

“Moscow, Nov. 4, 1887.

“Monsieur le Comte,—I have again to thank you for another kind letter. My knowledge of French is very limited, or with sincere thanks I would accept the book which you kindly offer to present me with. I have only one *true* private friend in Paris, but I am not at liberty to disclose his name without his authority. However, I will write to him and if he thinks proper (of which I have no doubt) he will communicate with you. I am really most grateful to you for all the kindness you express towards and the interest you evince in me. May God reward you for desiring to help an almost friendless man. Again thanking you from my heart,

“I remain your most grateful DULEEP SINGH,

“Sovereign of the Sikh nation and proud, implacable foe of England.”

* THE PROCLAMATION OF DHULIP SINGH.

The following Calcutta Telegram also appears in the *Times* of August 5, 1889.—*Ed.* :

“An appeal by the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh of an extraordinary character, addressed to the natives of India is published in the Press. In prevision of the future and as his Royal decree, he demands a monthly subscription of one pice from each of the 250,000,000, but from each in the Punjab one anna. The public debt of India is (in this document) repudiated; the payment of taxes is forbidden, cow-killing is prohibited, prisoners are to be released, and all persons who have suffered tyranny and injustice, caused by the British Government are to be reinstated in their rights. He purposes entering India with a European army with the material support of Russia.”

Last year, Baron Textor de Ravisi surprised me by bringing the Maharaja to my rooms in the Hôtel de Choiseul in Paris. His Highness moved with difficulty and seemed very contrite. He said: "I have left your God and He has humbled me to the dust. I praise His holy name. I was never so happy as when I lived on a few francs at a Russian Hôtel." I suggested that, according to Indian notions, a Fakir was the only equal of a King and therefore as he could not be the latter, he had still greatness open to him as a true Fakir. He then made numerous Biblical allusions, but he never implied that he had left Sikhism.

The Baron, however, assures me that he had since, more fervently than before, embraced Christianity in its Anglican State-form.

The Maharaja, before his death, also expressed, or rather re-iterated, the most profound loyalty to Her Majesty and veneration for the Prince of Wales, which the Baron communicated to the British Ambassador at Paris. The photograph, which I have made over for reproduction to the "Asiatic Quarterly Review," is supposed to represent him as the "King of the Sikhs" and was given to the Baron in 1889, when the Maharaja was still "the proud implacable foe of England." It seems, however, to be like the one that was taken of him many years ago in the costume in which he was a welcome visitor at great Court functions in this country. As the Baron's account cannot fail to be interesting to his friends in Europe, if not to his fellow-countrymen in the Panjab, I beg to add it here :

Letter from Baron Textor de Ravisi to Dr. Leitner.

"My unfortunate and illustrious friend died at Paris at the Hôtel de la Trémouille on the 22nd Oct., 1893, a Sunday, the day of the obsequies of Marshal MacMahon. The Maharaja *suddenly* succumbed to the effects of a hemiplegia; his health, however, had already been very

weak before. The Maharani Ada had gone to London with Prince Frederick for a few days and Prince Victor had left for Berlin. They learned the fatal event by Telegraph. The Maharaja did not foresee his end and died unconscious. On the 24th the body was embalmed and on the 26th the widow and the children took the train to Calais in order to bury the body at Elvedon. The English Embassy here arranged the necessary formalities.

Death had given a youthful appearance to the fine features of the Maharaja and he closely resembled the Photograph taken in 1889 which he had given me and which I now send you, except that his black hair and beard had become white. This Photograph is the last portrait of Dhulip Singh and he appears in it in his grand Royal costume—notice that amongst the decorations and diamonds on his breast, the portrait of Queen Victoria takes the place of the famous Koh-i-noor, which had been ceded to Her Majesty by the Treaty of Lahore.

After his mother, the Rani Jhinda, Dhulip Singh most loved and venerated Queen Victoria. He completely separated Her name from that of Her Government. He often told me: "In all my disputes with, and revolts against, the British Government, my great preoccupation has always been the pain which it might give to Queen Victoria. The fatality of the necessities of my position and of my duties to my people, compelled me to act as I did." He added: "If I die in a state of consciousness I will say or write this, but if I die unconscious, may it be told Her, how great was my veneration for Her and how profound my regret at the pain which I have caused Her."

I accordingly reported this to the British Ambassador in Paris for transmission to Her Majesty. I also informed him of the high esteem and respectful friendship which the Maharaja publicly professed for H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, "his kind and amiable companion when he arrived in England."

You wish to know in what religion the Maharaja died.

On the 8th of March, 1853, he was initiated into the mysteries of the Christian religion by Dr. Login, but he had never taken this initiation seriously. He preferred, until lately, the "GRANTH" to the Bible and to the Koran. Last year he told me formally : "*the Truth is in the Bible.* If I die conscious, I will have my hand on the Bible. If I die unconscious, I wish to be buried according to the Protestant Anglican rite, the State-religion." This also I naturally reported to the British Ambassador.

The Maharaja honoured me with his friendship as a private individual. With General Count Carrole de Tévis he spoke about the affairs of India, for the General was to be to him what General Allard had been to his father, Ranjit Singh. I greatly appreciated the good heart and high intellect, as also the fatalistic resignation of Maharaja Dhulip Singh.

I can therefore not speak of the Sovereign, the ward of England, whom she dethroned ; of the treaties of Bhyrowal and Lahore, or of the Manifestos of the dethroned rebel or claimant, but I have known him during his stay in Paris and was a witness of his second marriage and of the sale of some of his jewels, one fortune and the other misfortune.

"I marry," he said, "Miss Ada Douglas Wetherill, *because* she is *English* ; she will be the sister and the second mother of my first children." The Civil marriage took place at the Mairie of the second Arrondissement of Paris. The Maharaja gave his arm to my wife and Miss Ada took mine. The other three witnesses were Count de Tévis, Dr. de Cyon, a Councillor of His Majesty the Tsar, and Monsieur Pelletier whom he had known in Russia. Princess Ada had the courage to be present *incognito* at the public sale of the Jewels of her husband. The cessation of the British indemnities had placed the once-opulent king of Lahore in a condition of real distress. When we returned, we found Dhulip Singh thoughtful, but resigned. He merely told his wife "this is one of the most humiliating and sad trials of my life ; may the will of God be blessed !" Indeed, this unfortunate

Prince often told me : " God has raised me and God has humbled me. It was written. May His will be done ! " Dhulip Singh was very fond of the English individually and tried to imitate them as much as possible. All who showed an interest in him evoked his sympathetic gratitude. He naïvely confessed his astonishment that men who had such great personal qualities could *as a nation* be so thoroughly selfish and pitiless to others. Dhulip Singh used daily to brood for hours on the past and on the possibilities of the future. He had " vowed an implacable hatred to the Viceroy, Governors, Ministers and high Dignitaries generally of India and England, who, directly or indirectly, under pretexts born from their own handiwork, had despoiled the child of his Kingdom and had persecuted the dethroned King." A certain native superstition prevented him from naming them, except mentally, but, all his life, he followed their luck or ill-luck, to themselves or to their belongings, with incessant attention. " God is just ; all human accounts will be settled by Him either in this world or the next." Yet his kind and magnanimous disposition, aided by religion, made him say often : " In dying, I will forgive them *all*, so that God may forgive me the wrong I have done." *Per contra*, he liked to remember and pronounce the names of those who had rendered him services or who had shown him friendship and sympathy. I regret that I cannot cite them. To me they were strangers and my memory has not retained their names. The Maharaja often mentioned you as the founder of many educational institutions in his country, the languages of which you spoke and wrote so well and the customs, religions and views of which you knew better than anyone else. Above all, you loved the natives and wished them to be governed, but not oppressed.

Dhulip Singh daily read several leading journals and kept the principal reviews of India, England and France. He was as well-read as he was modest. He carefully concealed his science as something too private to be made known. He spoke several languages and read the Bible in

Hebrew and Latin. He often enquired into the labours of our learned societies, took an interest in our International Congress of Orientalists, attended the lectures of travellers like J. Dupuis, the explorer of the Red River who induced France to conquer Annam and Tonkin. He specially attended when at the Indo-Chinese Society I enlarged on the appropriateness of an amicable understanding between France and England for the constitution of a political equilibrium in Indo-China by a Buffer-State, formed of Shan and Laotian States under the Prince Mingun Min of Burma. He objected: "What becomes of China in this plan? If, in the extreme East, the beginning of wisdom is the fear of England, the end of wisdom ought to be the fear of China."

I have no doubt that the supreme wish of Dhulip Singh will be fulfilled. It was: "May England be merciful and generous to my wife and children; they are truly English and are, therefore, incapable of causing the least umbrage or of claiming the sovereignty of the Panjab."

The benevolent reception which Dhulip Singh met in Russia was accorded to the unhappy monarch, not to the Sikh claimant. Nor did he expect more. He knew, in fact, that Russia could not be expected to intervene between him and England or provoke an agitation in his favour among his subjects. He said: "Whenever Russia will think the hour come, she will descend on India to drive out the English, not to take their place, but to establish Federations of Indian States bound to her by Treaties of friendship and commerce." On that subject too he used to dream, when wide-awake, *morce suo*. As an instance he one day told me laughingly: "I am dreaming of a Triple Alliance composed of England, France and Russia, with well-defined satisfactions to their respective ambitions, stopping only at the limits of unnecessary encroachments on the respective three allies."—"And what would be your place in this Triplicity?"—"Oh, I still remained the dethroned, but the income of my father's property was restored as also the payment of my stipulated indemnities."

Dhulip Singh often repeated that France was for him "the good and classic ground of hospitality to all misfortunes, great and small, where he had been most free and where fewest had meddled in his affairs." He had a high regard for M. Carnot and was astonished that our political changes of Ministry brought about no internal or external disorder and were so readily accepted by public opinion.

By philosophy and religion, Dhulip Singh rose from fatalism to resignation. His main characteristics were kindness, generosity and sweetness of disposition. His will was tenacious *in re*, though mild *in modo*, but all his life he was obliged to yield, seeing that the only sanction to his will was the voluntary respect due to a great misfortune. The Princess Ada was the devoted companion of his exile, endeavouring to distract his sorrow, to interest him in his family and yet not to hide from him the hopelessness of re-ascending the throne of Lahore. She carefully watched over her children and is as kind as she is beautiful."

The story of Dhulip Singh's first conversion to Christianity is thus told by a former resident at Fatahgarh: "The three boys, Tommy Scott, Duleep Singh and another were playing together and got very hot. The two English lads then drank water out of a Lotah, but refused to give it to the little Maharaja, as doing so would spoil his caste. Thirsty Duleep Singh, however, said that he must have his drink and would become a Christian. So he drank out of the Lotah which the other boys had used and ran into the house announcing his change of religion. Duleep Singh's cousin, however, remained a Sikh, for he was in charge of female relatives who looked carefully after him."

To judge from Dhulip Singh's letters to his friends in England when he was on a visit to India in 1864, he had a great dislike to the natives of that Continent.—ED.

AN INVERTEBRATE VICEROYALTY.

'Tis not in mortals to command success ; and in that respect, the outgoing Viceroy has only shared the common lot of mortals. Has he deserved success ? That is a question that is perhaps worth considering for a few moments, before finally closing the book on an uninspiring chapter of Indian history.

We believe the answer to that question would be emphatically in the affirmative, if amiability of disposition, urbanity of manner, and rectitude of personal character, were the only qualities required for a great Viceroy. Simla's farewell to Lord Lansdowne is, beyond all question, one of unfeigned admiration and regret.

But Simla is not India. Simla opinion becomes every year less and less representative of Indian opinion. Indeed, the tendency at present seems to be, for Simla opinion to come more and more into actual conflict with Indian opinion, as its bureaucratic aristocracy grows larger and its bureaucratic exclusiveness more marked. In the Services, those whom Simla loves become the "curled darlings" of the Secretariats, and rise to be themselves Secretaries, and even Members of Council and Lieutenant-Governors. But they are not the men whom one would like to have at the head of one's Province, still less of one's district, in times of disorder and danger ; and no one would accuse them of being in touch either with the people, or with the "grunting and sweating" rank-and-file of the Services down in the plains. One feels instinctively that they can bring about a Manipur massacre or abolish trial by jury, with equal grace and lightheartedness, in the intervals of an Annandale Gymkhana, or while engaged in the pleasant process of calling for "more Reports" from the grunTERS and sweaters aforesaid. But one would hardly wish for them when actual tough work has to be done ; for that, Simla has unfitted them.

And so it may be with Viceroys. At Simla, the Viceroy is his own golden image. The air there is always laden with the soft and captivating notes of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, *Pioneer, Civil and Military Gazette*, and all kinds of sweet official music ; and whoso at the sound of that pleasant music falleth not down and worshipping, is the same hour cast into the midst of a burning fiery district in the plains. The Great Panjandrum of a huge and powerful organization for Mutual Adulation of this sort is about as badly placed, for learning real facts and forming just conclusions, as any man can well be. By locating him at Simla, we do our level best to make it impossible for any Viceroy to be an efficient ruler. And in such circumstances, amiability of temper is one of the most dangerous of snares. From the top of Jacko down to the cart-road, and from Mashobra on the one side to Jutogh on the other, there is not a soul who is not incessantly hymning soft Lydian measures to the Presence, and assuring the king that he will live for ever, and his every enemy be scattered before him.

Simla, then, has been a large factor in Lord Lansdowne's failure—and his own too credulous amiability has been another. But it must be admitted that he has been exceptionally unlucky. Even in his luck he has been unlucky, paradoxical as that may sound ; for he has had the luck to have no great Famine and no great War to face, and consequently the ill-luck not to be able to put all the blame on either of those two convenient and striking forms of catastrophe.

Then again, he has had the ill-luck to be tied up, during the greater part of his term of office, to the most hopeless Secretaries of State that have ever sat at the upper end of that dreadful telegraph-wire to meddle and muddle. Every one will remember, as every one sympathised with, the anger and scorn that breathed in every word of Sir John Gorst's famous Manipur speech in the House of Commons, at the fussy incapacity ruling in Whitehall. Poor Lord

Cross suffered from a curious disease—Bradlaugh on the brain; and if all the secrets of the Viceregal telegraph cipher were known to the world, it is pretty safe to prophesy that the world would be less hard on Lord Lansdowne for many of his weaknesses and *faux pas*. How interesting, for instance, would be the complete text of the secret telegraphic correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy on the subject of Mrs. Grimwood's account of the Manipur disasters: and equally edifying would be the telegrams about the prosecution of the *Bangobashi* newspaper, about the affairs of Hyderabad or those of Kashmir, or about the Opium resolution, or the Cantonment Acts. At Simla it used to be said that the effect of the mildest question in the House of Commons was simply to utterly demoralise Lord Cross; and it must have been trying for the Viceroy, to have a master telegraphing to you continually from the other end of a cable, in a state of mind bordering on distraction, about every trivial Parliamentary interpellation and every resolution of a National Congress. Before the days of Mr. Panioty and Mr. Latimer, the idiotic system of administering India through the medium of telegraphic messages was happily tempered by the frequent and opportune loss of the cipher; but even that "counsel of despair" was closed to the Viceroy when he ceased to decipher his own despatches. He had to bear his "Cross" as best he could, and at times it must have been a weary and depressing load, enough to turn a stronger brain than Lord Lansdowne's. A Viceroy may be forgiven if he hardly rises to the heights of heroism, or feels himself up to the making of history, at a moment when he is being pestered with alternate threats and entreaties about a trumpery question in Parliament.

Then again, Lord Lansdowne was supremely unlucky—with some remarkable exceptions—in the instruments on whom he had to lean, both in the Council and in the Provinces. He had a splendid Commander-in-Chief, and had never any cause to give a moment's anxiety to the

affairs of either Bombay or Madras, where he was served (or let alone) with marked ability. But the Council does not consist only of a Commander-in-Chief; and in Bengal, and the other provinces more immediately subordinated to the Viceroy, and most of all in the Feudatory States, things have gone from bad to worse, as one "distinguished administrator" after another has been shed by Simla, and shot on to these convenient rubbish-heaps.

The true story of the Manipur disaster has yet to be written. The one fact, and one fact only, that was clearly brought out by the debate on the subject in the House of Commons, was, that the Government of India and the India Office were in league to strain every nerve to obscure the circumstances, and to render it impossible to apportion the blame. The task was obviously a most distasteful one to the straightforward and courageous Under-Secretary to whom it had to be entrusted; and the whole Press commented at the time on the heavy strain that had been imposed on loyalty and official discipline.

The egregious blundering that took place over the State prosecution, in Calcutta, of a Bengali newspaper, the *Bangobashi*, that had lashed itself into a fury over the controversies about the Age of Consent Bill, has now almost become ancient history. And the oblivion thus obtained would be the best possible ending of a foolish business, were it not for the fact that blunder has succeeded blunder in Bengal, with startling rapidity. The indecent interference of the executive power with the High Court and the judiciary—the ridiculous alternations of bounce and timidity in dealing with the Maimansingh scandal—the dissensions and discontent engendered in Behar by the ill-omened scheme of a Cadastral Survey—all these gross blunders, born of bureaucratic arrogance, and nurtured in administrative ineptitude, have been thrown into the shade by the monstrous indiscretions with which the Trial by Jury agitation in Bengal was first provoked and irritated, and then hushed up and submitted to. Apart altogether

from the intrinsic merits of the question, with which we are not concerned, it is obvious on the face of it that the misguided folly of the Government has resulted in the infliction of a severe blow on the prestige of British rule in India.

And then, what a spectacle we have in Upper India at this moment!—of British cavalry and artillery being marched up ~~and~~ down to over-awe a country, whose inhabitants only require reasonably fair, firm, and considerate treatment to be as peaceful and law-abiding as any in the world. A recent paper of singular ability in this *Review* has shown what ought to have been the attitude of the Government in the deplorable “cow-killing” riots. And this is what the *Civil and Military Gazette*, by no means an unfriendly critic, says of the signs of the times, resulting from the curious admixture of foolish provocation and timidity that has been in vogue of late :—

“We are reluctant to draw attention to anything ominous in the ‘signs of the times’ in India: but this alleged incendiarism at Peshawur, resulting in an immense loss of military stores, and the rumours of a similar outrage being intended at Rawul Pindi, must make the less confident among us pause and think whether these may not be sparks from the volcano, on the crust of which British rule and civilisation in India have been imposed. The riots at Bombay, the cow-killing agitation throughout India, the recrudescence of dacoity in Native States, the increase of violent crime in British provinces, the racial assault cases, the attempts to wreck trains in the north-west, the circulation of incendiary pamphlets—all these rise to the eye of the most casual observer as signs of unrest. It is not apparently an unrest which moves towards any definite object, but only a general uneasiness of the body politic which needs careful watching, lest it develop into an outbreak of serious disease.”

And only a day or two ago the *Times* Calcutta correspondent, telegraphing on Dec. 3, writes as follows :—

“A somewhat serious skirmish between the police and dacoits has taken place in the Budaon district of the North-West Provinces, and 50 men of the 2nd Bengal Lancers have been sent from Bareilly to help in maintaining order. The increasing audacity of gangs of robbers in some parts of Upper India is one more sign of the feeling of unrest which is so prevalent just now.”

In Kashmir, and again in Khelat, we have recently been treated to actual *coups-d'état* or revolutions. In Hyderabad, in Bhopál, and elsewhere, we have indications continually

cropping up of that "spirit of unrest," of which the *Times* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, and probably many other papers, have spoken so strongly. The invertebrate policy of the Government, irritating and provocative as all weak policies always are, is producing its natural result.

Lord Roberts, in his fine speech the other day to the University of Edinburgh, rightly declared that our duty was, to "treat our fellow-subjects in India, and especially the Chiefs and Princes, with consideration and sympathy," and "to maintain our rights and fulfil our engagements." That spirit has been too much forgotten of late. We seem to have been watching rather for opportunities of showing a spirit exactly the opposite of this; and even now, we are sending out an Opium Commission, largely at the cost of the Indian revenues, to annoy Native feeling, and to threaten some of the most loyal of the Princes with confiscation of their revenues and impoverishment of their peoples. And for what?—to please a few fanatics, and win a few votes in the House of Commons! It may be pleaded that Lord Lansdowne cannot fairly be held responsible for this act of a Government to whose politics he is opposed. But on the other hand it may be doubted whether any Government would have forced such a disgrace on the Viceroy, if he had shown some determination, some nerve and backbone, in dealing with the weaknesses and timidities of a Secretary of State.

SENEX.

THE NEW VICEROY AND OUR INDIAN PROTECTORATE.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

LORD ELGIN goes out to India with unique opportunities. It is of course quite true that he will have to face many questions of immense gravity, as the East India Association pointed out to His Excellency in the remarkable address which they presented in November, and as the Viceroy Designate himself clearly recognises. He will have to undertake responsibilities of the first magnitude in attempting their solution. But he has, comparatively speaking, a free hand, such as none of his illustrious predecessors ever enjoyed. He is not compelled by the force of circumstances to devote himself to any one pre-ordained and all-absorbing task—such as that of keeping the people alive in the midst of certain famine, that of constructing and fortifying a defensible frontier, or that of annexing and pacifying a great and turbulent kingdom. The three terrible Fs. of Indian politics—Finance, Frontiers, Famine—though still powerful as ever in the way of causing anxiety to, and imposing vigilance on, the Viceroy—are to a certain extent provided for, so far as concerns all probable developments; and even if the necessity for dealing with any or all of them should recur, experience, carefully treasured and thought out, will be found to have made the way comparatively straight and easy. Such a situation, it is obvious, offers what I have ventured to term unique opportunities for the initiation and carrying through of great and far-reaching internal reforms. The Political Party to which Lord Elgin belongs ought, if there be any sincerity in its professions, strenuously to support him in this great task. Some of those reforms, that lie more immediately and directly before an incoming Viceroy, both in British India and in “the India of the Rájás,” have been frankly suggested by the address to which I have referred. In this

paper I propose to dwell for a moment on the suggestions that have been therein offered for improved relations between the Paramount Power and that part of India that is called by Mr. C. L. Tupper "Our Indian Protectorate."

The landmarks in the modern history of those relations are (1) the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 (the *Magna Charta* of India); and (2) the Proclamation of the Imperial style and title in 1877, accompanied by the establishment of a Council of the Empire, and the promulgation of an Imperial constitution for India, closely assimilated to that which had been adopted for the German Empire six years earlier. The relations between the British Power and the Native States were so entirely revolutionised by these two great events, that it is unnecessary, at this time of day, to go behind them, further than to remark that the Imperial constitution is based on the antecedent Treaties, as that of Germany was based on the Treaties of 1871.* And as that Imperial Constitution has been loyally and spontaneously accepted by the Native States, so it is absolutely binding on the Paramount Power. One of the tasks before Lord Elgin, and one well worthy of his best energies—*nodus vindice dignus*—is to respond to the good feeling of the Native States, by acknowledging, in an Imperial spirit, and with frank loyalty and spontaneity, the reciprocal duties of the British Government.

Moreover, the circumstances of the hour are favourable to such an enterprise from other points of view, besides the political condition of the Indian administration. Her Majesty the Queen Empress has shown, in various ways, keen interest in, and affection for, the various Indian dynasties connected with the Empire by ties of subordinate alliance; while the Prince of Wales, and other members of the Imperial House, have made no secret of their friendly feelings towards many of the Indian Princes. Lord Elgin himself has many advantages, of age, position, and training, that fit him admirably for the task of dealing with such a question; and possesses also, in Sir Mortimer Durand, a

* See Malletson's *The Re-founding of the German Empire*, last chapter.

Foreign Secretary young, able, and energetic, skilled in affairs, and having hereditary sympathies with the Indian dynasties.

It will probably be found that most, perhaps all, of the grievances of the Native States take their origin in survivals of the policy, or no policy, pursued towards them by the British Power in times antecedent to the Queen's Proclamation and the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown. That policy was described in caustic terms by Colonel Davidson, the Resident at Hyderabad under Lord Canning, who negotiated the Treaty of 1860 with the Nizam by which a portion of the "Assigned Districts" was restored to the Sovereign of the Deccan :—

"The policy the Honourable Company's Government pursued towards the Nizam ever since the Partition Treaty of 1817 after the termination of the Mahratta War, has been . . . completely one on their side of *sic volo sic jubeo*."

Colonel Davidson had already observed that—

"The wonder clearly is that . . . our claim did not render the Nizam hopelessly insolvent."

And elsewhere he wrote—

"I was present during the negotiations that took place in 1853 for the unreserved cession of the Berar districts to our Government, when General Low informed the Durbar, if so surrendered, he was authorised to cancel all our pecuniary demands on the Hyderabad State. I witnessed the objurgations and threats then used to induce the late Nizam to acquiesce in the Government proposals, similar, with slight modifications, to those now submitted to his successor for acceptance;* and I am satisfied his son has inherited all his father's aversion and dislike to part with the Berars, except under certain stipulations, to our Government."

Now, there can be no doubt whatever that, if the Imperial Government does its duty, and loyally accepts the altered conditions brought about by the two great events mentioned above, it must ever be as impossible for the Nizam, or any other Indian Prince, to be coerced by "objurgations and threats," as it would be for the King of Saxony or the King of Bavaria to be so coerced by the representatives of the Imperial German Power. That Colonel Davidson's description of the negotiations of 1853 was by no means unduly unfavourable to the Indian Government is amply shown by the Blue-Book of April 6, 1854, on the affairs of

* This refers to a demand for the complete cession of the Berars, as a condition of the Treaty of 1860, that was subsequently abandoned in favour of the existing arrangement — which, however, was hardly more in harmony with the wishes of the late Nizam.

Hyderabad ; and a perusal of that of May 17, 1866, shows that hardly more consideration would have been given to the late Nizam in 1860, if it had not been for the good feeling and high-mindedness of Colonel Davidson, who seems to have received scant thanks for his pains from his own Government.

Take, for instance, the allegation that is always put prominently forward by the supporters of Lord Dalhousie's policy in 1853, that—inasmuch as the cession, or temporary assignment, of the Berars was only demanded in order to provide for the punctual payment of the Hyderabad Contingent, just as the payment of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force had long before been provided for by the cession of the Ceded Districts of Madras—the Nizam might have avoided the cession by agreeing to disband the Contingent. This is what Colonel Low (afterwards Sir John Low), Lord Dalhousie's Resident, reported of his dealing with the Nizam on this particular point :—

“ His Highness here said, in an angry tone of voice, ‘ Suppose I were to declare that I don't want the Contingent at all ? ’ I answered him *instantly* by saying that I was quite prepared for that case, only that the removing of that force from His Highness's service must be done gradually, in order to preserve the good faith of the British Government towards those troops, which had been heretofore kept up for the advantage of the Hyderabad Government, first by his father's consent, and then by his own, for a long course of years, had been trained and disciplined and commanded by British Officers ; some years, I said, might perhaps elapse before all those men could either be otherwise provided for or discharged, as they might respectively merit, and that until the whole could be removed from His Highness's service, *we must still have command temporarily of districts for their regular payment.* ”

The words I have italicised show beyond dispute that it is a mere sham to pretend that the Nizam had the option of disbanding the Contingent instead of losing his territory. And at the last, the Minister Suraj-ul-Mulk (uncle of the first Sir Salar Jung) was distinctly told that British troops would occupy Hyderabad, and that two regiments were actually under orders to march from Poona, in case the assent of the Nizam were not forthcoming !

I have made these extracts from the Hyderabad Blue-Books, because it is notorious that the question of our forcible retention of the Berars has been the weak point of our Protectorate policy ever since the strenuous endeavours of

the late Sir Salar Jung to regain those districts in 1866, and again in 1876, and the liberal arrangements made by that clever Minister for guaranteeing from other sources the necessary payments for the Contingent, brought clearly before the public the undeniable fact that our general treatment of the Nizam has not been in accord with our professions.

Lord Canning, on November 19, 1860, when restoring to the Nizam the Raichore Doab and Dharaseo, distinctly instructed the Resident, Colonel Davidson, that the Government of India would not demand from the Nizam, even temporarily, more territory than would be fairly sufficient to meet the payment of this Contingent, and one or two other payments provided for by the Treaty of 1853. He wrote—

“His Excellency in Council is not disposed to accept territory yielding 35 lakhs a year, when the Nizam has already been told that we require only so much as will yield 32 lakhs.”

Yet at this moment the Berars, still held by us for this purpose, yield a gross revenue of over 102 lakhs! And if we had adhered to the understanding that our charges for administration should be at the rate then current in the Nizam's other dominions of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the gross collections, there would remain a net revenue of nearly 90 lakhs! Of course we pay back into the Nizam's treasury the annual surplus, now some 13 or 14 lakhs, that remains after all the huge expenditure on the administration, public works, etc., and all the stipulated payments have been made. Even this small obligation, obviously impossible to be long evaded, we did not fulfil for some years—as is shown by the letter of the late Sir Salar Jung, which I quote below. But it is not the loss of revenue so much as the loss of territory, and the consequent loss of prestige, that has always been so keenly felt and resented, both by the grandfather and by the father of the present Nizam, as well as by, it can hardly be doubted, His Highness himself.

That that resentment has not hitherto, so far as the public knows, been officially expressed by the present

Nizam, may be due to the fact that the late Sir Salar Jung was distinctly promised that the question might be reopened on the occasion of the coming of age of His Highness—and the latter doubtless is still awaiting the spontaneous fulfilment of this promise by our Government. The promise was the last resort of the Government, clearly worsted in argument.

For it seems to me absolutely impossible to defend the retention of the Berars, when the Nizam asks for their restoration, and is able to furnish other unquestioned security for the payments for which their revenues were to provide under the Treaties of 1853 and 1860. Over and over again, in the course of the various negotiations, have we been compelled to admit, in the fullest and amplest terms, that the Nizam's sovereignty over these districts—hard as we tried both in 1853 and in 1860 to frighten him into relinquishing all or some of it—has throughout been maintained intact; and that we only administer them as a “trust” for him, simply to secure these payments, and for no other purpose whatever. I believe this was very generally felt and acknowledged in official circles, in 1876 and again in 1881, when the late Sir Salar Jung was pressing the Nizam's claims upon us, both in India and at home. With some knowledge of the facts, I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion that the rendition would at that time have been carried out, if it had not unfortunately happened that the just claims of the Nizam had been obscured by the violent and utterly ridiculous and unwarrantable language of some of Sir Salar Jung's supporters in the Press—and perhaps to some extent by the somewhat exaggerated pretensions of that most able and loyal Minister himself. The heat and acrimony of those unfortunate controversies have now happily passed into oblivion. The young Nizam has come of age, has been duly installed on the *masnad*, and is said to be proving himself a capable and intelligent ruler. He has given the most substantial proofs of his loyalty to the

Paramount Power ; everyone will remember the enthusiasm with which His Highness's letter to Lord Dufferin at the time of the Penjdeh affair was received in England—in which he offered not only a liberal contribution for frontier defence in money, but, what was far better, “his own sword if need be.” In 1860, Lord Canning gave back to His Highness's father the administration of the Raichore Doab and Dharaseo, that had formed a part of the territory ceded in 1853 ; and I have seen, by personal observation, that the administration of the Raichore Doab will compare not unfavourably with our own administration in the neighbouring British districts. Lord Elgin may well claim the privilege of completing the act of justice commenced by Lord Canning in 1860.

It will be seen that the reason alleged by Sir Salar Jung why, in 1866, he dared to put forward claims that he might have been afraid to speak of at an earlier period, was, that the Queen's Proclamation had inaugurated a new era in our relations with the Native Powers of India. Here are two extracts from Sir Salar's letter, addressed to the British Resident on October 27, 1866 :—

From Salar Jung, Minister of His Highness the Nizam, to Sir George Yule, C.B., K.C.S.I., Resident at Hyderabad.—(No. 18), dated Hyderabad, 27th October 1866.

MY DEAR SIR GEORGE YULE,—I am very reluctant to trouble you and the Government of India with this letter, but circumstances and the repeated inquiries of His Highness the Nizam on the subject render it necessary for me to do so.

2. You are aware from the correspondence on record in your office of the great difficulty with which His Highness the late Nizam was persuaded to assign Berar to the British Government in 1853. The British Government, in the first instance, desired the districts should be ceded in perpetuity, to which His Highness would not consent, and it was only to prevent the unpleasantness inseparable from pecuniary transactions between the two Governments, and the assurances of General Low that the assignment would be just the same thing as giving districts into the charge of Arab or other Jemadars, that His Highness was prevailed upon to accede to the measure, expecting that he would derive considerable benefit by it. Accordingly, the terms of the Treaty required accounts to be furnished yearly, and the surplus to be paid to His Highness ; but it is well known that neither of these conditions was fulfilled. In consequence of this, the Circular applied to the British Government for the restoration of districts held in excess of the amount required by Treaty, as well as the accounts and surplus which may have accumulated during this period. The districts of Raichoor, etc., were restored, but no surplus was paid, nor any accounts rendered ; but as the British Government gave up the claim of 50 lakhs against the Nizam, His Highness could not with propriety press the demand, and therefore acceded to the supplemental Treaty of 1860, which dispensed with the accounts altogether for the “past, present, or future,” but rendered it obligatory on the British authorities to pay the surplus thereafter to His Highness, expecting that thence-

forward, at least, the surplus would be paid to him regularly. In this expectation, likewise the Circar has been disappointed up to this time, although six years have elapsed, and His Highness has not received a rupee of the surplus yet; and, if anything is paid hereafter, it can only be a small sum, considering our expectations and the very great expenditure allowed in Berar. I have no official data on which to speak, but I understand the revenues of the assigned districts have amounted to about 50 lakhs, 27 of which being appropriated to the purposes of the Treaty, the remaining 23 lakhs are absorbed in administrative establishments, public works, etc.; thus the latter expenditure is nearly eight annas on the rupee, about four times as much as was incurred on this account under our direct management. Berar is one of the most productive portions of His Highness's dominions, and the surplus revenues it is capable of yielding ought to be shared in by the less fortunate divisions of the country, and not appropriated exclusively for the benefit of Berar itself. This is more particularly felt at the present time, when the scarcity of corn presses so heavily on the people, and the urgent need of works of irrigation, etc., to extend cultivation is so manifest; and you are aware that these works are much more needed here than in Berar.

3. This Government has not the means of carrying out many administrative reforms, as you know. The civil establishments are very much underpaid, and to make them efficient, liberal salaries must be offered to attract men of ability and character. The police department also requires considerable outlay towards its efficiency, and in public works, such as cutcherries, works of irrigation, etc., not only are new works imperatively called for, but old ones stand much in need of repairs; and, to meet all these demands, considerable sums of money are required, which this Government in its present financial state cannot afford. Although the credit of this Government is pretty good with the capitalists of the country, as compared with former administrations, yet it cannot raise loans to be repaid at pleasure, as the British Government can do.

4. Under the circumstances above stated, it is but natural that His Highness should seek to have Berar restored to him, which has indeed been his desire all along, if satisfactory arrangements can be made for the payment of the Contingent, etc.

5. That such arrangements are practicable I beg leave now to submit, trusting my representations will meet with the same kind and liberal consideration from the British Government which this Circar has always experienced. . . .

* * * * *

16. As the British Government is now disposed to do strict justice to Indian rulers, and to carry out the spirit of Her Majesty's gracious Proclamation, the apprehension that claims of this nature would create annoyance and displeasure has been dissipated, and I am emboldened to bring forward these just claims, feeling assured that a generous consideration will be given them by His Excellency the Viceroy, and the districts will be restored to His Highness.

17. It may possibly be objected that the restoration of Berar to the Nizam would bring back the former misrule and disorder; but you may have observed that this has not been the case with regard to the restored districts of Raichoor, Dharaseo, etc., in which the system of administration under the British Government is continued in all its main features; and not only so, but the same system is being introduced into all the other districts under this Circar. In respect to Berar, also, there would be little or no change in the system pursued, and the native officials, trained to the work under British officers, would be either continued or sent into other districts to carry out the same system of administration.

18. I have received many kindnesses from the British Government, for which I feel a sincere attachment, and desire its welfare quite as much as I do that of my own Government; but His Excellency will perceive that it is only an act of justice for which I am now pleading, and I am sure the well-known generosity and sense of justice of His Excellency will pardon the intrusion on his time and attention.

Sir Salar Jung had full authority for his view that a new and more just and liberal policy towards Native Princes

had been definitely adopted by the British Government. For, more than three months before this letter was written, the present Lord Salisbury—then Lord Cranborne, M.P. for Stamford, and Secretary of State for India—had publicly used the following weighty words in a speech to his constituents at Stamford on July 12, 1866 :—

“Thirty years ago the predominant idea with many English statesmen was that our interest in India consisted in extending our territory to the largest possible extent. To that annexation policy the terrible disaster of the Mutiny of 1857 must to a large extent be ascribed. But as time has gone on, that desire of increased dominion which is the natural temptation of all powerful States has been overcome, and Statesmen of all Parties have arrived at the conclusion that we now hold in India pretty well as much as we can govern, and that we should be pursuing an unwise and dangerous policy if we tried to extend our borders, or to lessen the power or the permanence of those Native Rulers upon whose assistance we have so long relied. I believe the Native Princes were formerly the objects of jealousy and distrust to English rulers, but within the last ten years a great change has come over the spirit of our statesmanship in that respect ; and there is now, I think, a general desire to uphold them in the rights and honours which they justly earned by their loyal support at the time of the Mutiny, and to look upon them, not as impediments to our rule, but as its most useful auxiliaries.”

The East India Association, in its Address to Lord Elgin, pointed out that the noble and generous spirit, breathed in these words of our ex-Premier, was also displayed in the dealings of Lord Lytton's and Lord Ripon's Government with the State of Mysore. Though the conditions imposed on the Mahārājā of Mysore at the time of the Rendition erred much—as is now apparent—on the side of undue restrictions, yet it was apparent throughout those dealings that these restrictions were imposed, not to lower the dignity or hurt the feelings of the Prince, but to secure the good government of the people. A similar sense of justice was displayed by Lord Dufferin's Government, when it restored to the Mahārājā Sindhia of Gwalior the ancient fortress of Gwalior. Would not Lord Elgin do well to maintain and improve on these excellent traditions ?

Lord Salisbury's speech quoted above disposes entirely of the suggestion that we should incur any loss of real power or prestige by giving back to the Nizam what undoubtedly belongs to him ; and one is glad to observe that his lordship did not condescend even to notice the ignoble fear of the loss of patronage, which is generally said to be the real reason why we so persistently stick to wrong-doing.

In point of fact, the sole argument for the retention of the Berars that is worth a moment's consideration, is that which was frankly and honourably put forward by the *Times of India* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* at the time of the controversy with Sir Salar Jung. The *Times of India* thus wrote on September 19, 1881 :—

"The Lahore paper regrets that the Berar question is to be reopened. 'To discuss the restoration of Berar to the Nizam's Government is pure nonsense, it is highly immoral, the subject should be closed once and for all with a straightforward declaration that Berar, having so long enjoyed the advantages of English administration—having in short become to all intents and purposes a British Province—can never be allowed to fall again under Native rule. All this trifling of humanitarian statesmanship with what it is pleased to regard as Native "rights" creates vast mischief. It excites hopes which if realized would cause the relapse of large portions of India into barbarism. The humanitarian statesman is, in this instance at any rate, infinitely more dangerous than his rival, the Jingo. The latter, at all events, proceeds on the wholesome rule of the survival of the fittest; the former argues on principles which, if carried out to their conclusion, imply the equality of men and apes.'"

Now that is a perfectly plain and intelligible argument; and I have no doubt carried much weight at the time it was written. The British Government would indeed be in a cleft stick, if it had to choose between keeping what does not belong to it, or allowing "the relapse of large portions of India into barbarism." And to the two able and honourable journals that adopted this view, it was not so easy to answer it then as it is now. But surely, after our experience of the administration of the Raichore Doab by the Nizam's Government—and of that of the whole State of Mysore by the Mahārāja's Government—it would be simply silly nonsense at this time of day to talk about territories "lapsing into barbarism" merely because they are handed back to Native rule. Why, I have myself travelled in many of the most remote corners of the territories I have named; I have talked with all sorts and conditions of men there; and I have heard from *English* settlers there, both official and non-official, that they could not be better off under direct British rule. And this is well-known and admitted to be the general experience. And as to "lapsing into barbarism," let me quote the summary, published in the *Times* of Dec. 4th, of the speech of Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, K.C.S.I. to the Representative Assembly of Mysore

on Oct. 23rd last. Sir Sheshadri, himself one of the ablest administrators in India, is justly proud of the achievements of Native rule since the rendition—which is, of course, what he refers to when he compares the figures of to-day with the figures of “ten or eleven years ago.” Here is the *Times* summary :—

THE MYSORE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY.—The 13th meeting of the Representative Assembly of Mysore was held on the 23rd of October, when the Dewan, Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, delivered an address, from which the following extracts are taken. After quoting with gratification Lord Lansdowne's recent statement that “there is probably no State in India where the ruler and the ruled are on more satisfactory terms” than in Mysore, the Minister goes on to say that the past year was one of exceptional financial prosperity, the State revenue (excluding railways) having reached the unprecedented total of 165½ lakhs. In the last 10 or 11 years the revenue has increased by more than 60 per cent. The land revenue, which produces considerably more than half the total revenue, showed an increase alone of 16,49,000 rupees, of which about 3 lakhs were due to expansion of cultivation. The extent of lands under occupation increased from 5,685,162 acres in 1891-92 to 5,891,268 in 1892-93. The area brought under cultivation during the last 12 years has increased by 49 per cent., and the assessment by 31 per cent. Under the head of excise there is also a notable increase of 9,93,724 rupees, attributed to the greater consumption of spirits by men working on the gold fields. With regard to gold, the quantity extracted exceeded that of the previous year by 32,757 ounces, and the royalty to the Government increased by 71,673 rupees. Among the variety of subjects referred to in this address is the important subject of infant marriage, on which the Minister adopts what might be called an apologetic, or at least explanatory, tone. Legislation is contemplated on the subject, and a regulation has been drafted with the view of creating discussion on the subject. Sir Sheshadri Iyer says :—“The measure is in some quarters regarded as an undue interference with the liberty of the subject, but you are doubtless aware that the action of the Government in the matter is merely a response to the general sentiment of the country, which, we have reason to believe, demands the abolition, under the authority of the law, of certain usages which are as much opposed to the spirit of the Hindu Shastras as to the best interests of society.”

Now, if anyone were to be so foolish or so unjust as to talk at this time of day of territories “lapsing into barbarism” on being made over to Native rule, surely we might point to this marvellous record of prosperity and progress, and ask where in British India we can beat it ! No one could possibly be less inclined than myself to minimise, in any way or in any degree whatever, the glorious achievements of my own fellow-countrymen in India—they are, and must always be, the source of unbounded pride and gratification to every Englishman. But it is only a poor pride that can regard the belittling of the achievements of others as necessary to the proper appreciation of those of our own race. In Mysore City I have myself inspected a High-caste Girls' School of some

400 pupils, all ladies of some social position ; and I was then forced to admit that I had never seen such a clear indication of advanced civilisation and enlightenment in any city of British India. We have not yet attained to the point of having a " Representative Assembly " of the popular nature of that addressed by Sir Sheshadri Iyer. And I can bear personal testimony to the efficiency of the Famine-relief arrangements that were provided by the Nizam's Government, under the Nawáb Azam Yar Jang, in the Raichore Doab in 1892. It is clearly not a question of " lapsing into barbarism " ; it is a question of honourable and not unequally matched competition between Englishmen and Indians.

In this paper I have confined my remarks mainly to one particularly strong case for reform and redress in our Protectorate relations—that of our unjust retention of the Berars. I have alluded also to the hard measure meted out to the Mysore State in arranging the terms of the rendition. I see that Dr. Leitner, who is certainly not biased in favour of Kashmir, lends the weight of his great Frontier experience to complaints of our treatment of that Ally. These, and many other points that are pressed on the attention of the careful student of Indian affairs, cannot be dealt with at the fag-end of an article that has already grown too long. But the Viceroy has in his own hands, by a very wise and proper arrangement, the portfolio of " Foreign affairs "—that is, of our relations with the Indian Princes ; and all these things will come before His Excellency in due course, who will assuredly deal with them in the spirit of Jeremy Bentham's maxim, " Bad faith is always bad policy."

A UNIVERSITY FOR BURMA.

BY THE HON. MR. JUSTICE JARDINE.

First President of the Burma Board of Education.

THE demand of the Educational Board of Burma for incorporation as a University at Rangoon merits the notice of statesmen. It is one of a series of acts which, during the last decade or two, have embodied the aspirations of the Province towards completer institutions. There has been talk of a petition to get Burma created a Crown Colony, separated from India, as was done in the case of Singapore and the Straits Settlements. Many endeavours have been made by the mercantile and legal communities, backed by the highest officials, to obtain a local High Court, and so do away with the costly system of appeals to Calcutta. These proposals have however not met with popular enthusiasm or support; and it is doubtful whether they will be realised within measurable time. But the idea of a University has been hailed with favour by the people, if we may judge by the public meetings, held in the cities and large towns, to strengthen the hands of the Board of Education.

The immediate cause of the agitation was the reduction by the University of Calcutta, of the number of local centres of examination of candidates, against the advice of the Board and the Director of Government Education. There are but scanty means for forming a sound judgment whether the authorities in Bengal or those in Burma were in the right. The issue is, I think, immaterial, as the real causes of the movement are deeper and more interesting. They concern chiefly the two great educative agencies, the order of Burman Buddhist monks and the Christian missions: but they touch also the whole literary and technical development, and therefore must be studied along with the history of education in Burma. The Director of Education leads the new movement, in company with the Chief Justice, and my venerable friend, the learned Bishop Bigandet.

Buddhism differs from Brahmanism in its strong leanings to equality, its dislike of caste distinctions, its contempt for superstitions, and its opening the fountains of knowledge to all. According to all accounts the Buddhist monks, as common schoolmasters, have deserved well of the people. As in older Christendom, a boys' school was and is attached to every monastery. Thus when the State system of schools began, the officials found a fairly educated people, supporting an ancient and indigenous system of schools, in which not only the three R's, but also the national religion and morality were taught. Years ago it was shown by statistics that in matters of common schooling, Burma stood intermediate between Belgium and Austria. About the year 1720, the Pope sent Italian missionaries to Burma, who at once began starting schools of a most practical kind, including even technical classes. About a century later, the American Baptists, with the Judsons as pioneers, entered on the same field: and these two great agencies have ever since exercised a widening influence on the country. The Church of England and other denominations have also joined in the work with much success. The grant-in-aid system brought all the religious schools into line: and the results of this devoted labour were the same as in India. To supply the demand for higher education, schools began to turn into colleges; and questions arose which neither the University at Calcutta nor the local Government officials, could settle to the general satisfaction. At length about ten years ago Sir C. Bernard went the next stage, by creating the Educational Board to manage education. Thus officials, Buddhists, missionaries and others interested in learning were brought together at the same table. This Institution has worked ever since most successfully. It has conducted all the local examinations, including those for the Bar and the public service: dispensed the grants-in-aid; and established a college and a Free Library, full of learned and other books. As with the missionaries, so with the Buddhist monks: having

representation on the Board, the voluntary agencies have worked in most friendly agreement with the State ; while the quarrels between the religious and secular views of things, which have desolated Belgium and obtruded into the London School Board, have never been waged in Burma.

In the meantime the conquest of Upper Burma has disestablished the Buddhist Church, to which of course the people cling : and with the fall of ancient and venerated institutions, there arises a longing for others, new but stately. Hence a golden opportunity occurs for some statesman like Mountstuart Elphinstone of Bombay ; or those other rulers of India, who, in the very year of the Mutiny, created the older Universities. Some means must be found of upholding the general respect for the monastery schools ; and there will be need of tact and forbearance to induce the clergy to graft the science of the West on the religious morals of the East.

The missionaries and monks, having had a potent voice in all matters of education since the Board was started, feel more keenly than ever their exclusion from all direct influence over the University at Calcutta, from which Rangoon is 800 miles distant, involving a voyage of four days each way and great expense. This inconvenience is more felt by men living up country in the wilds. Distance alone would justify the University in refraining to appoint men in Burma to its Senate : and most of the missionaries and Buddhists in Burma will admit that they have no claim to meddle with affairs in Bengal, the two countries being so different in their development, races, languages, religions and habits. The Rev. John Marks, D.D., Warden of the Church of England College, a man foremost in all questions of education, has objected to the Bengali Baboos of the Calcutta Senate having anything to say to Burma. The Buddhist monks do not write to the newspapers, but their feelings and objections must be very much stronger. To the learned Buddhist, Pali is the

sacred language : it is also the source of the religion and morality taught to the children. But what can a Bengali Brahman care for Buddhism ? To him Sanskrit is like the chief wife or the first-born son, married or begotten from motives of duty. Pali, if he studies it at all, is only a second string to his bow. All Indian Literature, legal or philosophical, is imbued with Buddhism before the Burmans will adopt it. Again, the local and hardly known literature of the Burmans themselves, of the Talaings, the Shans and other tribes can only receive development in Burma : all that we know of it is due to monks and missionaries, and a few local scholars who have made Burma their own, like the late Dr. Forchhammer and Professor James Gray. I think the authorities ought to see to it, that the national feeling, which always surrounds the literature, is not ignored or treated with unlearned indifference. While the settled neutral policy of the British Government in the Indian Empire excludes it from active interference in matters religious, it is not required to be unsympathetic ; and if we may judge from the tenor of the literature issuing from the Mission presses, there is no desire in Burma to undervalue what the Buddhist teachers have done. Indeed I remember that it was through the kindly encouragement of a Christian missionary, that the monks were induced to attend the opening of the Library by Sir C. Bernard ; and most men of reflection think, that the religious influence is the only one, that can really deal with the prevalence of gambling and similar vices among the young. No statesman in Burma has yet advised that Buddhism should be left out in the cold : and a few monks or laymen of learning would add to the dignity of a Senate, as they do at present to the Board. The same principles apply to the Missionaries, they being as a class the pioneers of Western learning, and the men best acquainted with the daily control of colleges. They are without rival in their care of such backward races as the Karens : and from them more than from any other body, the impetus to the higher learning must come. How

greatly this is needed is a commonplace in the mouths of all, who know the general deficiency in medical or legal study, or the difficulty of getting competent hands to man the subordinate official service. There are hardly any Burman graduates in any Faculty.

If there were no Universities in Ireland, and degrees were given from London only, the local Catholics and Presbyterians being excluded from the Senate, we would have a parallel to the academical position of Burma. But the distances are greater between Bengal and Burma : and the peoples have different languages, creeds and characters. It would be more exact to imagine the higher education of Spain or Portugal, as being under the control of London. The questions raised now by the Board of Education are :— why should not the seven millions of Burma have a University of their own ? why should not the Burmans develop themselves and their learning in their own way ? The obstacle is not the want of money, as the Board report that the new departure will require no increased grant. A respectable minority is averse to the change : but the only published argument against it is the usual plea for delay, that the time has not yet come. This plea was used *ad nauseam* against even the present Board in its first lustrum : and was always met with the reply, that on the foundations of the Board, the University of the future, was being reared ; and to me at least, it seems suspicious, after the Board has been crowned with success, that the prophets of evil should so soon refurbish the arguments out of the old debates, in order to bind Burma more tightly to Bengal. They ignore the necessity which exists in Burma of having some great institution where the Burmans and the British, clerical and lay, official or non-official, may meet on terms of respect and esteem. For this purpose, as a long experience in the University of Bombay convinces me, there is nothing like a Republic of Letters.

THE LAST CENSUS OF INDIA (1891).

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.).

THE results of this important operation are now before the public in the form of a Parliamentary Bluebook of the modest dimensions of less than three hundred pages. In these narrow limits is contained a mass of information regarding the people of India, digested with admirable lucidity, and expounded in a style so attractive as to make even the driest details interesting. The following rapid survey takes note only of the salient points, for details the reader is referred to the report itself.

The first thing that strikes an old Indian official is the absence of any mention of opposition on the part of the natives. If this really means that no opposition was met with, it is very satisfactory as showing remarkable progress in appreciation of the objects of their rulers by the people at large. In 1871, when we took the first census that had any claim to be considered general, the most absurd rumours were rife. Children were to be killed to obtain their blood for this or that purpose, or were to be buried alive to ensure the stability of some public building; women were to be carried off as wives for the British soldiers; the whole population was to be forcibly converted to Christianity; and so forth. At the second census in 1881 there was less of this ignorant opposition, but even then the Sonthals were disquieted by idle rumours and it was necessary to take the census in their hills during the daytime when their women were sent away into the jungle, and a couple of regiments had to be promenaded through the district to ensure tranquillity. On the present occasion we hear nothing of such opposition, and the actual enumeration of the whole country took only four hours of the night of the 26th February. The results showing a total of about 287 million persons were compiled with such expedition and accuracy that they

were published within five weeks from the date of the census with a difference of only five persons in every thousand, or one-half per cent., from the finally corrected returns.

The actual figures for the total population are 287,223,431 or, including French and Portuguese possessions and some wild and frontier tracts estimated rather than actually counted, 289,187,316 or about one-fifth of the total population of the globe as at present computed. Of this total, 77 per cent. or 221,172,952 is the population of the territory under direct British rule, and 23 per cent. or 66,050,479 that of the feudatory and dependent States; a proportion which strikingly recalls old Ranjit Singh's prophecy, *sab lál ho jáegá* = it will all become red.*

Descending to provincial details we find the following figures :

1. Bengal	...	...	71,346,987	or 24·84 per cent. of all India.
2. N. W. Provinces and Oudh	46,905,085	„	16·33	„ „
3. Madras	...	...	35,630,440	„ 12·40 „ „
4. Panjab	...	...	20,866,847	„ 7·09 „ „
5. Bombay and Sindh	...	...	18,857,044	„ 6·56 „ „
6. Central Provinces	...	...	10,784,294	„ 3·75 „ „
7. Burmah	...	...	7,605,560	„ 2·66 „ „
8. Other Provinces†	...	...	9,176,695	„ 3·20 „ „

It may be interesting to note that Bengal, the largest of the provinces is equal in area to the whole United Kingdom with a second Scotland thrown in, and in population to the United States of America including Mexico. Madras equals in size Prussia and Saxony and in population those two kingdoms with Wurtemberg added. Bombay is as large and as populous as Spain, Holland and Norway, while the Panjab and Sindh are about equivalent to Austria-Hungary and the North West Provinces and Oudh to the German Empire.

In examining the distribution of the population the principal characteristic is its generally rural type. Large

* In most maps of India British possessions are coloured red.

† Assam, the Berars, Ajmer, Curg, Aden, Biluchistan, the Andamans, etc.

towns are few and far between, and the small weekly markets so common everywhere have prevented the rise of small towns. In England 53 per cent. of the population is found to reside in 182 towns of 20,000 inhabitants and upwards. In India there are 227 towns of that size, but only 4·84 per cent. of the people reside in them. In all this vast area there are only 28 towns with a population of more than 100,000. Including its numerous suburbs, the exclusion of which from its total is as absurd as it would be to exclude Southwark or Kensington from London, the metropolis Calcutta has 961,670 or very close on one million inhabitants. Bombay, the second city in the empire, has 821,764. No other town has more than half this population. In the rural areas the average number of persons to the square mile is for the whole of India 184, but this is the mean of a very wide range of figures. In northern Behar where the greatest density of population exists, as many as 930 to the square mile (Saran district) and in upper Burmah as few as 4 (Khyndwin) are found. There does not seem to be any tendency on the part of the rural population to migrate into towns. The cultivator is intensely attached to his native village and even when compelled to leave it for a time in search of a livelihood, he invariably returns there as soon as possible. The ordinary habits and customs of daily life are to a Hindu matters of religion, and it is only in a village that he can find the open air and space which his habits require. Even his towns are more like large villages than towns. It is not probable that for a long time to come there will be any great migration of the people. Only a very few districts are as yet at all congested, and even in them all efforts to induce the people to migrate have utterly failed. Moreover although the tendency of British administration is to protect life against conditions inimical to it—war, famine and sickness; and although the number of children annually born is very large, still the resources of the country are so enormous, and with the exception of agriculture, as yet so

little explored, that it seems probable that the soil will be able for a long time to come to support the population.

With regard to the occupations of the people some difficulty was experienced in obtaining accurate information. One fact however stands out prominently. Persons occupied in owning, farming, and cultivating, land amount to 62 per cent. or nearly two-thirds of the total population. Another significant fact is that persons who have property which makes it unnecessary for them to work for their bread amount only to 193,291 or less than one-twentieth per cent. It is the absence of a cultivated and leisured class that retards the development of the country. As however the figures under this head are admittedly imperfect it will perhaps be better not to attempt to draw inferences from them. We pass to what will be to many the most interesting section of the Report—the ethnographical distribution of the people. This is treated under the three great heads of Language, Religion, and Caste. Under the first head the figures are not quite complete, and where there are so very many dialects it is impossible to expect that ignorant enumerators should in all cases return them correctly, or that the Superintendents of Provinces though highly-educated gentlemen should have studied the science of Philology sufficiently to enable them to discriminate the mass of languages and dialects accurately. The list of languages comprises 80 in all, but this includes European languages as English, French, and German, and any language spoken by travellers, or temporary residents. There are also many inaccuracies in classification, as where Marwari which is a mere dialect of Hindi is returned as a separate language, or Urdu as a distinct language from Hindi. But perhaps a really scientific classification could only be expected from trained philologists. As the figures stand Hindi is *facile princeps* in Indian languages being spoken by 89 millions. Bengali comes next with 41 millions; next, *longo intervallo* are Telugu with 19 and Marathi with 18, millions respectively. On the whole this section of the report is the least satisfactory of the work.

Under the head of religion the principal fact is that more than 72 per cent. of the population call themselves Hindus. What Hinduism is is difficult to say and the difficulty is not much diminished by the remarks in the report. It is at any rate far from correct to describe it as "primarily and historically the antithesis of Islam," Hinduism in almost its present shape certainly existed in full force before a single Muslim trod the shores of India; Muhamad Kasim found it in Sindh on his first expedition very much in the same form as that in which it exists at the present day. But a census report is hardly the proper place for discussing the origin and development of a vast and complicated religious system. After the 207 millions of Hindus, come next in number 57 million Musulmans, 9 million wild tribes professing religions grouped under the not very intelligible or suitable title of Animism, 7 million Buddhists, nearly 2 million Sikhs, a million and a half of Jains, and upwards of 2 million Christians, more than half of whom are Roman Catholics. Of the Musulmans who number about one fifth of the whole population, a large majority are converted Hindus, for the process of conversion which began with the first Mahomedan invasions is still at work in Eastern Bengal and probably in other provinces also. So steadily and continuously has this process gone on that in the present census the Musulmans in Bengal amount to 23 millions out of 71, or about one third, and in the eastern districts they are considerably more than half the population. A more varied and generous diet, the absence of child marriages, and of prohibition of widow-marriage, combine to promote longevity and fecundity and it is therefore not surprising to find that the growth of the population is abnormally rapid among this class. The Panjab comes next in order of Musalman population, with 11 millions or a little more than half the provincial total. In Kashmir also they number more than half, but in all other parts of India they form a very small minority. Of the seven millions of Buddhists six and nine-tenths are of course in

Burmah; of the two million Christians one and three quarters are in Madras and about 200,000 in Bengal, while Bombay has 161,770 and Burmah 120,768. The Christian population, however, includes 247,790 or more than one-tenth of Europeans and Eurasians, leaving in round numbers two million native converts.

In considering the question of caste the census Commissioner has not been able to avoid the temptation of theorizing on so fascinating a subject, with the result that it is not very easy without protracted study to make out what principle has been followed in the Census. The confusion between a man's caste and his actual occupation which troubled us so much in former census-taking is here still further complicated by an artificial division called "functional classification" under which Rajputs appear in the amazing position of "A, Agricultural and Pastoral. I. Military and Dominant," and Brahmans as a caste disappear altogether, with the exception of some 14 million entered as Priests which can be only a very small portion of this numerous and pre-eminent caste. In fact by this ill-judged manner of treating the subject, the figures for caste come to be little more than those for occupation somewhat differently arranged, and this chapter of the report reads like a condensation from the various provincial reports made without sufficient knowledge of the subject. There are many assertions which if taken literally can only be considered as absolute errors, while there are others which without some explanation are unintelligible to anyone who has lived long in India and knows the people well.

Another chapter is devoted to education. From it we learn that twelve millions can read and write, while 3 millions are learning, and 246 millions are entirely illiterate. Those who are distressed by these figures may derive some comfort from learning that in the Census of 1881 the illiterates were 95·20 per cent. whereas now they are only 94·44 an increase of ·76 or 21 millions. This is something though not perhaps very much. The Census Com-

missioner is, however, in error as regards the education imparted at village schools, which he says does not include reading or writing but merely the learning by heart of portions of the Kuran or of Hindu Scriptures. The real fact is that in the open-air village *páth-sálas* or schools by whatever name locally known, reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic—the “three R’s” in fact—are very efficiently taught, and are not, as Mr. Baines asserts, forgotten in after-life.

Of the 15 millions who are returned as “literate” and “learning,” approximately three quarters of a million only are females. Small as this proportion is, it is nevertheless an increase, upon the last census, of about one in a thousand ; for whereas in 1881 four females in every thousand were literate or learning, there are now six. Among the higher castes in Bengal, and among the Parsis, instances are now not uncommon of ladies being not merely taught, but highly educated ; and both races can boast of really talented authoresses. These are only small beginnings, but they are full of hope ;

“A beam in darkness, let it grow.”

The entire number of natives returned as knowing English is only 386,000 and this includes schoolboys. Only 4 per cent. of these reach the Universities and the results of the University examinations still further reduce the number. It is startling to find that of every hundred students who presented themselves for Matriculation at the three great Universities 52 failed in Calcutta, 73 in Madras and 74 in Bombay. Of the small proportion that succeed in getting in, 34 per cent. in Calcutta, 26 per cent. in Madras and 51 in Bombay failed to graduate. As a result the really educated population amounts to 213 thousand out of 287 millions, or less than one in a thousand.

There are many other interesting topics suggested by the census figures such as those of the proportions of the sexes, marriage, female infanticide and the like, but over all these subjects there hovers an uncertainty as to the

accuracy of the figures which deprives them of much of their value. Undoubtedly among many sections of the population there is a strong tendency to conceal all matters relating to their females, while among others a contemptuous carelessness leads to incorrect returns. It is disappointing not to have clearer light on the extent to which polygamy, polyandry, the levirate, and female infanticide still exist, though to a great extent localized. Widow marriage is far commoner than was supposed, but very early marriages are still too much the rule especially among Hindus, and as a consequence of the comparative shortness of life among natives of all parts of India, the number of widows is abnormally large. The number of males who reach the age of 60 in India is only 4·8 per cent against 7·8 in England and 11·85 in France; for females the figure is only 5·88 against 7·8 for England and 12·5 for France.

In conclusion it must be observed that with a country so varied in all its conditions as India a general report is of less practical value than a series of provincial reports, not only because the latter are able to enter more into detail, while in the former important matters have to be boiled down to almost nothing, but because the superintendents of operations in the different provinces being possessed of great local knowledge and familiarity with the people are better able to judge of the significance of the figures than one who, however eminent and skilful, only looks at them from a distance and can only take a general view of them. With all these drawbacks however the Report submitted to Parliament is a very able record of an excellently performed task.

COW-KILLING RIOTS, SEDITIOUS PAMPHLETS AND THE INDIAN POLICE.

IN the lull that precedes a storm vessels have been known to escape by good steering. It would be well if the critics of my paper on the cow-killing riots, were to study the question with which it deals by the aid of my suggestions and with the light of the authorities, Sunni, Shiah and European, which I quote. Indeed, this will have to be done if Lord Lansdowne's parting Resolution of firing into riotous crowds with ball, instead of blank cartridge, without apparently any previous warning, is not to become a reality in a country which he found in peace and leaves in a panic. Englishmen and Natives, of whatever creed, provided they are believers and of good birth, have now to consult and act together in the interests of peace, or India will be endangered by those Reformers who are worrying it into revolt. Official and native opinion, of every shade, is no longer consulted as fully and fairly as it was in the conservative and patriarchal days. The Government of India no longer decides on what it has fully examined, but leaves the decision of vital questions to irresponsible opinion in England, or is guided by the sudden impulses of half-knowledge. Of this, the much-vaunted Speech of Lord Lansdowne on the cow-killing riots is an instance.

The speech as telegraphed to the *Times* errs in implying that cow-killing is "the ritual which Muhammadans have ever followed," though it advises them not to do so ostentatiously, whilst it leaves a standing grievance to the Hindus in the announcement that "the slaughter of kine for the purpose of sacrifice, or for food, will never be put a stop to." He admits that he cannot "fathom the intensity of the feelings of affection and veneration with which the majority of Indians regard the cow" and yet he dwells on "the incongruities and the inconsistencies of their creed" and he actually places the sacrificial slaughter of cows, so

unusual in Muhammadan countries, on the same level with the "deep faith which carries Muhammadan pilgrims to Mecca," where indeed alone the sacrifice of an animal is prescribed, its sacrifice elsewhere being more a matter of meritorious *practice* or tradition (*Sunnat*) than of absolute *religious obligation*. Finally, worse than all, he seems to suggest, entirely from a European standpoint that "old and worn-out cows be protected against the horrors of a lingering death," whereas, the very object of the Hindus is to enable them to linger on till they die. That in the face of such a display of unconscious prejudice against the Hindus and against what the Hindus consider to be as sacred as the life of a mother, Lord Lansdowne could expect Hindus to believe in the impartiality of Government, seems to be a singular instance of self-deception. There is, however, this much to be said for the speech, that it is a disavowal of the policy of *divide et impera* which is no longer applicable to India, but which, at all times and by all conquering nations is the inevitable means by which a foreign minority has subdued a majority. When I came to the Punjab, the traditions of displacing the Muhammadan from the teacher's chair, still existed, and Hindus were favored and I remember that when I deplored the dissensions between Hindus and Muhammadans, which led to the burning of Multan, that a Secretary to Government was astonished at my knowing so little that in such dissensions consisted the secret of British success. This view, never really shared by rulers of knowledge and power, is now happily obsolete and I am glad to find that Mr. Tupper in his "Indian Protectorate" recommends our seeking to bring about union and co-operation among our fellow-subjects of whatever creed for the better and stronger government of India. At the same time, I cannot help feeling that, to judge from recent events, the gulf between rulers and ruled is widening rather than closing. This seems to me due almost entirely to the spread of English education and ideas which have caused a class of outcastes

from everywhere to unite on the common ground of discontent and to interpose themselves between the people and the English officials. Most native States manage to keep the peace between their Muhammadan and Hindu subjects, quite irrespective of whether either one religion or the other is in the majority. At Prabas Pathan the want of pliability of a native Minister of "the new School" seems to have brought about the disturbances which had their echo in the riots of Bombay; but these riots were not *caused* by the disorders that preceded them elsewhere, but were, among other incidents to which I have referred, partly due to the same provocation that had produced the riots of 1851 and 1874, namely *certain pictorial representations* which dragged the Prophet Muhammad into contempt and the source of which must, or should, be known to the Police. These pictures, and not pamphlets written in languages that the Muhammadans do not read, alone could appeal to the eye and rouse popular passion, that is always at fever-point during, and shortly after, the Muharram. It is significant that in the so-called seditious pamphlets written by Muhammadans, there is no reference whatever to cow-killing, or to the attempts of Hindus to interfere with the consumption of beef by Muhammadans, as was alleged by the Police. A letter from Bombay written by a competent authority states on behalf of the Muhammadans: "The price of beef here ranges from 1 anna a lb. for the very poorest to 2 annas or $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas (not gram fed), Mutton 2 to 3 annas per lb., Goat $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas per lb. Though beef is cheaper, it is not liked and seldom eaten, except by the very poorest, and even these would rather go without it, as it is considered heating and far from tasty. In the country, beef-eaters are despised, be they rich or poor. The average Muhammadan in Bombay would eat meat about once a week or once a fortnight and by preference goat. The wealthy would have it daily and they also prefer goat."

Another writer points out that there are two kinds of

Muhammadan butchers at Bombay, the "Bakr" butchers who only slaughter sheep and goats (here "Bakr" clearly stands for "Bakri"="goat" not for "Baqr," the exotic Arabic for "kine") and the despised class of *Gái-Kasáís* or Cow-butchers. The latter, however, on great general festivals, such as the Jubilee or on Hindu sacred days, abstain from killing kine, in deference to Hindu feeling.

It may also be observed that, in no country, are cows preferentially killed for food. In England it is a very "low-class trade." The meat is lean and stringy. It is only in India where Contractors supply our Commissariat with cow-beef, instead of the more expensive and nutritious ox-beef, that cows are slaughtered out of all proportion to oxen. The Cow-protection Societies, therefore, in buying up cows, raise the price and lessen the profit to the contractor. Further, when cows are driven any great distance to Cantonments, it often happens that the oxen of Zamindars follow them and have to be rescued, which causes a row or they are lost to their owners. Why, however, the peace of India should be endangered by greedy contractors who give cow-flesh to our troops instead of the ox-beef of old England, I fail to see as little as why we should make it such a point to eat beef at all in India. An Indian newspaper accuses me and other Indian Officials and Missionaries of cowardice for refusing to eat beef or pork in India, but it seems to me a cheap courage that would offend the feelings of an unresisting people, and I prefer to reserve any courage I may have to exploring dangerous countries. "Woe to that man by whom the offence cometh," and I cannot help hoping that the motives of politeness and humanity which are supposed to guide our relations to others in England will enable us to control ourselves also in India so as to be more fit to control others. In olden times a single European official, a well-intentioned Maulvi, a learned Pandit, a benevolent Rais could have settled such a question as that of cow-killing. Are we now, after several

centuries of Indian rule, to offer the shameful sight to astonished Europe of shooting down a crowd of people frightened about their religion, and largely composed of passers-by and spectators, even if some of them have sticks? Indeed, it seems as if we intended to pave the way for a Russian dominion of India.

It will be observed that I object to the slaughter of a *cow*, because sacrilegious to Hindus and unnecessary to Muhammadans and Europeans. A cow is specifically "Baqrat" in Arabic, not "Baqr," which is the equivalent for cattle and includes both ox and cow. The chapter of the Koran on the Cow is called "Surat-ul-Baqrat" and ignorant Muhammadans do not advance their cause by dropping the feminine termination, which occurs five times in that Chapter wherever the cow is mentioned.

Two objections, however, deserve notice. One that learned Maulvis in India cannot issue "authoritative Fetwas" on questions connected with the I'd sacrifice but that the Sheikh-ul-Islám alone can do so. The other that Moses is stated in the Koran to have ordered the Jews to *sacrifice a cow* and that, *therefore*, the sacrifice of a cow at the Muhammadan I'd is lawful, if not obligatory. I myself referred to the latter statement in my last paper, but a story of what Moses told the Jews to do in order to discover a murder is obviously not in itself a religious injunction by Muhammad to his followers, especially when the whole history of the I'd and the facts and arguments in my last paper render my exposition of the festival and of the sacrifice of a cow not being obligatory in its celebration, irrefutable. I must, however, refer to the misconception of the *Pioneer* and *Indian Daily News*, including their Muslim informants, as to the nature of a "Fetwa" on matters of practice and as to the alleged spiritual power of the Sheikh-ul-Islám in the interpretation of doctrine. This official is not an "infallible" Pope and even the Pope is not infallible except when he pronounces on disputed doctrinal points *ex cathedrâ*.

The Sheikh-ul-Islám, although often a learned man, is not always so and his opinion is liable to be over-ridden by men who have made Theology their special study. He is a mere functionary of the Sultan of Turkey and is rarely long in Office. I have known several and thirteen years ago I had a discussion with one of them on a Muhammadan religious question, in which, I believe, he was candid and generous enough to admit my interpretation. Besides, his opinion, however weighty, could only influence the Sunnis and not the Shiahs, who have their Mujtahids. These, indeed, are great spiritual guides, whilst among Sunnis it is the *consensus fidelium* that finally decides. As little would the opinion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, though deserving of the most respectful consideration, necessarily silence any Christian believer or, perhaps, a better Theologian than himself or, if it did have this result, would it extend beyond the Anglican Branch of even the Protestant Church. Any "believer" can argue a question with the Sheikh-ul-Islám, just as any Christian, clergyman or layman, can contradict, or even controvert the Archbishop, not only on doctrine but even on questions of ritual. At the same time, just as an educated Minister of a Christian denomination can influence for good the more ignorant members of his congregation, so can also a learned Maulvi issue to his co-religionists an authoritative exposition or "Fetwa" of what is really required at the I'd festival, without any reference whatever to the Sheikh-ul-Islám, who would be much scandalized if he, and not the Koran or sacred tradition, were invoked by any Muhammadan preacher or teacher as the final authority on any religious question. The *Pioneer* suggests my influencing the Sheikh-ul-Islám to prohibit cow-killing in all Muhammadan countries in connection with the I'd sacrifice, but why he should, even if he could, prohibit it in countries in which it causes no offence, or why every decent Muhammadan in India should not discourage it in the interests of peace, passes my comprehension.

At the beginning of my last paper on the "Cow-killing riots" I expressly stated that "the slaughter of a *cow* was by no means *obligatory* on Muhammadans" on the occasion of "the great festival of God," miscalled the "Baqr-I'd" in India; that to sacrifice on the I'd at all was "a practice" of the Prophet Muhammad, but that the highest Authorities differed as to its being indispensable; that in most Muhammadan countries, sheep, goats or camels, but rarely cows were sacrificed and that in India it would be desirable, as a matter of good feeling, if the sacrifice of cows among Muhammadans and their consumption among Europeans were minimized or less ostentatious. I finally asked, though I had more than hinted, why Muhammadans were the first to attack the Hindus at Bombay?

To this question I have received no reply, but I have instead been accused of asserting that Muhammadans were *not allowed* by the Korán to sacrifice cows, which is a very different statement from mine that this was *not obligatory*. Some English and Muhammadan journalists, unacquainted with Arabic and the history of the I'd sacrifice, which I communicated to them, misquoted and misconstrued what was intended for their instruction. To this rule, the *Bombay Gazette*, the *Statesman* and other Anglo-Indian papers that study questions rather than persons, and all Hindu publications, formed an exception, for which not only I, but also the Government and peoples of India ought to be grateful, for we are falling on to evil days which are precipitated by certain organs of misled or misleading "public opinion."

It was also curious to observe how nearly everybody debited his own pet-aversion with being the cause of the riots. A medical Knight attributed them to the rising indignation of the 284 millions of India at the possible abolition of the Opium Monopoly; an Anglo-Indian clearly saw the hand of the "Babus" in them or of those members of the Un-National Congress who themselves eat beef; a Lord pointed to the hungry Muhammadan masses rushing to

save their supposed daily food, the cow, snatched from their appetite for the unnatural function of calving and giving milk ; a worthy Baronet and an unworthy compositor clearly traced the disturbances to Government itself ; whatever was to one an "*omne ignotum*" became his "real reason of the riots"; as C. at Abominabad during the Mutiny, everybody hanged the creditors that he could not pay—Russian intrigues, the Missionaries, the Abkari Act, Lord Roberts's apology and the B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University, not to speak of the "simultaneous Civil Service Examinations." *At last*, I have been supplied with "*the true causes of the riots*," the very documents confiscated by the Police, their *pièces de résistance*, their unimpeachable claims to promotion and to public praise, yielded not willingly. On one of them, evidently the most seditious, they have obtained the imprisonment of the author and so I will examine it as a warning to evil-doers, if not to the police.

The pamphlet is a poem in Guzarati called "An account of the horrible riots that have happened at Bombay," so it is obvious from the very title-page that the account is *subsequent* to the riot and therefore could not have *caused* it. However its tone might be seditious for all that and so we will quote some of the incriminating passages :

POLICE (PER) VERSION.	REAL TRANSLATION.
Heroes ! ye washed your bodies with blood and retreated not ; Ye broke through files of Rifles, Bravo ! [" <i>tofáni</i> " = riot or storm is here rendered as <i>tóp-hôni</i> = guns.]	Ye washed your brave bodies with blood and did not think of the consequences Ye broke the lines of the rioters, bravo !
Valiant men ! ye were not daunted, ye wearied the enemy out Victory ye got forthwith, bravo ! With manly rage ye gave them a good drubbing Forthwith floated rumour of riot.	As you were brave you were not frightened and ye tired the enemy. Ye earned glory easily, bravo ! Ye put on yellow garments with manly fortitude, and the boldness of rioters was speedily vanquished.
Here, after an ejaculatory verse somewhat like "Scots wha hae with Wallace bled" and an apostrophe to die rather than yield the official per-version says :	In reality, after merely <i>describing</i> that a brave man prefers death to cowardice, the author, Khanji, evidently a very pacific individual, recommends : "Instead of these con-

"Instead of this give up body or considerations (of false glory,) *Kanji* soul, says Ram (the God as a says: divert body and mind from fighter)." ["Ram" should be these things" (fighting).
 "Khanji" !]

REAL OBJECT OF PAMPHLET:

"Soon be happily *united*, abandoning dissensions of brothers ; there is no good in fighting. If injustice has been done, ask for justice ; why are you running away (by fighting) from the best of (all) remedies (an appeal to justice)? Whoever is guilty will be punished ; whoever is oppressive will be examined. This is the law of legal morality from ancient times. It does not behove ye to adopt a contrary course ; in peace there is calm, happiness and justice."

All this is omitted in the official version. Then comes an ardent praise of the Government for putting down the riots, but, unfortunately, the author also praises the police, which surely might have been forgiven, even if it was a mistake.

The poem consists of a series of Cantos, each having the language suited to its subject. Lions roar and Khanji has not learnt the lesson of Bottom to make them coo like sucking-doves. In describing a fierce rioter, he ought to have added that he was not really so very fierce after all and in commenting on those who bravely put down the riots he ought to have explained that they were really neither brave nor had put down the riots! I dare say that, in my translation also, a comma here or a letter there will be found, by which certain unjust Indian critics will be able to misquote it. Let them, however, know that the *whole* of the pamphlet has been translated and that the translation is being carefully revised by a Committee of Guzarati Scholars. There is no doubt that the entire tenor of poor Khanji's poem, whose sympathies naturally lean to the Hindu side, is above all in favour of a lasting peace and of friendship between the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

The remaining pamphlets are even more innocent. Two of them, written for Muhammadans, describe the riots more or less graphically and so could scarcely have caused them. Whilst blaming their ignorant fellow-countrymen it is significant that they *do not make any reference* whatever to

cow-killing or to the cow-protection movement. All abound in gratitude to Her Majesty and to the Government and rejoice that peace is, at last, restored. Why then, I again ask, were the Muhammadans the first to attack the Hindus at Bombay, when the poets on both sides only preach conciliation and brotherly love?

To this question the Police alone might be able to give an answer, if they could do so with safety, or if a man, say, like Forjett of Bombay, or Macandrew of the Panjab, were still encouraged in that Department. I do not therefore ask any Member of that body, who has any promotion to expect for vigilance in framing returns that show the absence or the detection of crime in his District due to his wisdom or requirements. Since the local watchman, with a hereditary interest in the soil and the respectability of his neighbourhood, has been abolished, the yellow-trousered policeman, like every other great functionary who is liable to be transferred from one place to another, has lost touch with the people and is the mere instrument of his superiors. The tyranny of red tape, the meshes of which only their framers and great transgressors escape, tends to check every generous instinct and independent judgment alike among the rulers and the ruled. At the same time, the Indian Police possess this great advantage over their English "confrères," like whom they rarely find stolen property or are found when wanted, that they may invent what they please, without the fear of their superiors knowing more, or as much, of the language and customs of the population as themselves. Of this it will suffice to quote a few instances within my own knowledge :

I once recommended a Persian teacher to the nephew of a native Chief, who with him translated Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar" into Persian. The native equivalent for "Cæsar" is "Kaisar" and the translation was called "Kissat-i-Kaisar" or "story of Cæsar." The Police considered this to be a seditious pamphlet against Her Majesty as "Kaisar-i-Hind," seized the translation and were about to

drag off the translators, when fortunately it occurred to a high official, that as the originator of the title "Kaisar-i-Hind" I might like to see the pamphlet, which, of course, showed its absolute inoffensiveness.

On another occasion, the District Superintendent of Police brought me an Arab under a strong Police guard with letters seized on his person showing him to be "a Wahabi conspirator whose treasonable correspondence with the Akhund of Swat had been found." I was astonished at a Saint like the Akhund having anything to do with a member of a sect that is opposed to all saint-worship and especially obnoxious to him by its Indian settlement at Malka and Sitana. However I greeted him very kindly and happening to smoke a long Turkish Chibook I handed it to him as also a cup of coffee. He enjoyed both, thereby showing, first, that he was not a Wahabi, who abhors "the hateful weed" and, secondly, that, if a conspirator, he had mistaken his vocation, so far as any influence in India might be concerned, by taking a "Sahib's" pipe and coffee. These preliminaries being disposed of, I examined the correspondence. They were begging letters asking for alms in support of the prophet's tomb at Madina of which the Arab was an attendant, as shown in an authentic Certificate which he produced. Yet I could not obtain his release, till I made myself responsible for his loyal conduct to the kindest and wisest of Lieutenant Governors, I refer to Sir Donald McLeod, who allowed him to accompany me on my Mission to Kashmir and Chilas, which led to the discovery of the languages and races of Dardistan where his sacred character was supposed to be likely to be a protection to me. The saint, however, fell a victim *en route* to female influence at Srinagar and I had to continue my journey alone as a Bukhara Mullah, a disguise which I abandoned when I found that the Gilgitis had killed a travelling Maulvi in order to keep his body, in a shrine, in their country for the cultivation of the religious sense among the people.

Five supposed Russian spies were brought to me in 1877

under a still stronger police guard. I was ill in bed and not very cheerfully disposed to "examine them in the presence of the Police," an obvious course for frustrating an enquiry; so I refused to oblige the Government unless the Police Inspector vanished with his "troupe." In vain he expostulated, but I insisted that if prisoners so different from the natives of India in color, dress and manners and not speaking a single Indian language (not a qualification for playing the spy) could escape the observation of an omniscient and omnipresent Police, the sooner it was abolished the better. At last he and his men left the house. Then I ordered tea to be served to my strange-looking visitors, who thought that they had been released thanks to my intervention and were in consequence very happy and communicative. They spoke, *first starting point*, a few words of Turkish and professed to be Lesghians taken as prisoners by Russia in her last war with Turkey and sent to a Siberian colony. Thence they once, when on *parole* to visit a neighbouring town, effected their escape and through incredible hardships, of which not the least was their treatment in Afghanistan, they came to India and were arrested. Fortunately, Mr. Hyde Clarke's Abkhas Vocabulary enabled me to cross-examine them in one and the other of their native dialects. The result was to completely prove their story and their innocence, and they were sent to Bombay and thence to Constantinople.

By similar processes I cleared other "suspicious" characters sent to me; thus I traced the Magadhs and other wandering tribes, but I also found criminal dialects, to concert wrong-doing, spoken within the hearing of Police officers. My confidence therefore in the infallibility of the Police is not great, whilst, in all matters, I prefer the conservative officer of the old patriarchal school of so-called Indian despotism, in whatever Department, to the most advanced "Liberal" Jack-in-Office, who, clad in a little brief authority, stands aloof from the people whilst advocating the last radical fads and is making India the most unpopular as well as the most revolutionary of administrations.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE AMANDEBILI (MATABILI) QUESTION.

LO BENGÚLA AND HIS PEOPLE.

BY BERTRAM MITFORD, F.R.G.S.

WHEN Civilisation first comes into contact with the savage, it is nearly always in one of two capacities—that of invader or that of beggar—more commonly the latter. And the object of such mendicancy is the cession of land.

Whatever may hold good elsewhere, it is my firm conviction that, as regards South Africa, all such “cessions” existing or asserted to exist, must be absolutely rotten or fraudulent, or both; and this for the simple reason that no South African potentate dare—except under the direst pressure of circumstances, *i.e.*, Force—grant away the lands of his forefathers and of the nation or tribe at present beneath his rule. Be he chief or king his patriarchal or sovereign rights stop short there. When therefore Pieter Retief claimed that Dingane had ceded to him and his Emigrant Boers almost the whole of the present colony of Natal for the trumpery consideration of seven hundred head of Zulu cattle and fifty or sixty horses which he had recovered from a neighbouring insignificant chief whom the Zulu monarch could have crushed with scarcely an effort, the thing becomes palpably ridiculous. Yet out of “claims” not one whit less shadowy and more ridiculous are land concessions manufactured—ay and held; for not all concessionaries are so unlucky as poor Pieter Retief and his followers, who were treacherously massacred by order of the very potentate they were trying to fool. Yet, treachery and all, is there not something to be said on Dingane’s side?

As though to show that there is, let us consider the treatment meted out to the Matabili King. Even the elaborate lawyerese in which the deed of mining concession is drawn can, by no sort of twisting and turning, be brought

to mean anything approaching a *land* concession. But the peaceable diggers come as an army, with a perfect arsenal of machine guns; forts are built, and, in a trice, the King's subjects are ordered off the King's own territory—by those who had but yesterday approached him in the guise of very subservient beggars. Verily Lo Bengúla's mind must, oft and grimly of late, have reverted to the historic "word" of his Zulu brother-potentate—" *Bulalani abatagati!*" (Kill the evil-doers) which was the signal for the slaughter of Retief and his comrades as above referred to.

But how different his own behaviour to that of Dingane! His attitude is consistently friendly throughout. He restrains the resentment of his subjects—for the Amandebili are warriors, and hot-blooded withal, having great traditions at their backs—traditions of conquest and martial supremacy. Never an act of aggression does he permit. The Chartered Company's people come and go between their fortified posts and Bulawayo in perfect security—and this for upwards of four years. So much for the aggressiveness of Lo Bengúla—so much for the "standing menace" as constituted by these ferocious and savage Amandebili.

But the most effective stop to play on of all is the "philanthropy" stop; which is pulled out accordingly and most deafeningly played upon. Those poor oppressed Mashonas! (as a matter of fact there is no race or people bearing that name, but we will employ the term for the sake of convenience.) It is the righteous mission of England to protect them from their ruthless destroyers! This is the very best chord which could have been struck—for the purposes of the invaders. Certain clergymen here join hands, simply whooping for Matabili blood in order to "further the spread of the Gospel" while drawing sensational pictures of "gentle unoffending Mashonas massacred under the eyes of their English masters"; and an eminent Irish Protestant bishop takes a holiday trip to Cape Town and returns to hold forth in Westminster Abbey and elsewhere upon the atrocities of those ferocious

Matabili—the speaker having been no nearer to Matabili-land than Cape Town. And then, as a still small voice, side by side with all this crusading enthusiasm, the daily Press becomes filled with portentous whispers relating to rich gold reefs in the immediate neighbourhood of Bulawayo!

The worst of it is, in dealing with matters of this kind, it is impossible to avoid committing the literary solecism of slaying the slain; and with this apology we will briefly touch upon the historic incident of the Matabili *impi* which was allowed two hours wherein to reach the border from Fort Victoria—a distance of thirty miles: for a sidelight upon this affair struck us at the time, but we have never yet seen it advanced in print. This is it. In palliation of the peremptoriness of this impossible order and the severity of its enforcement was urged the insolent demeanour of the *indunas* towards the white authorities. But these same *indunas* had probably seen—had certainly heard of—the proud white man, in the persons of the agents of that very Company who now claimed to dictate to them in imperious terms, bringing himself, though reluctantly, to squat down upon the ground, to sit down in the maggots and filth of the goat-kraal at Bulawayo for hours together in the presence of their King. (See Mr. Frank Thompson's rather humorous account of the experiences of himself and Mr. Maguire at Lo Bengúla's capital in 1888.) But this was *before* the granting of the concession. We may remark, in passing, that the King shows somewhat unfavourably in imposing such an indignity upon his guests, though indeed remembering that he is a high-class Zulu we find it difficult to believe he really would have exacted compliance had the white men objected sufficiently and in a firm and dignified manner. Anyhow they underwent the nauseous ordeal, and the recollection was probably not without its effect upon the "insolent" demeanour of the *indunas* towards Dr. Jameson. No doubt, also, these bore in mind the swarm of hungry concession-seekers buzzing about Lo Bengúla—must often have laughed heartily over the

cleverness wherewith the shrewd King would play off one against the other ; and how they would vie in their subserviency towards the King as long as he had something to give.

We come now to the Tati incident—the three envoys, two of whom were shot *while attempting to escape*—which words have an old familiar ring about them reminding one of Zulu ambassadors bearing the white flag fired upon “*to test their sincerity*.” We need not go into the question of how far these envoys were justified in trying to escape, because the fact that they had no business to be under the necessity of doing so—*i.e.*, prisoners—is too transparently obvious. But—they were spies ! Men of rank who come openly and voluntarily into a hostile camp are sure to be spies. They ought to have been shot on sight, these voluntary ambassadors who trusted in British good faith—but they were only put under arrest. And instead of thinking themselves lucky in being so leniently dealt with they tried to escape ! Of course they were shot !

There are two white men at Bulawayo—traders—alone in the power of this bloodthirsty despot. Of course these men are put to death barbarously—burnt alive perhaps. No ; they turn up alive and unharmed at Bulawayo, the place our troops have come to destroy. They have been protected by its inmates. They have dwelt all this time safe and sound, in the midst of these ferocious savages whose kinsfolk their own countrymen have been slaughtering in thousands. Can any irony of events present a stranger picture than that of these two white men advancing from the savage capital to greet their countrymen—emerging from the very place their countrymen have come to raze—advancing unmolested and not even fired upon “*while attempting to escape*” ? This firing upon prisoners *while attempting to escape* is no new incident in British South African policy, but it is apt to bear thorny fruit. So far back as 1835, we find Hintza, the chief of the Gcalekas and Paramount Chief of the Amaxosa tribes,

made prisoner while visiting the British camp and—shot *while attempting to escape*. In 1877, Kreli (or Sarili) his son and successor, point blank refuses to meet Her Majesty's High Commissioner. His father Hintza had been induced to enter the white man's camp and there made prisoner and—shot *while attempting to escape*. Kreli, the son of Hintza, has no mind to put himself in the way of undergoing his father's fate forty-two years later. These South African natives have long memories, and there are those behind the scenes, and who are "in the know," who assert that a deep-laid plot for the seizure or massacre of the High Commissioner and his suite on this last occasion was only frustrated by the sagacity and judicious foresight of a prominent official of the Cape border. But had it been otherwise, the seed sown in 1835 would have borne fruit—startling and bitter fruit—in 1877.

Now what has all this got to do with Lo Bengúla? Everything; for the shooting of the envoys is a parallel case. Who shall say that Lo Bengúla would not long since have surrendered? But his ambassadors having been shot *while attempting to escape*, it would be odd if the King were himself eager to "travel the same road."

At an earlier stage of the tangle it was suggested that the Amandebili should evacuate—that a happy solution of all difficulties would be for them to cross the Zambesi and migrate northward bag and baggage, even as their forefathers had migrated under Umzilikazi. Quite so, but now where does our philanthropy come in—our tenderheartedness on behalf of the oppressed Mashona? For there are other tribes north of the Zambesi—weaker tribes, who then would be lying right in the path of the migrating Amandebili. What about these? Well: British philanthropy knows of the gold reefs around Bulawayo. Of gold reefs north of the Zambesi it knows nothing—as yet.

It may be that before these words are in print Lo Bengúla will have been captured or shot. The latter seems within the possibilities—but if the former, the

question of course arises as to his ultimate disposal, and in deciding this let us bear in mind these considerations :

1. He never wished for war.
2. His conduct towards white men has been consistently friendly throughout.
3. His *impis* got out of hand and forced on the war.

These points are admitted even by his enemies, and the truth of the third we will take upon the authority of the latter. Here, however, are some considerations upon which nothing like sufficient stress has been laid :

1. The protection afforded by him to the two white traders above mentioned, what time he and his people must have been stung to exasperation by repeated and sanguinary defeats—also to a missionary. This is not so common an occurrence in the annals of savage warfare that we can afford to make light of it.

2. That long after it must have been apparent to him that war was intended, he still refrained from attacking isolated and unprepared settlers, nor did he place any obstacle in the way of the departure of white men who were in his country up to the very outbreak of hostilities—not even detaining them as hostages.

Keeping, then, these considerations before our eyes there is only one course to be adopted towards Lo Bengúla which is consistent with justice, common honesty or expediency—we do not say with Christianity because that, where its voice has been heard at all, has mainly distinguished itself by whooping for his blood—but we do say with national probity and even gratitude. That course is to restore him as King over his conquered people. Not in a throw-a-bone-at-a-dog sort of way, as was done in the restoration of Cetywayo, but in a frank, free, whole-hearted recognition of his status and authority. He might be bound by treaty to abstain from disturbing the natives of Mashonaland, or any other proviso within reason—and such undertaking there is every cause to suppose he would cheerfully and loyally respect. He might be induced to welcome a

British Resident ; who however should not be any mere scratch adventurer ; but a crowd of missionaries should not be forced upon him. But however Matabililand is settled it should be under one responsible head, for this is a form of government the most suited to all the more warlike of the South African races. To split them up into petty septs leads to sheer anarchy, if only that it saps the sense of responsibility—which in these people is very strong—for if anything goes wrong each petty ruler will throw the onus upon his neighbour, and thus everybody's business becomes nobody's business. Wherefore, restore Lo Bengúla. He is very far from being a fool. His *indunas* are very far from being fools. They have learnt their lesson—a grim one withal, and spouted out at them by the mouths of the Maxim guns. The white man who but yesterday came to them begging for concessions is now their conqueror, and this they recognise. They would fain make the best of the change, and it will be a shameful thing for the prestige, honour, or even outward respectability of Britain's name, if they are not afforded ample opportunity of doing so ; for *we* went as beggars to the Matabili, and we have now reduced *them* to that condition.

MELILLA AND THE MOORS.

BY THE REV. JOSÉ P. VAL D'EREMAO, D.D.

FACING Gibraltar lies Ceuta, on the western horn of a rather wide bay, the coast of which, trending south and then eastwards, past Tetuan, Vigia, Fagaasa, Jebda, Neckor and Temamsa, again juts northward into an eastern horn, formed by the promontory of Ras ed Deir. A small stream called the River of Gold, rising in the hills south of the promontory, flows into the Mediterranean Sea, on the east side of the horn; and at its mouth stands the fortified little town of MELILLA. The hills to the south are covered with numerous villages; and further southward lie the Moorish towns of Tinkert and Meshia Zerur. In the bay itself, which is over 150 miles across, Spain owns, besides Ceuta and Melilla, the two islands of Peñon de Velez and Alhucemas.

Melilla has been in the Spaniard's hands since its first capture by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, in 1496, when, barely four years after the conquest of Granada, the Spanish arms had pursued the flying Moors into Africa. Though the latter have often tried to retake it, they have never been able to shake the hold of their hereditary enemies on this small but not unimportant outwork of Europe in Africa.

It is, perhaps, not much of a possession. The climate, sultry and unhealthy, is execrable, causing frequent fevers and dangerous dysenteries, which compel a change of the garrison at short periods. Melilla is used as a settlement for the Spaniards for whom a court of justice orders a removal for their country's good, and whose lives are most probably of little value to any but themselves. A small port, within range of the guns of the fortress, affords safe anchorage for the small vessels which provide Melilla with provisions and other necessities, for fishing boats and for the steamers that regularly maintain its communication

with Spain. Of trade and commerce, there is scarcely any; for, on its south side, Melilla is hemmed in by unfriendly tribes. These are mostly branches of the Kabyle, and go under the name of Riff. They are a brave, fierce, warlike and fanatical race,—Muhammedan, of course, by religion,—acknowledging only a nominal subjection to the Emperor of Morocco,—but really independent tribes under the leadership of their own chiefs. Whatever may be the war strength of Morocco, which is said to be capable, according to the urgency and popularity of the cause, of putting into the field from 100,000 to 200,000 men, the late insurrection in Anghera has shown that, for internal administration and the suppression of outbreaks, the Emperor's power for good is by no means great. Now Anghera and the Riff coast are cousins-german. These irrepressible warriors, early in October last, attacked the Spaniards at Melilla.

Convict settlements, like Michael Scott's demon, must have constant work found for them to do; and the Spanish authorities had lately ordered the strengthening of the defences of Melilla by the erection of outworks beyond those already existing: one of these is called Fort Guariach. The works were begun; and for a time no evil resulted. Evidently, however, those works had been noticed and information sent to the neighbouring tribes. Before long, it became a regular thing, that what the Spaniards did by day, the Riffs undid by night. To end this state of affairs, the Riffs were fired upon. Thereupon the tribes assembled in great numbers and attacked the Spaniards while at work. Thanks to European cupidity, they were well armed with rifles—Remingtons and Winchester. They outnumbered the 300 Spaniards by more than 10 to 1; but their attacks during the whole day were repulsed, and the Spaniards retired in the evening to Melilla, with their 20 dead and 35 wounded. Both sides had behaved well. The fierce fanaticism and great numbers of the Riffs were successfully resisted by the high courage

and resolute firmness of the Spaniards; and when night compelled these to withdraw, the Riffs followed them to the very walls of Melilla. But the guns of the Fort were well served. Not only was heavy loss inflicted in the Riff ranks; but, as it was now open war, their fire searched out the villages within range on the hills, overthrowing houses and mosques, and killing many. The Riff loss must have been great; but all the killed and wounded were taken away.

The Spanish government at once raised the garrison to 3,200 men,—sent a squadron against the neighbouring coast where several villages were bombarded,—and while informing the European powers that beyond satisfaction for the past and guarantees for the future, they sought no change in their actual relations with Morocco, they called on the Emperor to act according to treaty. Meanwhile the attacks continued. The Riffs entered Spanish territory and threw up entrenchments. After an ultimatum had been unnoticed, the cruiser *Conde de Venadito* cleared them with her 6 lb. Nordenfeldts in a little over an hour; but the Riffs soon returned, watching every opportunity, while keeping out of range. The Spaniards had to go out to revictual the outposts where provisions could not be stored for more than 10 days. Skirmishes occurred; General Margallo, a brave and distinguished officer, having lost his life in one of them, General Marcias assumed the command; and the garrison was almost in a state of siege. The Spanish press worked itself into a state of excitement quite unwarranted by the situation,—a national subscription was opened to help the exhausted finances of the country in prosecuting the war,—and Marshal Martinez Campos was sent to command the garrison which was raised to 10,000 men. The reserves—the men who had left the army since 1888—were called out in Spain; on the other side, many tribes joined the Riffs. The Spanish loss in various engagements brought the figures to 22 killed and 85 wounded; the Riff loss was much greater, though the details are not

known; and for several days, many a Spaniard and Moor lay side by side, unburied, on the hills.

The Emperor, in the meanwhile, had answered to the call made on him to do his duty. He ordered the Riffs to cease their operations; but these took no notice of the order. He promised the Spaniards every satisfaction, and they waited the result. Hmam, the leader of the Anghera revolt, escaped from his prison near Morocco; and the discovery of a contraband trade in arms with the Riffs from Melilla led to the expulsion of several offenders and the execution of a Spanish officer. The Emperor's brother, Mulai El Araaf, arrived, with a small cavalry force, to "negociate" with the tribes, and produced an Imperial proclamation ordering them to lay down their arms, and not to molest the Spaniards, as the land they were fortifying had been paid for to the Riffs by the Emperor himself, before he had handed it over unconditionally to the Spaniards. The Emperor threatened punishment, and solemnly cursed the chiefs if they failed to obey. After putting the tribesmen to flight from the fortifications they had erected in Spanish territory, Marshal Campos demanded from Mulai El Araaf the following terms:—1. the evacuation of the neutral zone by the Riffs, and the temporary occupation of some Moorish territory near Fort Guariach; 2. the surrender of 12,000 rifles, and of some chiefs as hostages; 3. the punishment of the rebel leaders; and of course, an indemnity. Mulai El Araaf replied that when he left Taflet, neither the Emperor nor he knew how serious was the state of affairs,—that, hence, he had not full powers to treat,—that he would write at once, and would doubtless soon receive them,—that meanwhile he could assure the Spaniards from all further molestation; and as a proof of good will, he ordered the tribes to demolish the works they had erected:—it was done the same day. Later, the Riffs again entered Spanish territory and even attempted to seize some vessels. They were, however, driven back, and Marshal Campos demanded their

punishment. Mulai El Araaf has declared his willingness to inflict any penalty that Spain may demand, short of death, which would need a reference to the Emperor, who alone has the power to inflict capital punishment.

Thus matters stand, as I write. But the question is, Who is to blame for this little war?

When Morocco made peace with Spain, in 1860, consequent on the capture of Tetuan, the treaty stipulated for an extension of their territory around both Ceuta and Melilla,—for a neutral zone beyond that,—and for a Moorish Governor with Moorish troops near the frontier, to secure the rights conceded. The terms for Melilla were:—

“In the name of Almighty God.

“Art. 1. H.M. the King of Morocco desirous of giving to Her Catholic Majesty a signal proof of his goodwill and wishing to contribute, as far as lies in him for the ward and security of the Spanish Fortresses on the African coast, agrees to yield to Her Catholic M., in full dominion and sovereignty, the territory around the Spanish Fortress of Melilla, as far as the places fully sufficient for the defence and tranquillity of that settlement.

“Art. 2. The limits of this concession shall be traced by Spanish and Moorish engineers, who shall take for their basis in delimiting the extension of the said limits, the reach of a cannon-shot of 24 lb. from the boundaries already granted.”

Art. 3. (Details how Art. 2 is to be carried out.)

“Art. 4. Between the Spanish and Moorish jurisdiction a neutral zone shall be established, the limits of which shall be—on the side of Melilla the line of Spanish jurisdiction, according to Art. 3, and on the side of Riff, a line drawn by mutual consent to divide the Moorish territory from this neutral zone.

“Art. 5. H.M. the King of Morocco binds himself to place at the limit of this territory bordering on Melilla, a *Kaid* or Governor, with a detachment of troops, to repress any act of aggression on the part of the Riffs, and sufficient to preserve a good harmony between the two Governments.

“Art. 6. To obviate the hostile acts to which at times the forts of Peñon de Velez and Alhucemas have been exposed, H.M. the King of Morocco, urged by the desire of justice which animates him, will arrange that near these forts also shall be placed sufficient troops to secure due respect for Spanish rights. . . .

“The detachments to be placed both on the frontier near Melilla and in the neighbourhood of Peñon de Velez and Alhucemas shall be composed altogether of troops of the Moorish army, nor shall this duty be devolved on the chiefs or troops of Riff.”

This treaty, signed in August, 1859, was ratified on the

26th May, 1860, and was confirmed by a further agreement on the 30th October, 1861 : it is at present in existence.

Since then, matters have gone on well. Spain wanted no more : she has often declared that she seeks no increase of territory in Morocco ; and she repeats that declaration now. The new works—undertaken more to give occupation to her “demons ” than for any practical utility they offer, for Marshal Campos declares that they are, for several reasons, of no value—were within the limit yielded to her jurisdiction ; and as, beyond this limit, lay the neutral zone, they could menace no one. The Emperor of Morocco had and has no fault to find with them, as is evident from his proclamation to the Riffs. Hence Spain is clearly not to blame.

Nor, looking impartially into the matter, can we blame the Riffs. The tribes were probably in perfect ignorance of the details of those treaties and of the rights of the Spaniards ; and there were no Moorish officials to tell them the facts or to restrain them, when they—perhaps not unnaturally—imagined the new Spanish works to be encroachments. How were the Riffs to know that they were within their rights ? They opposed by force what they considered an offensive operation on the part of Spain. The Spaniards, knowing their rights, naturally resented and resisted their interference. This defence brought on a gathering of the tribes, and a sad loss of life.

The *onus* of blame rests on the government of Morocco, which did not carry out articles 5 and 6 of the treaty. The Emperor, whatever he may be in theory, is not practically absolute master in the territory nominally under his sway. He sent neither the governors nor the troops stipulated by the treaty : possibly because they would have been neither safe nor happy among those fierce and intractable tribes. There are other parts of the country, where the Emperor and his government have but little power. Among the Riffs, as in many another place, each chief acts as he pleases, and many may combine for what they consider a just and common cause, even against the Emperor himself. Had

the Emperor loyally fulfilled his part of the treaty, his officials and troops would have been at hand to settle any incipient trouble. As it was, they were not present, and he must pay for his shortcomings. He will now doubtless accept the easy terms offered him; and we hope a heavy indemnity will show him the necessity of organizing a strong and efficient government in his territories. It is not enough to reign—he should really govern his Empire; and it seems to need governing.

Meanwhile restless France tries, as usual, to aggravate the evil, and, in order to mask her own private designs, to cast the blame upon England. Lord Rosebery, we are glad to see, has already plainly informed the Spanish Government that England is in no way concerned with the action of Spain in this matter. The episode, we hope, may be considered as closed. Spain acts sensibly in not desiring more territory in Morocco. A spark there may cause a conflagration; and at home Spain has both difficulties enough to meet and resources enough to develop, which should engage all her attention. No power except France has anything to gain from a serious misunderstanding between Morocco and any other country.

THE COLLAPSE OF "THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE."

BY THE SUB-EDITOR OF THE *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

Among the deaths during this quarter I record the following :

"On the 31st December, 1893, at 30 Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W., of *Felo de se*, the Central Organization of the Imperial Federation League, aged 9 yrs. 1 month and 13 days;—deeply regretted by all true Britons, friends of a really Imperial policy. (Colonial papers please copy.)"

The first conception of the Imperial Federation League dates from a Conference in London, on the 29th July, 1884, presided over by Mr. W. E. Forster, when it was unanimously resolved, that "In order to secure permanent Unity, some form of Federation is essential," and that a Society should be formed to advocate it. Born on the 18th November, 1884, it has had an extremely useful, if short, career. With persevering diligence and patient zeal, it strove for the project it had undertaken, and worked, slowly but surely, to educate public opinion all over the Empire, to a desire for some measure of Imperial Federation. The first Imperial Conference met in England in 1887; and by that time the League consisted of members from both the Conservative and Liberal parties, and from all portions of the Empire,—men as distinguished for their position, weight and authority as for their knowledge, experience and abilities. In 1889, periodical Conferences of Representatives of self-governing Colonies were adopted as one of the main aims of the League. In July 1891, a deputation proposed to Lord Salisbury, then Premier, the convoking by Government of a representative meeting of the Empire, to evolve a practical scheme of Imperial Federation. While admitting the importance of the subject, Lord Salisbury said that he could not take the initiative till some definite scheme had been submitted for the

approval of Government. A committee of 11 members, presided over by Lord Brassey, was ordered to formulate a scheme, on the lines suggested by Lord Salisbury—a Union for Trade and War. Their report, presented in November 1892, was unanimously adopted by the League, and was favourably received by the Press. On the 13th April, 1893, a deputation presented the scheme to Mr. Gladstone now Premier and asked him to convoke an Imperial Conference to consider it. For what regarded a Trade Union, Mr. Gladstone at once declared that England would not change her Free Trade policy. He approved, however, in general terms of the Defence Union, but said that still no action could yet be taken by Government because there was as yet nothing definite and detailed: *e.g.* the project of the Imperial Council of Defence was vague.

The Central Organization then proceeded to consider if any other scheme could be formed, more likely to meet general approval; but there were no other lines common to the whole League. It had already been a source of weakness, that no less than 4 parties existed among the members, each convinced that its own particular projects were the best and the only ones for the League to adopt. Each party might do good in its own way; but while attempting to work together their pulling in different directions effectually prevented all progress. To set each party free to use its own influence in the Empire on its own lines and principles, it became not only useful but necessary for the cause of Imperial Federation to dissolve the Central Organization of the League. It has accordingly ceased to exist.

This does not, however, mean the dissolution of the League itself, much less the death of the idea of Imperial Federation. The work will still be continued, practically by the same persons, but in a different manner, in several sub-divisions, and on independent lines—all acting, nevertheless, for the same end.

Reviewing the action of the League, all must admit that

it has done practically little, beyond keeping the idea well before the public, by means of numerous publications. This, in itself, is a great and good work. Nay, it is not too much to say, that the League would have done far better had it concentrated all its energies on the task of writing up the cause of Imperial Federation. There are many difficulties in the way of an immediately practical scheme ; and I by no means exhaust the list when indicating, as the chief of them, the following :

1. The mutual feeling of both Colonies and the Mother-country, that each can do just as well by itself, as when united—or perhaps even a great deal better.

2. The carelessness of Great Britain in advocating the rights of her Colonies and securing their absolute safety. Russia has been allowed to menace India for a score of years, and to compel the Indian Government to ruin itself in enormous military expenditure : Britain should long ago have put down her foot. Newfoundland, the New Hebrides, and lately Siam are instances in which she has sacrificed the commercial interests of colonies and dependencies to the fear of a war with France. The very essence of Imperial Federation means the readiness of the whole Empire to defend with its utmost strength every right of each part no matter how slight. What use, say the Colonies, is it to federate an Empire that will not fight, except with small powers ?

3. The corresponding evil of colonial self-sufficiency exaggerates the importance of little affairs and little places. Colonials forget that they owe to union with the Empire the fact that they are not swallowed up by some larger power. Their own littleness and powerlessness require to be brought home to the masses of many Colonies.

4. Colonial jealousy is a fearful thing.* The Australian

* Lord Jersey has kindly sent us the paper which he read before the Imperial Institute on the 7th December, from which we quote the following passage in point :

"It is puzzling to define the exact position of Federation. The sentiment has many powerful and eloquent supporters. On the other hand the steps taken to secure it are rather crab-like. I thought at the outset that the obvious benefits arising from Federation would have secured its adoption, but a closer acquaintance makes me doubt the probability

Colonies will not federate even among themselves; any advantage to one is resented by all others, as occurred in the question of coining silver; and it is not too much to say that, in many cases, this mutual animosity is equalled only by their downright aversion to the Mother-country. In this connexion, it is significant that the annual Australian Federation Council is not to meet this January.

5. The claim of the Colonies for a voice in Imperial policy forms a whole group of serious difficulties:—

(a) The reasonable objection of the Mother-country to having her voice borne down by the clamour of her smaller offspring. As a rule, it is not for her own affairs that she is brought into collision with other powers, or has to face the issues of war; generally, she is pushed in this direction for the interests of her Colonies and Dependencies, and much against her will. It is right, then, that Great Britain should be the judge of the comparative importance of individual cases; nor in this should the Colonies seek to curtail her action.

(b) If there is to be an Imperial Federal Council, what are to be its duties and its powers? That it should override the decisions of the Imperial Parliament is both unconstitutional and impossible; and if it is to have but a consultative voice it becomes practically unimportant and useless.

(c) How is an Imperial Federation Council to be secured, on which each important party of each Colony would be represented and be allowed due comparative weight, with each other and with Great Britain? How are the votes to be made proportionate to the importance?

What (a) is to be the relative position of Dependencies

of the early formation of one central Government for Australia. The different climates and enormous size of the country, nearly as large as Europe, must prove a difficulty. Under Federation Queensland would not have been allowed to reintroduce Kanaka or alien labour, in order profitably to work her sugar fields. Much is now said about inter-colonial Free Trade with a hostile tariff against British and Foreign goods. If I belonged to New South Wales I should not care to throw away my commercial position for the sake of coming under, say, a Victoria inspired tariff. The postal arrangements may be said to be federated, and it would be possible to apply a similar policy to other matters without undertaking the labour and criticism which must arise from the discussion of a new central constitution by six Parliaments."

as compared with Colonies? and how is the voice of the former to be heard? While India is a mere Dependency, the proposal to restrict Federation to self-governing Colonies is both absurd, meaningless, and impossible.

(e) What is to be the "unit" for such votes? Comparative population? or revenue? or importance? or interests concerned? What are to be the proportions? Can Canada and India be put on a level with, say, Tasmania and Hong Kong, or Bermuda and Singapore?

These, and similar difficulties, render immediate Federation an impossibility; but they are mere details, capable of adjustment or elimination by time, patience and statesmanship, as compared with the main difficulty—the ignorance and apathy of the Masses which hold all power both in the Mother-country and the Colonies. It has been, very absurdly, taken for granted that there can be and is no divergence of opinion on the main and central point—that Imperial Federation is a most desirable thing. This is a false supposition, both as regards Great Britain and the Colonies. Politicians (though not all), Statesmen, leaders of parties, the Press and the highly educated may, and perhaps do, consider this an axiom,—as indeed it is. But the masses do not admit it, or care for it, or even think about it. There is not a colony for the protection of the rights of which Great Britain would go to war, for instance with France or Russia: Demos would not hear of it. There are very few Colonies (except Canada), where the masses care a straw, whether or not the connexion with Britain were severed to-morrow. Demos does not consider the British Empire as a whole, or even know its principal components: how many per cent. of British subjects could correctly detail the British possessions? Its splendid history and glorious possibilities, its rich, varied and extensive geography, its actual state and its now uncertain future, the composition, greatness and prospects of its components are not matters that trouble the bulk of British or colonial electors half so much as the petty interests of their respective little Peddlingtons. Hence the mere call for a

little self-sacrifice or of a small expenditure by the parts for the benefit of the whole is everywhere resented as an insult to dignity and an infringement of right.

The parties neither thoroughly know nor understand each other: hence each is jealous of and contemns the other. It will take time to enlighten the ignorance and to stir up the thick blood of the masses at home and in the Colonies, before Imperial Federation can come into the range of practical politics. At present it is only an idea, to be worked up to. All the energies of its friends should be concentrated on the task of making it known to and understood by the masses: whatever is spent on other lines is, at present, simply loss of time, means and energy.

We must teach the true relation between Great Britain and her Colonies. The Empire, including the Colonies, has been built up by Britain alone, at an immense expenditure of blood and treasure: a very considerable part of her National debt was incurred in this. She bears a continual expense, in the protection of the trade, property, and citizens, in their dealings with other powers; and she has to fight their battles when necessary. The Colonies get much but give nothing in return; and they boast of being free to come or go as they please. Severing their connexion with Britain would render them an easy prey to other powers, none of which would treat them with the indulgence of the parent country. If it is quite true, that the Colonies do not need continual union with Britain to secure emigrants, or loans or a market, for they can have all that, even as outsiders, it is equally true that Britain owes them no gratitude, for they do nothing for her more than for any other nation. Britain gains nothing from them except a barren honour and the privilege of much expenditure, while they reap great advantages from the connexion. Yet Britain cannot and will not herself sever willingly from her Colonies; for besides losing what should be a tower of strength, she might either have to deal with them as rivals, or, it is conceivable, perhaps as the willing or unwilling instruments of her enemies. The mutual dependence of

each on the other should be the chief subject for the instruction of the masses. The advantages to all of a solid and cordial Federation of the whole British Empire, in the interests of peace, it is impossible to calculate.* The extent, composition, importance and interests of the component parts of the Empire should be made familiar to all. The history of its foundation, progress and greatness should be popularized. Above all, the obligation—social, moral and religious—of handing down, with undiminished extent and untarnished glory, the great inheritance bequeathed to us should be strenuously inculcated.

Coming to matters of detail, three points were prominently put forward as those on which immediate steps might be taken for Imperial Federation. Of these, the *Penny Postage* seems the least important and the most easy to settle: but Australia is even more obstructive than the British Postmaster General. The concession can and ought to be made; but whoever may make it (and pay for it) Australia will not. The present arrangement must last till 1896; and even then the consent of Australia is necessary. As an instance of Australian ways and tariffs, I may mention that the Indian telegraphs have to work Australian messages at a dead loss; so that India is actually taxed for the benefit of Australia, without any corresponding return. Surely the great advantages of penny Postage between all parts of the British Empire would be cheaply purchased at the cost of subsidies from every component part of the Empire.

The second point was a Customs' Union. Here again the difficulty lies in the Colonies, which are all Protectionists. England will not, of course, go back from Free trade, in which she is joined by India. Hence she cannot grant "preferential duties" to the Colonies. The only practical solution would be for the Colonies to try Free Trade, or at least reduced tariffs with the British Empire, keeping their present scale of duties for outsiders.

* Is it only a dream to hope for a further Federation of all English speaking countries? If the United States joined the British Empire in a defensive League and both declared their purpose to put down war, what nation would dare to fire a gun in anger?

Canada is earnestly and, we trust, successfully taking the initiative in this important work. If protection be really necessary for the growing industries and products of the Colonies, let each Colony help its own with *bonuses*: perhaps even Great Britain could, with advantage, devote a part of the Imperial revenue for this purpose.

The third—the most important—point, in which consists the very essence of Federation, is the Union for Imperial Defence. In this, too, Britain and India are in advance of the Colonies; for between them Federation is a reality. It goes without saying that the Colonies certainly will refuse money to be used by Britain for Imperial purposes. There is really no reason why they should refuse, except Colonial perversity and jealousy. Yet it is as practicable as it is useful, nay necessary, that each Colony, in proportion to its means, importance and pride, should organize and support naval and military forces of its own, not only for self-defence but also for Imperial purposes. But, except in Canada, Colonial forces are merely nominal. The Colonies are protected by Great Britain: they get far more than they pay for, and far more than the proportion of their practical utility to Britain. They cannot pretend to exist apart, without such forces of their own, under the pretext that they have no enemies; for enemies would arise speedily enough if they were cut off from the Empire; and they would soon be swamped in the rush for extension of their limits by other great powers.

While the Colonial forces remain entirely under the control of the colony which maintains them, they must be subject, in fixed proportions, to the call of the Imperial Government. This would not often be made. Practically, the Empire would need a united effort only in case of a war with France or Russia, or both.* Such a war is sure not to be provoked by Great Britain herself, but to be

* It is difficult to imagine any case between Great Britain on one side and the United States and Germany on the other, which could not and would not be settled by diplomacy or arbitration, without a recourse to arms. No other war could arise, which would tax the resources of even England alone. But France and Russia, which may provoke a war any day, would need for their adequate punishment the united forces of the whole Empire

forced upon her by the restless enmity of these two aggressive powers. I am convinced, that in such a case, every Colony worthy of its origin would gladly send part of its forces, under their own officers and at their own expense, to fight for Imperial purposes, under the direction of the Imperial Government. Great Britain can scarcely have a *casus belli*, except for protecting some portion of the Empire; and in that work the whole Empire should naturally take a share. But in this connexion, Great Britain must learn that she can retain the Colonies only by strenuously maintaining all their rights and being resolute and ready for war, betimes, in their defence even against the greatest powers. The reckless neglect of this duty during many years is a sad damper on Imperial aspirations and Imperial Federation. Why should the Colonies tax themselves for a defence, which they cannot, alone, carry out, and which Great Britain will neither allow them to undertake nor help them to execute?

To write and work up these points, and to present them perseveringly and prominently to the masses, both in Great Britain and especially in the Colonies, should be the immediate and future work of the Imperial Federation League. In this work all its members, no matter how they differ in details of opinion, can unite; and it is better that the whole League should work together, than divide itself and its energies. Public meetings, representative Conferences, lectures, newspaper articles, books,* pamphlets, leaflets, and especially school-books prepared for this purpose are among the means for preparing public opinion for the great act of the Imperial Federation of the British Empire.

The defunct Central organization would have been very useful as a central guide and authority; and it should be re-constituted as soon as practicable. Hoping to hear speedily that this has been done, we will not write on its coffin, *Requiescat in pace*; but the heart-felt wish,

MELIORIBUS RESURGAT FATIS!

* Especially fitted for this purpose would be Novels of local interest, with scenes laid in various parts of the British Empire, and descriptive of countries and peoples.

A STUDY ON EGYPTIAN AND BABYLONIAN TRIADS.

BY FELIX ROBIOU,

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of the *Institut*.¹

I.

THE grouping together of mythological beings in triads in ancient Egypt was noted long ago by Champollion himself. François Lenormant had recognised some in ancient Babylonia; the recent work of Prof. Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1887) has confirmed this fact, and has, moreover, brought into relief the existence, or at least the probability, of extremely ancient relations between Egypt and the district of the Lower Euphrates.

May we hence conclude that this mythological conception was transmitted from one of these countries to the other? The question is one of keen interest, like all questions bearing upon ancient religious traditions and the relations, and generally the history, of primitive peoples. But we can only touch this question by first obtaining an exact idea of the nature of the different triads adored in either of the two countries, of the doctrines expressed by them, and if possible, of their respective antiquity. Such is the object of the present paper which I venture to offer to the Congress. I make no pretension to produce new documents. But the numberless results obtained by Brugsch regarding the religious geography, the theology and the mythology of ancient Egypt, the discoveries of Telloh, interpreted by Oppert, Sayce's great work on Sumerian and Babylonian beliefs, render the undertaking possible, and, though less meritorious, still useful, of establishing relationships between local cults, and drawing deductions therefrom.

II.

The triads most anciently known, most numerous, and, from this point of view, the easiest to study are those of Egypt.

Attention has long since been directed to those which consist in the union of three members of the same family, the father, the mother and the son (the last being substantially identical with his father). This form of triad is expressed, at least in the Theban triad, by the singular formula, Amon—bull (that is to say, husband), of his mother, Amon being husband of Mout, but being identical with Chons, or Chonsou, who is begotten by her.²

Although the name of Amon, or rather perhaps the honorary epithet

¹ A paper read, on the 3rd September, before the Statutory IXth International Congress of Orientalists (London, 1891); translated from the French by C. H. E. Carmichael, M. A., Foreign Corresponding Member of the Society of Comparative Legislation, Paris, and of the Geographical Society, Lisbon.

² See Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschriften alt-Ägypt. Denkmäler*, pp. 176-7.

which it represents (the mysterious one), is found once or twice on the monuments anterior to the Middle Empire, neither Theban worship, properly so called, nor even the town of Thebes, is mentioned before the XIth Dynasty.

It is possible that the mythological or theological system of which I have been speaking belongs to very early times, even perhaps to the primitive period of Egyptian history ; but we have no proof of this, and it would be rash to assert, without further examination, that the same kind of triads has belonged to all countries. In fact we shall soon see that there were, even in Egypt, very different kinds of triads from this.

But, to keep for the present to the triad of Amon, Mout, and Chonsu, the expressions indicated may, if required, bear two senses ; that which I have stated, and that which would make Mout the mother of Amon himself, united with him for the birth of a son. If this is so, Amon and Mout are both eternal, and not Mout alone, as we shall see to be the case elsewhere, with another goddess. The unique designation of *mother*, (Mout), borne by the goddess of Thebes would favour this interpretation ; but nowhere, it appears to me, is it supported by any primitive text ; nowhere do we see attributed to the god Amon any other origin than himself, and the well-known formula, attributed to him, of "the god who gives existence to himself," expresses his eternity more naturally than his identity with his son. The idea of an independent eternity is really involved in the affirmation of the divine unity, expressly applied to Amon-Ra in the famous hymn of the XVIIIth Dynasty published by Grébaut, in which we read also the epithet : husband of his mother. The natural interpretation of this myth is, therefore, an eternal god, whose spouse is his double (*dédoublement*), since neither the one nor the other has any beginning, and who himself reproduces himself in another. We shall soon find a counterpart of this. In fact, hard by, in the same Nomos (province), at Erment, which the Greeks called Hermonthis, and which bore in the vulgar Pharaonic geography the name of *Ani* or *Anu-res*, viz., the Ani of the South, in contradistinction to the Northern *Ani*, or Heliopolis, we find a triad whose analogy with that of Thebes is striking, and amounts almost to identity. For here, in fact, the triad is composed of first, the god Month or Mentu, the god of the nomos, who is also the god of the city, doubtless the metropolis of the region before the building of Thebes,—then of the goddess *Te-Ra-peta*,—and, lastly, of *Hor-pe Ra-pe-Chrud*.¹

Month is at once a warrior and a solar god, qualities which the ancient mythologies readily combine : here he is purely solar, as Amon was at Thebes, since both are so described by their denominations even in the triads, Amon-Ra, Month-Ra. But the name of the goddess of Hermonthis does not mean the *mother* ; it means the *feminine sun of the world*. We recognise here, therefore, what I had suggested as probable a little above : a goddess, the feminine duplicate of her husband. As for their son, his name means *Hor* the *child sun*. Here, then, the fundamental identity of the father with the son is expressed by the name of the

¹ Brugsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 193-4.

latter instead of by the singular epithet with which we have met: the two triads of this province may, therefore, be considered as making but one. Such is the dogma of the Thebaïd.

III.

A little further south, in the third nomos of Upper Egypt (the Latopolite, that of Esne), we find the triad, Chnum, Nebut, He-ka-pe-Chrud.¹ Chnum, or Num (the Khnouphis of the Greeks), was also a solar god; but considered specially as the producer of life, and as a sovereign being, to whom was given the title of maker of gods and men, as the Jupiter of the Latin poet is called *hominum pater atque deorum*, he had for attributes the potter's wheel and the egg, representing a primitive germ in several mythologies.

Nebut has numerous synonyms in the Egyptian pantheon: she is Nit, Menhiit, Pacht, Tafnut, Hathor; but she is above all, Isis, whose symbolic head-dress (the cow's head) she wears. She is, therefore, the goddess of fecundity, an attribution which plainly corresponds with the title of author of gods and men borne by her husband. Heka, little or not at all known elsewhere, here bears no epithet but that of child (Pe-Chrud). But as the word Heka means to command (*prescrire*), one may believe that the son of Chnum and Nebut is the symbolical expression of the laws of that world of which his parents are the authors.

Here, therefore, we have three groups belonging to neighbouring countries, and in which the private relations of the persons who form each appear also to approximate to each other, as does likewise the general conception. But if we go a few steps further, if we advance towards the Nubian frontier, if we reach or pass the First Cataract, we find a conception of the triad very different from this.

IV.

The triad of the First Cataract, or rather of the province in which it is situated, comprises still the person of Chnum, but with him are two goddesses, Sati and Anq.² The name of Sati is indeed Egyptian; she is, like Isis, a sister-wife; but her name, or the orthography given to it, signifies an arrow, or the action of throwing darts, which appears to make her a solar deity. Nevertheless, Brugsch thinks that it may be understood also of the water which irrigates the earth, or of the seed which is sown therein. The Egyptian texts, he adds, do not permit us to doubt that Sati-t was a surname of Sothis, the goddess who spreads (*répand*) the Nile (*Sati-Hapu*), that is to say, who presides over the inundation—which began at the heliac rising of this star (Sirius), and Sothis is the star of Isis. And as the rising of her waters begins at the summer solstice, Sati naturally finds herself correlated with Chnum-Ra. The capital of the nomos, Hud, or T'es-Hor, moreover, has for its protector the god Hor.³ It would seem to result from this that Chnum-Ra, Sothis and Hor-Hud ought to form the local triad, a variant of the solar triad; but it is not so, or at

¹ Brugsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-173.

² Or Anuq; Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

³ Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

least it has not always been so. The worship of Hor-Hud is indeed of that nature, and the Greeks gave to this nomos (the second) the name of Apollinopolite, the post-Homeric confusion between Apollo and Helios having been made long before the Macedonian conquest: but Hor does not find a place in the triad as epigraphy makes it known to us. The third person in it is not a god, but a second goddess, Anq, whose name, moreover, is not Egyptian;—it is surely that of a Nubian divinity. Is this an alteration of the ancient worship due to foreign immigration? Perhaps; but at least we recognise the existence of a triad with two goddesses, on Egyptian territory, at a slight distance from Latopolis, at a moderate distance from Hermonthis and even from Thebes.

The same worship existed in the Nubian Province which was comprised in the Egyptian Empire, but with a difference. Chnum is, in Nubia, sometimes retained, sometimes is replaced, or more correctly perhaps, can be replaced by Amon, the two goddesses remaining the same.¹ Elsewhere, moreover, the triad of the Nubian nomos is composed of Ra, Schu (Shu), and Tafnut.² Schu is ordinarily the mythological expression of the rising sun; and we shall see elsewhere that Tafnut is his sister, and not his mother. It appears, therefore, that on both sides of the frontier the conception of the divine triad did not include the notion of maternity.

V.

If we now take our way down the Nile below Thebes, we shall find quite a different state of things. Of the eighteen nomoi which remain to be passed on the way to the southern frontier of Lower Egypt, ten (x.-xiv., and xviii.-xxii.) show no appearance of a triad.

At Coptos, Men, whom the Greeks called Pan, was adored under the characters alike of Osiris and of Horus;³ we have, therefore, here again the case of identity of son and father, but we do not see any female person. Elsewhere (nomoi vi. and viii.), we find Enneads in which we recognise, but not isolated, triads that we shall find again at Abydos and Heliopolis. In another nomos (vii.) we see a certain number of goddesses together with Chonsu; but it is not certain that this Theban god forms one single group with them.⁴ It is, on the contrary, the male gods, Thot, Sa, and Toun, who form a triad in nomos xv. (the Southern Hermopolite).⁵ We find two gods and a goddess (Chnum, Pacht, and Thot) in the sacred grotto called *Speos Artemidos* by the Greeks, a grotto which belonged to nomos xvi.,⁶ and here a Theban Ennead was adored together with the above triad, but in the next nomos (xvii., the Cynopolite),⁷ two triads divide the worship of the people: the one composed of three gods (Im-hopt, Hor-si-Esis, *i.e.*, Horus son of Isis, and Hap, the Nile); the other (Im-hopt, Pacht, and Anubis), more in conformity with the Theban model, but in which the first god, recognised as son of Ptah, cannot be assimilated

¹ Brugsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 161.

² Two inscriptions at Philæ (p. 151) describe as having come from Nubia both Shu (first read Mu), son of Ra, and his sister, Tafnut, whom we find elsewhere.

³ Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

either to the Theban Ammon or to the Chnum of the Cataract, who both represent a primordial divinity.

Even in the cases where an Egyptian text brings out the identity of a father and son, it never goes so far as to exhibit the latter under his proper name as the *fons et origo*. The Cynopolitan triad, which has just been mentioned, may be considered as a triad of the second rank.

VI.

We now at last reach the triad of Abydos, the most celebrated of all, because it was known to the Greeks and studied by Plutarch, and which was composed of Osiris, Isis,—his sister and wife,—and their son Horus. I call this a triad, although Osiris and Isis are called the children of Seb and Nut (the earth god and the sky goddess), and although they had for brothers and sister Hor-uer, Set (Typhon) and Nephthys, at least in the complete or completed mythology of later times.¹

It is certain that any one who takes up the study of Plutarch's treatise on Isis and Osiris finds himself very far from the known theory of the triads, and all the more because in this family he finds an obstinate feud existing. But is this opposition between the doctrines as complete or as real at bottom as it is in appearance? Is it an original or a factitious opposition? This is what we have to examine, distinguishing carefully between the various elements of the myth. Let us begin with the feature which is most incompatible with the doctrine of Thebes or Elephantine, namely, with the wicked war of brother against brother, continued, by way of defence or revenge, by the nephew against the uncle. I will not here reopen the examination into this question which I made in a lengthy paper presented to the Stockholm session of this Congress, and which is now printed (1891); but I must refer to the conclusions at which I arrived, especially as regards the earliest period. I believe that I *demonstrated* by the texts of that period, the greater part of which have only been recently published and translated (by Maspero, in his *Recueil*), that the idea of this hostility does not go back to the earliest times of the Egyptian religion, and that, on the contrary, Hor and Set were for a fairly long period considered as two names, *two distinct aspects of one and the same divinity*; that *the doctrine of hostility was slowly and painfully built up*; and lastly, that it never was fully and universally prevalent, except perhaps about the time of the Roman Empire. The Egyptian religion was *never* really dualistic. Besides the many and explicit texts belonging to all periods, which establish this result, we find indirect proof of it in a fact which the ignorance of the Alexandrians had obscured in Europe, but which Brugsch brought out into relief:² the fact, namely, that Nephthys, the wife of Set, is *never* considered otherwise than as a beneficent divinity.

¹ Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 207, and especially *Religion u. Mythologie d. alt. Ägypt.*, pp. 4-7, 83, 612, 614, 623, 631, 646, etc., De Rougé, *Notice Somm.*, pp. 135-9, 141-3, Renouf, *Hibbert Lect.*, 1879, pp. 110-15.

² *Rel. und Mythol. der alten Ägypt.*, pp. 732, 734, 737-8. The Greek tradition which made Nephthys the wife of Set is confirmed by a small monument in the Louvre, where we see her side by side with that god (Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'Archéol. Égyptienne*, p. 336). It is, moreover, an exceptional fact: usually she is a duplicate of Isis.

A goddess-wife is always more or less the duplicate of her husband. Here the goddess has kept her ancient character, although it has often been taken away from the god Set, probably for causes different from those mentioned in my paper referred to above. As to Haroeris (*Hor-uer*, Horus the elder), it is very difficult to look upon him as being essentially the uncle of Horus, and to see in his distinct personality anything else than a relatively recent mythological dream.¹

But Osiris, considered at first, it would seem, alone, as exercising the divine authority in the other world, since under the ancient empire funeral monuments alone contain his name,—Osiris, who has never been deprived of this attribute,—how comes he to figure in a triad in which Hor-Set plays the part of son, and Isis that of mother, while Hor, whose name represents the sky, the upper region, is manifestly a celestial god?

The substantial identity of father and son, a general principle of the theology of the Pharaohs, and which comes out more especially in the development of the doctrine of Osiris, will probably serve to solve this problem. *User* means *the powerful one (par excellence)*, and *Es-iri* signifies the seat of sight or of action: this latter etymology corresponds exactly with the *written* name of this divinity: in other words, Osiris is the master, the intelligent director of the world, which leads us to believe that he was never *confined* to the part of god of the dead. But since the future life is the more important of the two, the endless reign of justice, and since there is no ancient people in whose mind this doctrine held a greater place than among the Egyptians, it is there that we have been able, above all, to consider the supreme deity in its part of equitable arbiter of our future destinies, Hor, the celestial god, regulating the events of the visible world, but not being really distinct from Osiris; which the Egyptian mythology expressed,—or ended by expressing,—by making the one the father of the other.

Isis (Ese, Space), may at first have been a simple abstraction, helping to make plain the divine action in the several worlds. But when the custom prevailed of grouping the divine denominations into families, Isis, whose name, since the IVth Dynasty, was expressed in writing by one of the elements of the name of Osiris, naturally became his wife, and subsequently the mother of his son.

But when these questions have been settled, there arises another: Osiris and Isis are the children of Seb (or Qeb) and of Nut, of the god of the earth and the goddess of the sky, which appears to represent a naturalistic doctrine very different from that which dominates the part of Osiris.

That is true; but here, again, we must mistrust the information of Plutarch—Egyptian information, it is true, but expressing the tradition of the latest ages. We read in a stèle at the Louvre cited by Brugsch, and reproduced by Pierret²: “I am Tùm³: I made the sky for Ra-Horchenti,

¹ On this personage, see Brugsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 529-41.

² *Rel. u. Mythol.*, etc., p. 238. I have translated directly from the text given by Pierret, *Recueil d'Inscriptions inédites du Musée Egypt. du Louvre*, 2nd Part, p. 17), with the help of the citation by Brugsch.

³ [Tum seems to be sometimes identified with Osiris, as in the inscription on the Libation vase of Osor-Ur, translated by Paul Pierret, in *Records of the Past*, xii, p. 77. “Saith the Osiris . . . for I am Toun.” Translator.]

the earth for Qeb, producing and developing the beings who dwell on the earth." Elsewhere Qeb is called son of Schu: he is brother-husband of Nut, and consequently this couple is produced by a solar god.¹ All this does not in any way answer to the idea of a heaven and an earth considered as primordial, and, as a general thesis, the action of giving a father and mother to Isis does not seem really old. We find it propounded under the VIth Dynasty,² but we shall see with what contradictions.

In the Pyramid of Pepi I., Qeb stretches out one hand towards heaven, and the other towards the earth; other descriptions call him great god, lord of heaven and earth; lord of heaven, lord of the soil of the earth, and principally of the infernal region.³ The friend of the dead who reach a new sphere of existence in the east, he restores to them the use of their jaws, of their eyes, of their hands and leads them to the gates of heaven.⁴ He is called, lastly, the father of him who hath formed him,⁵ that is to say, father of his own father, according to one of those strangely energetic formulæ by which the Egyptians loved to express the identity of divine beings that belongs to their mythological being.

As for Nut, the epigraphy of the VIth Dynasty gives her for husband a son of Nit:⁶ she, also, although ordinarily represented with a woman's body, spangled with stars, is invoked as goddess of the dead, and heaven, of which she is the goddess, is the country of the gods, and the future dwelling-place of the defunct. We thus understand that she is the mother of King Teti. At this period she is described as daughter of Qeb and of Tafnut,⁷ which proves once again that the genealogy set forth by Plutarch is not primitive.

There is, therefore, no real obstacle to considering the triad of Abydos, in the religion of the period of the Pharaohs, as a veritable triad, in the same sense as those of Thebes and Hermonthis; and, moreover, the texts which admit this hypothesis are also those which set before us in the varied and sovereign attributes of Qeb and Nut, the expression of a power which extends over the whole world, alike, that is, over the world of bodies and over that of souls. Here again we find that mixture of theology with mythology which prevailed on the banks of the Nile.

VII.

We reach at last the local cults of Lower Egypt: the first that we shall find there is that of Memphis. Here the great god is Ptah, or, if we prefer another way of putting it, bears the name of Ptah. He is born again perpetually under the form of the Bull Apis, sometimes called the

¹ Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 577.

² Pyramid of Teti I. pp. 19-20, and Pepi I., pp. 160, 182, 184. *Recueil*, vol. v., pp. 36-38, clearly for Nut, and pp. 19-20, much less clearly for Seb. Cf. Pepi I., pp. 195-197.

³ Brugsch, *Rel. u. Mythol.*, pp. 577, 579.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 580.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 579.

⁶ *Rel. u. Mythol.*, p. 603.

⁷ *Recueil*, v., p. 165. Note that Qeb himself is elsewhere called son of Schu (*Rel. u. Mythol.*, p. 577), and that Schu is, as we shall see, brother or brother-husband of Tafnut. Thus Qeb must be, according to different texts, father, brother, and husband of Nut.

"new life of Ptah," and who was the more easily identified with Osiris that Ptah himself pretty frequently bears the name of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, yet another proof of the identity of the great gods.

But in this re-birth, Ptah was not brought forth from a goddess; the mother of Apis was a cow—real, not symbolical—which was believed to be impregnated by a celestial fire, and the Apis was recognised by certain divisions in the colour of his hair. He, therefore, does not figure in a divine triad, but Ptah had an exclusively divine son who was called Imhotep. At Memphis, says M. de Rougé, "he fulfilled part of the functions which the Thebans attributed to Khons, son of Ammon;" but I have never met with any direct identification of Pacht, or Sekhet, who was called his mother, and the goddess mother of Khons, viz., Mut. The name of the latter, as we have seen, simply means mother, while Sekhet is an infernal goddess, with the head of a lioness, who torments the guilty in hell. Ptah, moreover, is called *father of the beginnings*; he is the creator of the cosmic egg of the sun; his name means *to open* and *to sculpture*¹: he is, therefore, regarded as one who develops the beings whose germs were in the egg of chaos and who gives them their definite shape; lastly, he is often represented under the wrappings of a mummy.²

There are doubtless marked relations between this conception and that of Amon-Ra, the author of the world, but not an identity; above all, there is not identity in the triad as a whole, the two goddesses bear no resemblance to each other. One and the same general idea underlies the doctrines of the Memphitic school, probably the more ancient by several centuries, but in Southern Egypt this idea was not developed and formulated as in Northern Egypt.

VIII.

Not far from there, in the town of Tum (the setting, or set, Sun),³ in the Northern Ani, which the Greeks called Heliopolis, we find a triad yet more markedly distinct; for the goddess mother is not there, although the group is composed of two gods and a goddess.

This triad consisted of Tum himself, his son Schu (formerly Mu) the rising sun, and Tafnut, a goddess with the head of a lioness—*i.e.*, it consisted of father, brother and sister.⁴ All three will be found also in the Ennead of Tentyris [Dendera], where Schu is explicitly called son of the Sun-god; but neither there, nor at Heliopolis, is any reference made to the mother.

¹ [Renouf, *Hibbert Lect.*, 1879, p. 178, calls Ptah the "opener," or the "Artist," and says that the Egyptian word Ptah "combines the sense of opening, or rather of laying open, with that of artistic work." He also points out that "it was because the Sun was the Opener that he was considered the Artist, especially in Memphis, the seat of the Arts, of which he was the chief divinity." In connection with the rendering "sculptor," it may be noted that *sculpere* is, according to Renouf, the only sense which the word retains in Coptic.—Tr.]

² Cf. Brugsch, *Geog. Inschr.*, I. pp. 235, 238, and De Rougé, *Notice Somm.*, pp. 125-7.

³ The sacred names of this town were Pa-Ra, or Pa-Toum (Palace of the Sun), or again, Es-Ra, Ha-Tum, Throne of Ra, Dwelling of Tum, who is described as lord of the town or of the nomos. His name is sometimes replaced by another solar designation, Hor-em-akhu (Brugsch, *Geog. Inschr.*, pp. 254-5) or Harmachis, Horus in the horizons.

⁴ See a passage in the *Todtenbuch*, xviii. 4, cited by Brugsch, *Ibid.*

The divine sonship, therefore, has hitherto escaped the material conditions to which it is elsewhere brought back, in the imagination of the Egyptians.

A strange myth, long known in Europe since it was mentioned by Herodotus, expresses the same idea; and upon this myth it has been possible to expatiate (or divagate) at length, while the Egyptian texts did not clear it up; but now it is no longer in doubt.¹ This is the myth of the phoenix, periodically reproducing itself without a mother, an emblem of the re-birth of man in the future life, but by this very fact an emblem also of the daily re-birth of the sun, to which the Egyptians loved to liken the other: but neither presupposes a mother. If the goddess Tafnut is contained within this triad, it is as a duplication of Schu. The divine sister may be a duplicate as well as a wife; and, in Egyptian mythology, these two notions are often fused. In an inscription at Edfu, Tafnut is described as a female Schu, differentiated from the god only by the grammatical mark of the feminine gender. Much more is the idea of a god the husband of his mother entirely absent.

All this is incontestable as regards the great triad of Heliopolis. But it does not necessarily follow that there was not worshipped at Heliopolis a triad consisting of father, mother, and son. There really was such a triad there, and even closely bound up with the other, in virtue of the consideration just mentioned. Schu and Tafnut are expressly spoken of sometimes as a conjugal couple, sometimes as the twin children of the great solar god, Tum or Ra,² and the instance of Osiris and Isis suffices to show that these two notions were by no means incompatible. Tafnut is herself a solar divinity as well as Schu. The solar disk was represented on her lioness-head. But the triad is completed by their child, *Hor-sam-ta-ui*, who has been said to represent the new-year sun,³ but whose name means Horus reuniting under his sway the two countries, *i.e.*, the North and the South. It is, therefore, a sun, likewise, but a sun in its mighty relations with the terrestrial world.

Nevertheless, this triad is quite secondary; for it holds scant place in the Egyptian texts. It seems to be almost universally ignored, while the other is celebrated everywhere, although neither Schu nor Tafnut has given a name to any towns.⁴

On the wall of a temple in the Oasis of Hibis may be read these words—part of a hymn to Amon-Ra:

“The gods issued forth from thee. Thy emanation was for Schu, and thy begetting for Tafnut, in order to form the nine gods at the beginning of the becoming. Thou art the lord of the twin couple of lions.”⁵

Tum being only a form (condition) of Ra, we see here the great triad of Heliopolis, but we see it under the aspect of a primordial group anterior even to the gods. Similarly at Xoïs, we read these words addressed to the same god, Amon-Ra:

¹ See M. Wiedemann's Art. in *Zeitsch.*, 1879, pp. 89-106, M. T. H. Martin, Dean of the Faculty at Rennes, had already cleared the way by his *Mémoire sur la période du Phénix*.

² Brugsch, *Rel. u. Mythol.*, pp. 121, 195, 371, 422, 490, 492.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 573-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Rel. u. Myth.*, p. 422.

"Thou art the sole god who has been divided into two portions; thou art the creator of the egg and the begetter of his pair of twins."¹

The essence of the myth of the triad is, therefore, the identification of the child with its father.

Before leaving Heliopolis, let us add that a list of gods taken down by Brugsch in a funeral chapel at Thebes, mentions, with many others,² five names of divinities distinguished as Heliopolitan, viz., Tum, Schu, Tafnut, Seb, and Nut. But a text of El-Kab expressly identifies Tafnut with Nut.³ On the other hand, Osiris is sometimes called Prince of Heliopolis, the chief of Heliopolis, and he must, for the authors of those texts, have been the great sun-god.⁴

IX.

Nowhere else in Lower Egypt do I find a triad properly so called: but the myth of Sais deserves close study, for it seems to have been the only clear instance of a primordial goddess begetting without a spouse—a notion which I have already indicated as possible but not probable, when speaking of the Theban myth.

Only we must recognise that the best known text, and one of the most distinct, which has reference to the goddess of Sais, is not earlier than the last years of the sixth century B.C.⁵

It has been traced subsequently to the conquest of Cambyses; it is the great inscription of Ut'a-Hor-Sun, called the Inscription of the Naophorous statuette of the Vatican, where the goddess Neit is styled "the great, the mother, she who hath borne Ra, the first child, not begotten (*engendré*) but brought forth (*enfanté*)."

A little further down, the author calls her "the great, the divine mother of the great gods of Sais." Now, these must include all the great gods of Egypt, for Ut'a-Hor-Sun adds that Sais is the town of all the gods, and that Neit is "the divine mother of the great [*gods*]," without making any distinction between them. But the strict title of mother of Ra is attributed to her at the end of the same inscription.

The character of this strange goddess is brought into relief (*accentué*) a long way from Sais, at Esne,⁶ where she is called not only "ancient mother of the divinity," but "father of fathers, mother of mothers, the scarabæus and the vulture (emblems of paternal and maternal generation), which exists from the beginning."

Numerous inscriptions agree in showing her as moulder (*formatrice*) of the world. She is the creator of Atum (Tum), "who was when nothing was, and has made all that has existed. She is the cow Meht-uer, that is to say, the entire fulness which concealed under its powerful volume of waters the earth which was to come."⁷

In a Pharaonic inscription at Tentyra [Dendera], she is called also,

¹ Brugsch, *Kel. u. M.*, p. 422.

² *Geog. Insch.*, p. 265.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁵ This text was translated into French long ago by M. de Rougé in *Annales de Philologie Chrétienne*, and into German by Brugsch, in *Geog. Insch.*, pp. 247-8.

⁶ Brugsch, *Kel. u. Myth.*, p. 114.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

"Lady of the two worlds who dwells in Thebes, the great mother who was at the beginning with the god Nun (Abyssus), the great mother, who has no mother."¹

But the varied abundance and the contradiction of the terms which designate her must be followed into every particular, if we wish to have a real (I do not say a clear) idea of what was the nature of the Pantheistic school among the Egyptians, of the correlation and confusion of the divinities and groups, especially in that school.

Neit, goddess of Latopolis, has been identified with Tafnut because of her marriage with Chnum, there considered as a form of Schu, the brother-husband of that goddess and son of Neit-Menhit: this formulates the identity of the mother and daughter. This Neit-Menhit of Esne, great lady of the land of the South, is, moreover, herself "the germ of gods and men, mother of Ra, she who exalts Atum, she who was when nothing was, she who has made what is here, after she had become father of fathers and mother of mothers, she is the lady of the father's house and of the mother's house."²

At Thebes she takes the name of Amont (the female Amon) as mother of the sun. She is also mother of the sun at Tentyra, where, moreover, she is expressly called lady of Saïs.³

This mention of Neit under her ordinary appellation, and without any memorial of Tafnut, is no isolated fact in Upper Egypt. In a royal tomb at Thebes—that of Queen Teti—she is also called "great Neit, divine mother, lady of heaven." She is also styled "divine mother" and at the same time lady of Northern Saitica in an inscription at Denderah.⁴

It is, therefore, certain, that for the priesthood and people of Saïs, the goddess Neit was the one absolutely primitive divine being, a mother without a husband, mother of all the gods, and specially of the sun-god, under his name of Ra. He does not here bear, it is true, his Theban title of Amon-Ra, under which, at least since the early days of the new empire, he was adored as the only (*unique*) god.

But eight or nine centuries after the great Theban kings, the impression produced by that exaltation of their Ra was to be, and for a long time, made general. Here, again, we should find it difficult to mistake this want of logic which has frequently had to be noticed in Egyptian mythology.

Another Saitic document, a sarcophagus preserved at Turin, describes Bast, or Basti, as being "the chief lady of Saïs."⁵

Elsewhere Osiris is called "the chief of Saïs," as we have lately seen him called the prince or chief of Heliopolis; at Esne it is Min (or Khem) who is called lord of Saïs.⁶ But the contradiction here is not so flagrant as that which appears to exist between the dogmas of Saïs and of Thebes; the variety of names may cover and has often covered an identity of

¹ Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth.*, p. 122, cf. p. 168.

² *Ibid.*, p. 348.

³ *Id.*, *Rel. u. Myth.*, p. 353.

⁴ *Id.*, *Geog. Insch.*, p. 245.

⁵ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

⁶ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, u. s. Cf. *Zeitsch.*, 1882, p. 39.

mythological personages. The identity of Min with Osiris is set forth in a text in which the god bears both these names with the epithet *Meh'nofré*, (he who increases good,¹) a title under which we may recognise both the meaning of Unnofré, a characteristic epithet of Osiris, and that of a development, by way of generation, of the nature of beings, presided over by Min.

X.

If we now recapitulate in its entirety all that we have learned, what conclusions can we draw therefrom? It seems to me that these are :—

The question of the Egyptian triads is more complicated, or, if the expression be preferred, more varied, than had at first been supposed.

If all the nomoi of Pharaonic Egypt had not by any means all of them a tutelary triad, if the Enneads are scarcely less numerous, and if the greater part of the towns did not possess (at least properly speaking) either the one or the other of these collective forms of worship, even all the triads do not bear anything like a close resemblance to each other. A few only are composed of father, mother, and son. Elsewhere the goddess is the sister or wife, and not the mother of the third divinity. Yet again, elsewhere, the three divinities are male; and we also find a god accompanied by two goddesses. Nowhere can we indicate, with any precision, at what period of history each of these groups was formed. And none of them, notwithstanding the substantial identity of father and son, recalls in its integrity the idea of the Christian Trinity.

We do not even understand, in the midst of such a variety, what was the general conception beneath the formation of these groups, if any such there was. If, then, our study of the subject has fixed our attention on a certain number of results at once positive and interesting, the idea which emerges from the whole is chiefly negative. Does this necessarily mean that it is without interest? I am far from suggesting this. To stop or prevent the formation of an erroneous doctrine is no indifferent matter, whether in morals or science. And notwithstanding the immense progress which has been made during the last half-century in Oriental studies, we cannot say that the dangerous temptation to set up hypotheses has been entirely overcome. Here, as also sometimes in what concerns prehistoric times, my life has been for several years, and will be to the end, devoted in great part to services of this kind.

But on the banks of the Euphrates also we have been taught by recent discoveries the existence of triads. What are these in themselves? Can they help to make us understand the Egyptian triads better? Has there been an influence of the one set over the other? These are difficult and perhaps, to a certain extent, premature questions. Nevertheless, as it appears to me that if I were not to touch upon them, something would be wanting in my present paper, I will, on that account, ask the Congress kindly to lend me its attention a little longer, for the remarks which I shall have to make upon this question.

¹ *Id.*, p. 213. His identification with Athené may arise either from a metathesis, or from the shuttle, which is its phonetic sign.

XI.

The *Hibbert Lectures* of Prof. Sayce may be compared, for the abundance of the documents contained in them, with the great work of Brugsch ; moreover, it appears to me that these *Lectures* ought to put an end for ever, by bringing back the question to its proper limits and by setting in relief the reciprocal and prolonged influence of the Accado-Sumerian and Semitic races, to the objections previously formulated by science against this dualism, objections which, for my own part, I was never able to consider reconcilable with the nature of man's mind, the history of Babylonian writing being what we know it to be.

Prof. Sayce recognises both Accado-Sumerian triads, and Babylonian triads, properly so called. The old Accadians, he says,¹ appear to have had an inclination to a triad. Among the Chaldean Semites, triads were but exceptional, although these exceptions fill a considerable space in their mythology. But when we study these triads in the two races, we only recognise that we usually cannot affiliate them on those of Thebes, Abydos, and Memphis. Generally speaking, even, we may say that the female members of the triads do not appear there. This does not mean that there were no goddesses adored by a Sumerian race. Such there certainly have been, and we can recognise several of them in the inscriptions of Telloh, the most ancient known;² but there is, in these latter, no appearance of divinities grouped in triads.

The most ancient triad known in this region is the expression of a sort of federation of cults : Ea, the great god of Eridou, and Mul-lil, the great god of Nipur, were associated with the great god of Erech, Ana, the creative heaven,—doubtless the same who was adored at Telloh by Gudea.³ This recalls to us, though without any idea of a borrowing, the Brahmanic triad formed by the combination of three mythologies not only different but opposed,—in the case, at least, of two of them,—*viz.*, the Triad of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. This fact, belonging to a period which appears relatively recent, ought to suffice to prevent the raising of any previous question arising from a probability with regard to the association of which Mr. Sayce speaks. Now in this very combination we see a flagrant opposition to all the Egyptian triads. Each of these is special to a particular town, although it may eventually have been worshipped in different towns ; never were they formed by the grouping together of divinities special to various nomoi.

But what do these three great Chaldean gods represent ?

Ea, the Oannes of the Babylonian Semites, was lord of the depths of the sea.⁴ He became afterwards, he perhaps already was in ancient Eridou, the revealer of science and of wisdom. Mul-lillah, Oppert⁵ tells us, is the same god who was worshipped by the Assyrians under the name of Bel, the mighty, the master *par excellence* ; his attribute, therefore, was that of

¹ *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 110.

² See *Transactions* of the Berlin Congress [of Orientalists], pp. 242-3, Oppert ; Leyden Congress [do.], pp. 627-33, Oppert ; Vienna Congress [do.], pp. 250-55, Hommel.

³ Sayce, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-93, and cf. p. 110.

⁴ Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁵ *Trans.*, Leyden Congress, p. 630.

god of war, and we have seen that Ana is the creator of the world. Thus the formation of the world, the wisdom which enlightens it, the might which directs it,—these are the known attributes, in historic times, of the most ancient triad which we have found worshipped at Babylon. Did this triad sooner or later personify the physical sky, the depths of the sea, the inhabited earth? I cannot pretend to decide this point here; but I may be permitted to draw attention to a general observation. From the fact that a particular divinity in a particular region has been invested with a physical and an intellectual or moral character, it would be very rash to conclude, without the testimony of an historical chronology (which is the case now before us), that the first attribute preceded the second. As long as man has existed, *men have been men*; and therefore they possess a moral sense, intellectual faculties, and physical organs. If the demonstration of the fact of a primitive revelation be accepted, no one will support the thesis that it necessarily had for its sole object that which relates to man physically; while for those who do not accept this demonstration, silence and uncertainty will be the most logical—the only logical—answer, with regard to the nature of the conception of a divine being by the mind of man.¹

But if the great attributes, creative wisdom and power, just enumerated, were really the primitive attributes of the great gods of Erech, Eridou, and Nipur, another question arises. Evidently, all three at the same time agree in *the* divinity, the sole divine being. Are we to conclude that the reason alleged by Prof. Sayce in explanation of the formation of this triad, —*viz.*, the fusion of pre-existing cults,—is inadmissible because, for a good Theodicea, each of the three involves the others? I do not think that this is a rigorously *historic* conclusion. Each of the three towns might adore the divinity under a special aspect, the one as creative, the other as intelligent, and the third, again, as mighty. If my present essay carries us back to a very remote period, it nevertheless does not take us back to the origin of the human race. Transformations of religious thought had had the time to be evolved under the influence of varying causes. All the great races whose primitive history we know or guess, have, at an early date, in their towns or their schools, broken up the divinity which they worshipped by personifying its attributes or its acts. Logic took this as it best could; for logic is not a popular idea. Contradictions of this kind are not wanting in ancient Egypt, and at a time less remote not only than the ancient but even than the middle empire of the Pharaohs. The Vedic Hymns are addressed to Beings described as distinct, although in the same collection their *identity* is affirmed, notwithstanding that Brahmanic Pantheism was not yet in existence. Why should not a similar phenomenon have been witnessed in ancient Chaldea?

XII.

We find among the Babylonian Semites a reproduction, or rather a counterpart, of the triad, a reproduction naturally brought on by the

¹ With the exception, however, of a fact, which I have pointed out elsewhere, *viz.*, that texts, *with the relative dates*, show us the development of doctrine proceeding generally from the more spiritual to the less spiritual.

Sumerian influence upon the Semitic civilization of that country.¹ Ana, the god of Erech, is called Anu at Babylon;² the other two members of the Triad are Ea, who sometimes³ retains his proper name, and sometimes⁴ bears that of Oannes (or at least the name which the Greek text of Berosus transcribes as Oannes), and Bel, who was identified with Mul-lil, or Mul-lillah, by the Accadians themselves.⁵ This latter was considered as the god of the infernal world; but the correlation between this attribute and that of a power exercised upon the earth is not unacceptable: it answers to the complex attributes of the Chthonic deities in ancient Greece. As for the solar character of the Semitic and Canaanite Bel or Baal,⁶ it is in a measure inseparable from that of the great divinity among some Aryan nations.

Now if Bel is essentially the master, the Mighty one, he is also called the Just one.⁷ Oannes was, according to the Chaldean Berosus⁸ the revealer of civilization; and the celestial god, Ana-Anu, was, says Sayce,⁹ the dominant member of the triad, from the beginning of the Semitic period—thus expressing, although in a very imperfect manner, the idea of a supreme being, over the other two great gods, which recalls the superiority of Zeus, the celestial god, over Poseidon, a marine god like Oannes, and over Pluto, the Chthonic god.

If, then, the group of three Babylonian gods constitutes a triad,¹⁰ it is not at all on the same grounds as those recognised by Sayce for the Sumerian group. Nevertheless it is not clear that even for this group, all idea of a hierarchy must be rejected.

An means properly the *divine*.¹¹ may not this be the god of gods (*par excellence*), answering to the meaning of El, Ilou?¹²

But Bel gives occasion for a transition of the triad of the three great gods into another which recalls those of Thebes, Hermonthis, Abydos, and Memphis. The Bel, or Baal Merodach, the great god of Babylon, was, for the Semites, the son of Ea.¹³ He was sometimes called Bel the elder,¹⁴ so susceptible of confusion is the order of the divine births in Babylon as in Egypt—and, under the name of Merodach, he had a wife, Zarpanit, and a son, Nebo.¹⁵ Generally, doubtless, the Semitic goddesses were mere dummies, duplicates of their husbands.¹⁶ If there be an exception for Istar, it is because she is of Accadian, not Semitic, origin.¹⁷

But, says Prof. Sayce, the Accadian goddess connected with Merodach,

¹ Sayce, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-7, 105.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 186-90, cf. pp. 192-3, and 208.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-9, 103.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 139.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 145, 147. See also the preceding section.

⁶ Semitized Canaanites. See Sayce.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

⁸ Cosmogonic Fragments.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 193, and cf. Lenormant, *Essai de Commentaire sur les fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, pp. 65-6.

¹⁰ Represented together on an Art Monument, see Lenormant, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹¹ Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹² Lenormant, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

¹³ Sayce, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-9, 104.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 112.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-6, cf. 252, 260, 265.

was mother rather than wife of the primitive Merodach;¹ we, therefore, find here again, under another form, that confusion of wife and mother of which we have had a glimpse in Egypt. She was lady of the depths,² as Ea, the father of Merodach, was their lord; she was therefore identified with Lakhmun, goddess of the Sumerian town of Dilmun.³ On the other hand, Nebo, who borrowed his name from his quality of prophet, proclaimed the will of Merodach, as Merodach proclaimed that of Ea, the author of the wisdom which his son enjoyed,⁴ just as, in a Homeric hymn⁵ it is expressly said that Zeus is the true author of the oracles given forth by Apollo at Delphi.

We have here, therefore, a triad which is subordinate, and has greater analogy than the former with the Egyptian conception. Let us add, if we will, that the third person of the Babylonian triad, the god Nebo, has some analogy with Thoth, and that Chons, the third person of the Theban triad, has sometimes been confounded with Thoth. But is this confusion really ancient?

XIII.

Hitherto nothing has pointed to any astronomical myths, and Prof. Sayce is right in accusing so-called men of science of the early days of our century of a mania for imagining these everywhere. Nevertheless, astronomy was certainly not unknown to the Chaldean religion; but we do not find it taking a very high rank there, at least in the most ancient times. There can be no question here of following its development and history, but only of indicating the part due to it in the study of the triads.

Below the theological and cosmogonic triad denoted by the numbers 60 (Anou), 50 (Bel), and 40 (Nisruk),⁶ there was worshipped a Celestial triad: Sin (the moon-god, son of Bel), Samas (the sun-god, son of the Semitic god, Nisruk),⁷ and Bin, the power of the atmosphere, son of Anou, presiding over the stars, represented respectively by the numbers 30, 20, 10,⁸ which, however, does not prevent Sin from being, in certain texts, called the lord of the spirits, the king of the gods;⁹ and Samas, the great motor, the arbiter of heaven and earth.¹⁰

As sovereign ruler of the atmospheric world, Bin is at once a beneficent god as the author of fertility through rain, and a terrible divinity as the author of storms, whirlwinds and inundations.¹¹ I say terrible rather than ill-doing, because Bin is looked upon as exercising justice over the guilty: he carries the thunder, and sweeps away rebels.

From all this it results that the attributes of sovereign power are scarcely shared by the members of this secondary triad: each is master of the

¹ Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁵ Hymn to Hermes, etc., 532-8.

⁶ Lenormant, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71. Nisruk, intelligent guide, lord of knowledge, lord of life and of the visible world, master of the waters, and governor of the depths (p. 68), is evidently Oannes.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹¹ Lenormant, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

world. If, therefore, we may recognise some logic in the authors of this system, we must consider this class of mythological beings as simple mouthpieces of a Superior Being. In so far as they are the issue of the preceding triad, they may represent an extension or translation rather than a transformation of the doctrine.

But the astronomical myth of the Chaldeans was not always identical, or in all places or all schools. If we revert to the Sumerian period, we shall find quite a different conception of it, and that one which, if I am not mistaken, never disappeared altogether from the mythology of Babylon.

XIV.

Lenormant had thought that he could recognise in Sin the chief god of the very ancient town of Our (Ur), and consequently a personage of the Accado-Sumerian mythology. We know more about this now, and Sayce teaches us to recognise different relations between the moon-god and the sun-god, according as they are looked at from the point of view of pre-Semitic tradition, or from that of the Semitic tradition of Babylonia. In the official religion of Chaldea, says Sayce,¹ the sun-god was the issue of the moon-god: in Semitic doctrine, the sun was the *father* and lord of the gods, and the moon was his *wife*; but wherever Chaldean influence had made itself felt, the sun is an inferior god. At Our the moon-god was invoked as father of the gods;² and, strangely enough, this superiority seems to have increased in the latter days of the Babylonian empire,³ notwithstanding the higher part which the sun plays elsewhere in the Semitic forms of religion.⁴

Prof. Sayce also points out that in several towns of primitive antiquity the moon-god was, as at Our, the centre of a local worship; but that at Larsa, at least, and at one of the Sipparas, the sun was the special god of the town: he even thinks that it was at Larsa that was originated that union of the two worships in which the two astral gods were declared to be brothers.

In any case, nothing can be less permeated with that alleged depth of astronomical science which some have insisted on attributing to a remote antiquity, than this idea, according to which it would be necessary to consider the light of the sun as having proceeded from that of the moon.

The union of which I have just spoken, and by means of which the system of triads is applied to the sidereal world, was, therefore, never equally accepted everywhere. Down to the last, one Babylonian doctrine persisted in giving to Sin the title of *father* and creator of gods and men; Babylonian Semites consented to recognise his superiority.⁵

This fact has even been noted under a form which permits us to return to the theory of the triads, but under new conditions. The goddess Istar, Accado-Sumerian by origin, we have seen, since she is not the duplicate of any male divinity — Istar is called by Nabonidus⁶ the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-6, 175.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

daughter of Sin, as she is already in the poem on her descent into hell, and she is the sister of Samas; which shows that this filiation is not, in the present instance, a copyist's error, as Tiele thought.¹ And Nabonidus also calls her daughter of Bel, whose high place in the Babylonian mythology is well known.

If Bel and Sin bear in the same place the title of father of Istar, it is because Sin is identified with *the* Bel *par excellence*. But we also see that there was worshipped in Babylonia a Triad composed, like that of Heliopolis, of father, brother, and sister. Elsewhere again² Istar is called daughter of Ana and An-ta, which produces an altogether new triad, consisting of father, mother, and daughter. So in the Epopee of Babylon, she is daughter of Anu and Antu.³

In the seventh century, Istar is called sometimes the daughter of Bel, sometimes of Assur,⁴ who is the great Bel of Nineveh; but she is also called sister of Mardouk or Merodach,⁵ who was son of Ea; whence Tiele concludes, not without reason, that Bel, Assur, Ea, were, at that time, different names of one and the same divinity. Here again we find an identity of being under a diversity of persons—an identity which he resolutely extends to Anou.⁶

By taking one step more, the learned Dutchman might have admitted that paternity for Sin which we have seen him reject.

Thus, in Chaldea as in Egypt, the triads differ remarkably amongst themselves; they do not, by any means, answer to a common conception, in Babylonia any more than in India, and under none of their forms do they correspond to the doctrine of the Trinity.

It is, moreover, only exceptionally that a Chaldean doctrine can be considered as corresponding here to any of the multiform doctrines of Egypt, (except identity of beings under various names,) and even this exception meets with no sufficient explanation in any historic fact.

Such is the negative conclusion to which we are led by the studies which we here bring to a close; but here I say again: to refute an erroneous hypothesis, or simply to prevent it, is no unimportant result for science. We have, moreover, formulated other conclusions, in the course of this our work, in the matter of the identification of various gods, both in Babylonia and in Egypt, the value of which it is for the Congress to determine.

¹ *Trans.*, Leyden Congress, p. 498. But see Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

² *Trans.*, Leyden Congress, U.S.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

LĀMAISM AND ITS SECTS.

BY L. A. WADDELL, M.B.

MUCH insight into the essentials of Lāmaism—that mystic cult of Tibet and Central Asia—may be gained by glancing at Lāmaist Schismatics.

So well have the Lāmas concealed their customs that little has hitherto been learned about the several Sects, beyond the rough distinction into “red” and “yellow-caps,” the so-called “*Nying-ma-pa*” and “*Ge-lug-pa*,” and the scant data often vague and confused collected by Csoma de Kőrös, Köppen* and Schlagintweit† thirty to sixty years ago. But having for several years, in the Society of Tibetan Lāmas, enjoyed special facilities for penetrating their reserve, and personally investigating such questions, I have elicited a good deal of information on this subject, some of which is of general interest.

At the outset let us recall the leading facts in the growth and geographical extension of Buddhism, to see the points at which the chief innovations and strange creeds crept in, which resulted in Lāmaism.

Buddhism is a product of purely Indian origin and growth. In India it took its rise and reached its full development. Arising as an agnostic idealism about the 5th century B.C. at Benares, then, as now, the religious headquarters of the Hindus, Buddhism soon spread over the Gangetic valley; and in the 3rd century B.C. was actively propagated by the Great Asoka, the Constantine of Buddhism, who adopting it as his State religion, zealously propagated it throughout his own vast empire, and sent numerous missionaries into the adjoining lands to diffuse the faith. Thus was it transported to Burma, Ceylon and Siam on the South, to Nepal and the countries to the North of India, Kashmir, Bactria, Afghanistan, etc., and about 61 A.D. to China, and through China to Mongolia, and about the 6th century A.D. to Japan, taking strong hold on all of these peoples, though they were very different from those among whom it arose, and exerting on all the wilder tribes among them a very sensible civilizing influence.

During all this time Tibet remained in isolated darkness, and was inaccessible even to the Chinese, and this was still its condition at the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The people were predatory savages without a written language; and though now surrounded by Buddhist countries they yet knew nothing of that religion. Early in the 7th century A.D. was born Srong-tsan-gampo, whose ancestors, a generation or so before, had established authority over the other wild clans of Central Tibet, and latterly had harassed the western borders of China; so that the Chinese Emperor was glad to come to terms with the young Prince, and

* *Die Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, Berlin, 1859.

† *Buddhism in Tibet*, Leipzig, 1863. Some detached notes on sects are given by S. C. DASS in the *Bengal Asiatic Society Jour.* and by W. RAMSAY in his *Western Tibetan Dictionary*, Lahore, 1891.

gave him in 641 A.D. according to the Chinese Annals* a Princess of the Imperial house in marriage. Two years previously Srong-tsan-gampo had married a daughter of the Nepal King. And both of these wives being bigoted Buddhists they speedily effected the conversion of their young husband, then only about 24 years of age, who under their advice sent to India and China for Buddhist books and teachers. From this epoch dates the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet and some beginnings of civilization among its people.

But here it is necessary to refer to the changes in form which Buddhism meanwhile had undergone in India. As Buddhism extended its range and influence, there constantly cropped up heresies and discords tending to produce schisms, for the suppression of which it was found necessary to hold great Councils. Of these Councils the one held at Jalandhara in the first century A.D. under the auspices of King Kanishka of Northern India was epoch-making; for it established a permanent schism into what Burnouf has conveniently termed the "Northern" and "Southern" Schools;—the Southern being now represented by Ceylon, Burma and Siam; and the Northern by Tibet, Sikhim, Bhotan, Nepal, China, Mongolia, Tartary and Japan.

The point of divergence of the Northern and Southern Schools was the Mahāyāna doctrine, or "The Great Vehicle," a transcendental philosophy which substituted for the plain practical asceticism and simple morality of the primitive Buddhists, an extravagantly speculative theistic system and abstract meditation as a "Vehicle" offering speedier and more certain conveyance and shorter cuts to Nirvana—thus substituting good *words* for the good *works* of the primitive Buddhists.

The reputed leader of this Mahāyāna system so opposed in many ways to Buddha's teaching, was Nāgārjuna, whose School taught in the *Prajna-Paramita* or "the means of arriving at the other side of Wisdom," that the ten *paramita* or transcendental virtues were indispensable; that any one who truly tried might speedily and certainly become a Bodhisatwa and attain Nirvana; that Nirvana was not extinction; that a blissful state with theistic Buddhas beyond the circle of rebirths was attainable; and these tenets were supplemented by a mysticism of sophistic nihilism which dissolves every proposition into a thesis and its antithesis and denies both.

Kanishka's council having affirmed the superiority of this Mahāyāna system, which gained ready popularity by developing the materialistic side of Buddhism, published in the Sanskrit language inflated versions of the Buddhist Canon, and supported by Kanishka, who almost rivalled Asoka in his Buddhist zeal, the Mahāyāna ultimately triumphed over the more puritanical Hinayāna, and became a dominant form of Buddhism in India.

Intense Mysticism was the inevitable outcome of the Mahāyāna system with its severe ritual and objective Buddhism, and it soon declared itself in polytheistic forms and fantastic idolatry. Its creation of Celestial Bodhisatwas actively willing and able to save, and its introduction of innumerable deities and demons as objects of prayer and worship were doubtless facilitated by the Grecian Art influences then prevalent in

* Dr. S. W. Bushell in *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, 1880, p. 435.

Northern India. The worship of Buddha's image seems to date from this time, the first century of our era, and about five centuries after Buddha's death. And it was followed by images of mythic Buddhas and celestial Bodhisatwas. And ultimately "the five" Buddhas were made to appear as material reflexes from five immortal *Dhyani* Buddhas or Celestial Buddhas of Meditation.

About 500 A.D. Mahāyāna Mysticism received a further development at the hands of Asaṅga, a Buddhist monk of Gandhārā (Peshawar) in Northern India. Asaṅga grafted upon the theistic Mahayana the ecstatic meditation of Yoga. And this parasite containing within itself the germs of Tāntrism seized strong hold of its host and soon developed its monstrous outgrowths which crushed and strangled most of the little life yet left of purely Buddhist stock.

Yoga or the doctrine of ecstatic union of the individual with the Universal Spirit had been introduced into Hinduism about 150 B.C. by Patanjali. It taught that by moral consecration of the individual to Ishvara or the Supreme Soul, and mental concentration upon one point with a view to annihilate thought there resulted the eight great Siddhi or magical powers, namely (1) "the ability to make one's body lighter, or (2) heavier, or (3) smaller, (4) or larger, than anything in the world, and (5) to reach any place, or (6) to assume any shape, and (7) control all natural laws, and (8) to make everything depend upon oneself, all at pleasure of will—*Iddhi* or *Riddi*." On this basis Asaṅga, importing Patanjali's doctrine into Buddhism and abusing it, taught that by means of mystic formulas—*dharanis* (extracts from Mahāyāna *sutras* and other Scriptures) and *mantra* (short prayers to deities)—as spells, "the reciting of which should be accompanied by music and certain distortion of the fingers (*mudrā*), a state of mental fixity (*samādhi*) might be reached characterized by neither thought nor annihilation of thoughts, and consisting of sixfold bodily and mental happiness (*Yogī*) whence would result endowment with supernatural miracle-working power." These miraculous powers, it was alleged, are far more efficacious than mere moral virtue, and may be used for exorcism and sorcery, and for purely secular and selfish objects. This system was named the *Mantrayāna* or "the *mantra*-vehicle" and those who mastered its practices were called Yogācharya.

Tāntrism began about the Seventh century A.D. to tinge both Buddhism and Hinduism. It is based on the worship of the Active Producing Principle (*Prakṛiti*) as manifested in the goddess Kālī or Durga, the female energy (*Sākti*) of the primordial male (Purusha or Shiva) a gross presentation of The Supreme Soul of the universe. In this cult, the various forces of nature : physical, physiological, moral and intellectual were deified under separate personalities, and these presiding deities were grouped into *Mātri* (divine mothers), *Dākṇiṇi* and *Yogini* (goddesses with magical powers), etc. And all were made merely different manifestations of the one great central goddess, Kālī, Shiva's spouse. Wives were thus allotted to the several celestial Bodhisatwas, as well as to most of the other gods and demons ; and most of them were given a variety of forms mild and terrible according to the supposed moods of

each divinity at different times. And as goddesses and fiendesses were the bestowers of natural and supernatural powers and were especially malignant, they were especially worshipped.

By the middle of the 7th century A.D. India was crowded with images of Divine Buddhas, Bodhisatvas and their *Saktis*, and other Buddhist gods and demons as we know from Huien Tsiang's narrative and the lithic remains in India.

Such was the distorted form of Buddhism introduced into Tibet by Srong-tsan-gampo's wives about 642 A.D., but it made few or no converts among the people; so that Srong-tsan-gampo beyond laying the foundation for civilizing Tibet by reducing the language to writing in the so-called "Tibetan" character, a modification of the then current Indian letters; by bringing to Tibet a few Buddhist monks from India, China and Nepal to translate some Scriptures into the new language; and by building a few temples to shrine the images received by him in dower and others made by him; beyond this he did little in the way of Buddhist propaganda. He built no monasteries, nor succeeded in founding any Tibetan order of monks.

Tibetan history, such as there is, and there is none worthy of the name before its Buddhist epoch, is quite clear on the point that previous to Srong-tsan-gampo's marriage Buddhism was quite unknown in Tibet. And it is also clear on the point, that Lāmaism was not founded till a century later than this epoch, namely till 747 A.D. in the reign of King Thi-srong-de-tsan. This latter King was the son of a Chinese Princess, and inherited from his mother a strong prejudice in favour of Buddhism. He succeeded to the Tibetan throne when only thirteen years old, and a few years later while his mother seems to have been regent, he sent to India for a clever priest of the popular Yogacharya school to establish Buddhism in Tibet.

Now in the 8th century A.D. Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism and especially its Yogacharya School had become more intensely corrupt by the impure developments of its Tāntrik doctrine—that mixture of Shīvaic demonolatry and witchcraft. And by this time also had arisen, I believe, the monotheistic doctrine of Ādi-Buddha, the primordial Buddha-God and Creator.

The invention of the doctrine of *Ādi-Buddha*, is usually placed in the 10th century A.D. and identified with the *Kāla-cakra* doctrine. But, it seems to me, that it existed at the beginning of the 8th century A.D. and probably arose in the 7th century if not earlier. For it is only a slight development of Asaṅga's modified Yoga theory, and one of the books of the Tibetan Canon (the Kah-gyur) translated into Tibetan from the Sanskrit about 750 A.D.* by the Indian monks Vairocana and Siṅhaprabha, the contemporaries of Padmasambhava, and the integrity of which book seems undoubted, is devoted to this doctrine of "the Supreme Soul the All-Creating Sovereign" "self-existent from all eternity."

While the *Kāla-cakra* doctrine originating in the 10th century in Northern India is merely a coarse Tāntrik development of the Ādi-Buddha theory, the *Kāla-cakra* attempts to explain creation and the secret

* CSOMA KÜRÖSI, *Asiatic Researches* XX., 547.

powers of Nature by the union of the terrible Kālī, not only with the Dhyani Buddhas, but even with Adi-Buddha himself. In this way Adi-Buddha by meditation evolves a procreative energy by which the awful Sambharā (Tibetan *Dem-chhog*) and other dreadful Dākkinī-fiendesses all of the Kālī-type obtain spouses as fearful as themselves yet regarded as reflexes of Adi-Buddha and the Dhyani Buddhas. And these demoniacal 'Buddhas' under the names of Kāla-cākra, Heruka, Achala, Vajra, etc., are credited with powers not inferior to those of the Celestial Buddhas themselves, and withal ferocious and bloodthirsty, and only to be conciliated by constant worship of themselves and female energies, with offerings of magic-circles, special mantras, etc. These hideous creations of Tāntrism were eagerly accepted by the Lāmās in the 11th century and since then have formed a most essential part of Lāmaism and their terrible Shivaic images* fill the country and figure prominently in the sectarian divisions.

Now let us return to the Tibetan King's messengers, sent to India at the middle of the 8th century A.D. to bring a priest to found a Buddhist Order in Tibet; and at a time when Tāntrism had attained considerable development, and the Adi-Buddha doctrine seems current.

The messengers of the Tibetan King arriving in India about 746 A.D. found at the Great Buddhist College of Nalanda, a luminary of the Tāntrik-Yogacharya School in the person of Guru Padma-Sambhava, who accepted their invitation and accompanying them to Tibet founded there the order of the Lāmās.

This great wizard-priest and founder of Lāmaism, Padma Sambhava or "the Lotus-born One" is usually called by the Tibetans *Guru Rin-pochhe*, or "the Precious Guru"; or simply *Lo-pon* † the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit "*Guru*" or "Teacher." He is also called "Ugyan" or "Urgyan," as he was a native of Udyana or Urgyan, corresponding to the country about Ghazni to the north west of Kāshmir, a land famed for the proficiency of its priests in sorcery, exorcism and magic. Hiuen Tsiang, writing a century previously, says regarding Udyana :—"The people are in disposition somewhat sly and crafty. They practise the art of using charms. The employment of magical sentences is with them an art and a study."‡ And in regard to the adjoining country of Kāshmir also intimately related to Lāmaism, Marco Polo a few centuries later says "Keshimur is a province inhabited by a people who are idolaters (*i.e.* Buddhists) They have an astonishing acquaintance with the devilries of enchantment, insomuch as they can make their idols speak. They can also by their sorceries bring on changes of weather, and produce darkness, and do a number of things so extraordinary that no one without seeing them would believe them. Indeed, this country is the very original source from which idolatry has spread abroad."§

The Tibetans, beset on every side by malignant devils warmly welcomed the Guru, as he brought them deliverance from their terrible tormentors. Arriving in Tibet in 747 A.D. the Guru vanquished all the chief devils of the land, sparing many of them on their consenting to become defenders

* They are figured standing.

‡ BEAL'S *Siy-u-Ki*, I. 120.

† Spelt *stob-dpon*.

§ YULE'S *Marco Polo*, T. 155.

of his religion, while he on his part guaranteed that in return for such services they would be duly worshipped and fed. Thus, just as the Buddhists in India, to secure the support of the semi-aborigines of Bengal admitted into their system the bloody Durga and other aboriginal demons; so on extending their doctrines throughout Asia they pandered to the popular taste by admitting within the pale of Buddhism the Pantheon of those new nations they sought to convert. The Guru's most powerful weapons in warring with the demons were the Vajra (Tibetan *dor-je*) symbolic of Indra's (Jupiter's) thunderbolt, and *mantras* or spells extracted from the Mahāyāna gospels.

Then under the zealous patronage of King Thi-Srong-de-tsan and assisted by the Indian monk Santarakshita he founded at Sam-yas in 749 A.D., the first Tibetan Monastery, and instituted there the order of the Lāmas, ordaining Santarakshita, a monk of the so-called Sva-tantra Madhyamika School as the first Lāmaist hierarch.

Lā-ma is a Tibetan word meaning "The Superior One," and corresponds to the Sanskrit *Uttara*. It was restricted to the head of the monastery, and still is strictly applicable only to Abbots and the highest monks; though out of courtesy the title is now given to most Lāmaist monks and priests. The Lāmas have no special term for their form of Buddhism. They simply call it "The Religion" or "Buddha's Religion." And the European term "Lāmaism" finds no counterpart in Tibetan.

It is not easy now to ascertain the exact details of the creed—the Primitive Lāmaism—taught by the Guru, for all the extant works attributed to him were composed several centuries later by followers of his twenty-five Tibetan disciples. But judging from the intimate association of his name with the essentials of Lāmaist sorceries, and the special creeds of the old unreformed section of the Lāmas—the Nying-ma-pa—who profess and are acknowledged to be his immediate followers and whose older scriptures date back to within two centuries of the Guru's time, it is evident that his teaching was of that extremely Tāntrik and magical type of Mahāyāna Buddhism then prevalent in his native country of Udyan and Kashmir. And to this highly impure form of Buddhism, already covered by so many foreign accretions and saturated with so much demonolatriy, was added a portion of the ritual and most of the demons of the indigenous Bon-pa religion and each of the demons was assigned its proper place in the Lāmaist Pantheon. Primitive Lāmaism may therefore be defined as a priestly mixture of Shivaic mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatriy overlaid by the thinnest veneer of Mahāyāna Buddhism. And to the present day Lāmaism still retains these features.

In this form, as shaped by the Guru, Buddhism proved more attractive to the people, and soon became popular. And this enthusiastic King founded other monasteries freely and initiated a period of great literary activity by procuring many talented Indian and Kashmīri Pandits for the work of translating the Indian Canonical Works and Commentaries into Tibetan.

Thus established, and lavishly endowed, Lāmaism made steady progress, and was actively patronized, by the Tibetan Kings until the reign of Lang-darma, the Julian of Lāmaism, who in 899 A.D. did his utmost to

uproot the religion. He destroyed many monasteries, burned their books, and treated the Lāmas with the grossest indignity, forcing numbers to become butchers. Although he was promptly murdered by a Lāma within the year it took some time for the Lāmas to regain their lost ground. But in this, as in so many religious persecutions in other lands, the ultimate effect was a reaction which imparted fresh vigour to the movement. And from this time forth the Lāmaist Church steadily grew in size and influence until it reached its present vast dimensions, culminating in the Priest-Kings at Lhāsa.

No sects appear to have existed prior to Lang-darma's persecution nor till more than a century and a half later. The sectarial movement seems to date from the visit to Tibet of the great Indian Buddhist monk Atisha in 1038 A.D. Atisha while clinging to Yoga and Tāntrism at once started a reformation on the lines of the purer Mahāyāna system, enforcing celibacy, and high morality, and deprecating the practice of the diabolic arts. Perhaps the time was now ripe for reform as the Lāmas then had become a large and influential body and possessed a fairly full and scholarly translation of the bulky Mahāyāna Canon and its Commentaries.

The first of the reformed sects and the one with which Atisha most intimately identified himself was called the Kah-dam-pa or "those bound by the orders (commandments)"; and it ultimately, three and a half centuries later, in Tsong Khapa's hands, became less ascetic and more highly ritualistic under the title of Ge-lug-pa, now the dominant sect in Tibet.

A glance at the "Genealogical Tree of Lamaist Sects" in my *Lāmaism in Sikkim** will show that Atisha was the only profound reformer of Lamaism; for the formation of the Ge-lug-pa sect was soon followed by the semi-reformed movements of Kargyu-pa and Sakya-pa directly based in large measure on Atisha's teaching. The founders of those two sects had been Atisha's pupils and their new sects may be regarded as semi-reformations adapted for those individuals who found Atisha's high standard too irksome, and too free from their familiar demonolatry.

The residue who remained wholly unreformed and weakened by the loss of their best members, were now called the *Nying-ma-pa* or "the old ones," as they adhered to the old practices. And now, to legitimize many of their unorthodox practices which had crept into use, and to admit of further laxity, the Nying-ma-pa resorted to the fiction of *Ter-ma* or hidden revelations, just as the Indian Monk Nāgārjuna to secure an orthodox reception for his new creed had alleged that the Mahāyāna doctrine was entirely the composition of Sakya Muni who had written it during his lifetime and entrusted the volumes to the Naga demigods for preservation until men were sufficiently enlightened to comprehend so abstruse a system. In the same way several Nying-ma-pa Lāmas, now began to discover new gospels, in caves and elsewhere, which they alleged were hidden gospels of The Guru. And these so called "Ter-ton" Lāmas, the revealers, that is the *composers* of these *Ter-ma* treatises, also alleged as a reason for their ability to discover these hidden gospels, that each of them had been in a former birth, one or other of the twenty-five disciples of the Guru.

* Part II. of the Gazetteer of Sikkim, Calcutta, 1893.

These "Revelations" treat mainly of Bon-pa and other demoniacal rites which are permissible in Lāmaist practice; and they prescribed the forms for such worship. About thirty of these revelations have been discovered; but as the number has been oracularly fixed at 108, future contingencies are well provided for. These "Revelations" relaxing still further the Lāmaist obligations were eagerly accepted by most Lāmas, and they play an important part in the schisms which subsequently occurred in both old and reformed sects. Indeed many of the subjects differ from their parent sects merely in having adopted a different *Ter-ma*-work as an ordinary code of demoniacal worship.

In considering the sects individually let us first look at the Ge-lug-pa; as it not only is the representative of the oldest of the sects the Kah-dam-pa, but it is the purest and the most powerful of all the sects, having now the temporal government of Tibet in its hands.

The Ge-lug-pa arose as a regeneration of the Kah-dam-pa by Tsong Kha-pa (also called Lō-zang-tak-pa or Je-Rin-po-chhe) at the end of the fourteenth century A.D. Tsong-kha-pa, unlike Atisha, was an ardent proselytizer and spent most of his strength in organization. He collected the scattered members of the Kah-dam-pa from their retreats, and housed them in monasteries, together with his new followers, under rigid discipline, setting them to keep the 235 *Vinaya*-rules, and hence obtaining for them the title of *Vinaya*-keepers or "*Dul-wa-Lāmas*." He also made them carry a begging bowl, anardha-chuna,* prayer-carpet† and wear patched robes of a yellow colour, after the fashion of the Indian mendicant monks. And he attracted followers by instituting a highly ritualistic service, in part, apparently borrowed from the Nestorian Christian missionaries who undoubtedly were settled at that time in Tsong-Kha the province of his early boyhood in Western China. He gave the hat named pen-sha-sne-ring, or the long tailed Pandit cap; and as it was of a yellow colour like their dress, and the old Lāmaist body adhered to their red hat, the new sect came to be popularly called the Sha-ser or "Yellow-cap," in contradistinction to the Sha-mar or "Red-cap" and their more aboriginal Bon-pa co-religionists the Sha-nak or "black-caps."

This seems to be the origin of the sect-titles depending on the colour of the cap. The Kah-dam-pa are said to have worn red caps, and certainly the extant pictures of Atisha and other Kah-dam-pa Lāmas give them red-caps.

The essential distinctions between the several reformed sects are creedal differences entailing different ritualistic and other practices, and expressed by a difference in dress and symbols.

The creedal differences are categorically classed under the heads of—

- (1) The personality of the primordial deity or Adi-Buddha;
- (2) Their special source of divine inspiration;
- (3) The saintly transmitters of this inspiration;
- (4) Their meditative doctrines or system of mystical insight;
- (5) Their special Tāntra-revelation,
- (6) Their personal Tutelary or Yidam—a Tāntrik demoniacal Buddha (of Shivaic type);
- (7) Their religious "Guardian" demon (usually of Tibetan type).

* The zla-gam or 'moon-like symbol.'

† gding-wa.

Thus the Ge-lug-pa, as representing the earlier Kah-dam-pa, have the mythical Vajradhara as their Adi-Buddha ; and derive their divine inspiration from Maitreya—"the coming Buddha," through the Indian Saints ranging from Asaṅga down to Atisha (or Jo-wo-rje), and through the Tibetan Saints from Atisha's disciple Brom-ton to Tsong-kha-pa (Je-Rin-pochhe). The Ge-lug-pa mystical insight is termed the *Lam-rim* or "the Graded Path," and their Tantra is the *rgya-chhen* spyod. Their Tutelary demoniacal Buddha is Vajra-bhairava or Dorje-jig-je, supported by Samvara (Dem-chhog) and Guhyakala (Sang-dü). And their Religious Guardian demons are "The Six-armed *Gon-po* or Lord" and the Great horse-necked Hayagriva (Tam-chhen).

But, through Atisha, the Ge-lug-pa claim to have received the essence of Manjuśrī's doctrine, which is the leading light of the Sakya-pa sect. For Atisha is held to be an incarnation of Manjuśrī, the Bodhisatwa of Wisdom : which is merely a way of stating that Atisha was the greatest embodiment of Buddhist Wisdom that ever visited Tibet. And in the person of Atisha were also united the essentials of the Kar-gyu-pa inspiration by his pupilage to the Indian sage Naro.

Thus the Ge-lug-pa claim that through Atisha they have received the special inspiration of Maitreya and in addition all that is best in the special systems professed by the other two reformed sects.

Tsong Khapa named his own monastery Gah-dan or "Paradise," and it is said that his followers at first went by the name of *Gah-lug-pa* or "Followers of the *Gah-dan* fashion"; but as this name was ill-sounding it was changed to the more euphonic *Ge-lug-pa* or "Followers of the virtuous order."

The purer morality practised by the Ge-lug-pa monks gained them general respect. So despite their internecine feuds with the Sakya-pa and other rival sects its Church grew in size and influence, and became a powerful hierarchy with the succession of its chief abbot based upon the theory of reincarnation, the spirit of the dead chief after his death being re-born in a child, who was forthwith found and installed in the vacant chair.

In 1640 A.D. the Ge-lug-pa leapt into temporal power as the dominant sect in Tibet. This temporal power together with the title "*Dalai*" (or "Ocean") Lāma was bestowed by the Chinese Emperor upon the crafty Ngag-wang Lo-tsang, the 5th of the Grand Lāmas of the Ge-lug-pa sect. This Dalai-Lāma lost no time in consolidating and extending his rule as Priest-King by the forcible appropriation of many monasteries of the other sects, by inventing legends magnifying the powers of the Bodhisatwa Avalokita and posing himself as the incarnation of this divinity, the presiding Bodhisatwa of each world of rebirth and also the Dread Judge of the Dead before whose tribunal all mortals must appear. Posing in this way as God-incarnate he built himself the huge palace-temple on the hill near Lhāsa which he called Potala, after the mythic Indian residence of his divine prototype Avalokita "The Lord who looks down from on high," whose symbols he now invested himself with. He also tampered unscrupulously with Tibetan history in order to lend colour to his divine pretensions, and he succeeded perfectly. The Ge-lug-pa Church going on
e lines he had laid down for it prospered greatly ; and all the other sects

of Lāmas of every denomination, acknowledged him and his successors to be the divine Avalokita-in-the-flesh. As the Tāshi-lhün-po monastery had already become the chief seat of Ge-lug-pa learning, its abbot was allowed the title of "Grand Learned Lāma or *Pandit*" (*Pan-chhen-Rin-po-chhe*); and made an incarnation of the mythic "Buddha of Boundless Light" (Amitāpha) the spiritual father of Avalokita. Since then the Ge-lug-pa have combined the temporal with the spiritual government of Tibet, and have gradually retrograded in their tenets and practice till now with the exception of their dress and symbols, celibacy and greater abstinence, and a slightly more restricted devil-worship, they differ little from the other Lāmaist sects, which in the pride of their political power they so openly despise.

The Kar-gyu-pa, the next great reformed sect after the Ge-lug-pa was founded in the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. by Lāma Marpa who had visited India and obtained special instructions from the Indian Pandits Naro and Atisha. The name Kar-gyu-pa means a "follower of the successive orders," expressive of the fact that the sect believes the rulings of its later Buddhist sages to be inspired. Its distinctive features are its hermit practices, meditation in caves and other retired places, and the following specialities. Its inspiration was obtained by their saint Tilo directly from the Adi-Buddha Vajra-dhara. Its mode of mystic insight is named *Mahamudra* (Phyag-rgya-chhen) and its Tantra is "Sum-kar-bsdusum." Its Tutelary is Sambhara. Its Guardian "The Lord of the Black Cloak." Its hat "the Meditation hat with the cross-knees" and it bears on its front this emblem as a badge like a St. Andrew's cross X. And with these technicalities was associated a stricter observance of the monastic rules and discipline.

The hermit-feature of this sect rendered it so unattractive, that several sub-sects soon arose which dispensed with the necessity for hermitage. The sub-sects of Kar-gyu-pa namely Kar-ma-pa, Di-kung-pa, To-lung-pa and Duk-pa (the form dominant in Bhotan), differ from each other merely by having each adopted a different Terma-revelation from the Nying-ma-pa as a code of demoniacal worship, and so relaxing the purity of their former practice.

A prominent image in their temples is that of the founder of the particular subsect to which the temple belongs; for all the various sects have now deified their founders. Thus the Ge-lug-pa worship Tsong-kha-pa's image.

The last great reformed sect is the Sakya-pa, taking its name from the site of its first monastery in Western Tibet founded in 1672 A.D. It grew into a most powerful hierarchy and attained for a time the temporal sovereignty over the greater part of Tibet before it was eclipsed by its Ge-lug-pa rival. Its source of inspiration is Manjuśrī through the Indian Saints ranging from Nagarjuna to Vasuputra. Its founder mixed the old and new Tāntras together under the name Zab-mo-hlta. Its mode of mystic insight is called "The Fruitful Path." Its Tutelary is Vajra-phurpa; and its Guardians are "the Guardian of the Tent," and "The Face-Lord." Its Hat is sa-zhu. But now except in a few externals it is practically undistinguishable from the Nying-ma-pa.

The Sakya-pa has two reformed subsects namely the Ngor-pa and the Jonang-pa. These differ from one another only in founders. To the Jonangpa belonged the illustrious historiographer Lāma-Tārānātha (Je-tsun-dam-pa) whose re-incarnations are now installed at Khalka in Mongolia and regarded as the Grand Lāma of the Mongols.

The wholly unreformed section of the Lāmas was, as we have seen, named Nying-ma-pa or "the Old School"; and it is more freely than any other tinged with the native Bon-pa or pre-Buddhist practices; and celibacy and abstinence is rarely practised. But even it too has its subsects, based on the adoption of different Terma Revelations. Their chief subsects are the Kar-tok-pa, Nga-dak-pa, Ur-gyen-pa, Lhat-sun-pa, named after their respective founders or parent monastery. But their differences are very trifling. All regard Samantabhadra as their primordial deity or Adi-Buddha; their Tutelaries are "The fearful Vajra" (Vajraphurba) and Dub-pa-kah-gye; their Guardian demon is "The Lord *Gur*." They worship the Guru Padma Sambhāva the founder of Lāmaism in a variety of forms, both divine and demoniacal, expressive of his different moods at different times. Their peculiar red cap is named after the Guru "Urgyen-pen-zhu," and with these characteristics they exhibit as a class greater laxity in living than any other sect of Lāmas. The Sikhim Lāmas are mainly Nying-ma-pa of the Lha-tsun-pa subsect, the remainder being of the Karma-pa subsect of the Kar-gyu-pa. The Bhotan Lāmas are not Nying-ma-pa as is usually asserted, but Kar-gyu-pa.

The Zhi-je-pa or "the Passionless Ascetics," belonging to no sect, but having most affinity with the Kar-gyu-pa, are now almost extinct.

A notable feature of Lāmaism, throughout all its sects, and one markedly un-Buddhistic is that the Lāma is a priest rather than a monk. He performs sacerdotal functions on every possible occasion; and a large proportion of the Order are almost entirely engaged in this work. And such services are in much demand; for the people are in hopeless bondage to the demons, and not altogether unwilling slaves to their exacting worship.

It will thus be seen, that Lāmaist sects seem to have arisen in Tibet, for the first time, in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D., in what may be called the Lāmaist Reformation; about three centuries after the foundation of Lāmaism itself.

They arose in revolt against the depraved Lāmaism then prevalent, which was little else than a priestly mixture of demonolatry and witchcraft. Abandoning the grosser malpractices the new sects returned to celibacy and many of the purer Mahāyāna rules.

In the four centuries succeeding the Reformation various subsects formed mostly as relapses towards the old familiar demonolatry.

And since the fifteenth century A.D., the several sects and subsects, while rigidly preserving their identity and exclusiveness, have drifted down towards a common level where the sectarian distinctions tend to become almost nominal.

But neither in the essentials of Lāmaism itself nor in its sectarian aspects do the truly Buddhist doctrines, as taught by Śākya Muni, play any leading part.

THE SECOND REVIEW ON THE
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.
 CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

CHINA.*

BY PROFESSOR JAMES LEGGE.

I. TEXTS OF CONFUCIANISM.

VOL. . . . III. SHU KING, SHIH KING, HSIAO KING.

VOL. . . XVI. THE YI KING.

VOL. XXVII. THE LÍ KÍ; BOOKS I-X.

VOL. XXVIII. THE LÍ KÍ; BOOKS XI-XLVI.

NOTE.—*The books now recognized as of highest authority in China are comprehended under the denomination of "the five Ching" (or canonical Classics) and "the four Shù" (or books). "Ching" signifies the warp threads of a web and used with reference to books, indicates their authority. "Shù" simply means Writings—the Pencil speaking.*—Extract from Legge's "CHINESE CLASSICS."

II. TEXTS OF TÀOISM.

VOL. XXXIX. THE TEXTS OF TAOISM, PART I.

VOL. . . XL. THE TEXTS OF TAOISM, PART II.

I. TEXTS OF CONFUCIANISM.

The Shu King, Shih King, Hsiao King—the LÍ KÍ—the Yì King. (See above.)

If the word "sacred" is only suited to describe religions, then it may be questioned whether the term is really applicable to the Systems of "Propriety" and Negations of Belief which exist in China under the names of Confucianism, Tàoism and Buddhism.

As we are paying special attention elsewhere in this issue to Tibetan Buddhism, which has mainly affected that of China and which is as different from the Buddhism of Profs. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, as it is from that which Mme. Blavatsky and Mr. Sinnett have developed from their own subjectivity, we will confine ourselves to an account of the main works that are revered as embodying the Ethical State-Craft of China, which is named from Confucius who lived in the 5th and 6th century B.C. We will leave Mr. Beames to deal with Tàoism, merely remarking that this distinguished official and philologist is not the Gallio whom we found in a Chinese Mandarin. Asked whether he considered the "Texts of Tàoism" important, he replied: "not important—only religious," and when further pressed to explain why, if unimportant, they had been translated, he explained: "because the missionaries must have *some* religion *from which* to convert the Chinese." The objection, therefore, of China to Christianity is not

* For an exhaustive analysis of the "Pahlavi Texts" see last A. Q. R.—ED.

that it is a hostile faith, but that it is a faith at all in what it considers to be "the unknowable."

The strong common-sense of the Mongolians, whilst admitting all ceremonials, or even mythologies that can have a practical effect in moulding the conduct of a people, has left untouched what we should call Revelation. Historians and poets might refer to God and Heaven to emphasize their statements, but "live and let live" is their great motto and as long as one superstition does not interfere with another, all explanations of the Divine are equally welcome, or despised. If, therefore, the followers of Christ had mainly emphasized His moral teaching, the Chinese would have gladly placed Him alongside of Confucius and Buddha, leaving it to the masses to make a Deity of Him as in the case of Buddha, but when our missionaries put forward the new system, as one of Belief rather than practice, they invited the superciliousness of the philosopher and the indignation of the official against foreign intruders in the peaceful flow of Chinese life. Nor has the influence of Chinese scholarship been lost on some of our most eminent Continental Sinologists. One of them who has had the "Texts of Tâoism" for a whole year did not, like our Chinese Gallio, think it "worth his while to examine such imposture" and added, "*all* religions, without exception, are hateful and I detest, if possible, philosophers even more. Both teach principles *opposed to* facts and have only brought unhappiness into the world. For the last 40 years, I have been waging war on clergies of every kind, but, in all my works, I have ignored *every* religion without exception, because it is *a waste of time*, with which I must be *economical* as my own hour-glass is running short and as I have still got a great deal of *necessary* work to do."

In speaking, therefore, of "the sacred books of China," one really refers to historical and ethical documents, or to whatever may come "within the range of practical politics," even, if these have only the conjectural value of the calculations of astrology and magic of "THE YI KING" which is in other respects the foundation of an "atheo-political" system. At any rate, so great is the veneration of the utility of the Yi King, "the book of changes," that the trigrams and hexagrams in arithmetical or geometrical progression of this work were considered to be connected with interpretations that my Chinese informant considered to be absolutely beyond the comprehension of any European Sinologist. Perhaps, however, our Mandarin has not consulted Professor G. Schlegel, whose opinion on the interpretation of this enigmatical work would indeed be valuable, were he not adopting a waiting attitude till the discussion on the subject has been fought out between the eminent translator of the Yi King, Professor Legge, and Monsieur Terrien de Lacouperie. "Who shall decide when Doctors disagree?" Prof. Schlegel seems to agree with neither side and considers the book as "a very primitive and tentative interpretation of natural phenomena." He writes to us that "this book would *never* have risen to such esteem among scholars and in China, if Confucius had not so much occupied himself with it. A correct interpretation of this book will *not appear* for the next hundred years, for people are still too much poisoned with the sophistries of Confucius, and this book must be explained *without* Confucius, if it, indeed, deserves explanation, which I doubt."

Let us hear what Prof. Legge says on the subject :

"Confucius himself set a high value on it, as being fitted to correct and perfect the character of the learner and it is often spoken of by foreigners as the most ancient of Chinese Classics, but it is not so. . There were and are, indeed, in it eight trigrams ascribed to Fû-hsi, who is generally considered as the founder of the Chinese nation, and whose place in chronology should, probably, be assigned in the thirty-fourth century B.C. The eight trigrams are again increased to sixty-four hexagrams. To form these figures, two lines, one of them whole (—) and the other divided (— —), are assumed as bases. But what ideas Fû-hsi attached to his primary lines,—the whole and the divided; what significance he gave to his trigrams; what to the sixty-four hexagrams,—if indeed he himself formed so many figures; and why the multiplication of the figures was stayed at sixty-four :—of none of these points have we any knowledge from him."

This literary and mechanical "puzzle" "the Yi" is one of the five canonical works of China which contain the highest truth and are a law for all generations. Another is the SHÛ or book of history, regarding which Professor Legge remarks that its documents commence with the reign of Yáo in the 24th century B.C. and come down to that of King Hsiang of the Cháu dynasty, B.C. 651-619. He then says :

"Second and nearly as important as the *Shû*, there is the *Shih*, or the Book of Poetry. It contains in all 305 pieces, five of which are of the time of the Shang dynasty (called also the Yin), B.C. 1766-1123. The others belong to the dynasty of Cháu, from the time of its founder, king Wán, born B.C. 1231, to the reign of king Ting, B.C. 606-586. The whole is divided into four parts, the last of which is occupied with 'Odes of the Temple and the Altar.' Many pieces in the other Parts also partake of a religious character, but the greater number are simply descriptive of the manners, customs, and events of the times to which they belong and have no claim to be included in the roll of Sacred Texts. In this volume will be found all the pieces that illustrate the religious views of their authors, and the religious practices of their times."

A fourth of the 5 great Chinese Classics brought out by the Oxford Clarendon Press is the "Lí Kí," or Record of Rites. It consists of "Three Rituals," one the official book of the Cháu dynasty, the second "the Rules of Demeanour," and the third a collection of some 214 books containing in many passages "more of the mind of Confucius himself on the sacrificial worship of his country, and the ideas underlying it, than we find elsewhere."

"The last of the five canonical books is the *Ch'un Ch'ü*, or 'Spring and Autumn,' a chronicle of events, extending from 722 to 481 B.C. The *Ch'un Ch'ü* is the only one of the 'five great Classics' which can, with an approximation to correctness, be described as of Confucius' making."

The following quotation from Prof. Legge's Preface to "the Shû King etc.," will better than any words of ours conclude his explanation of the 5 canonical works, as also of "THE SHÛ," or books of the four philosophers which latter are more within the reach of ordinary aspirants for public employment at the competitive examinations in China and of which "The Doctrine of the Mean" seems to teach them the practical applications of our "*in medio tutissimus ibis*."

"There is another short treatise attributed to Confucius,—the *Hsiao King*, or "Classic of Filial Piety." Though not like one of the five great works that have been described, it was the first to receive the denomination of a *King*,—and that from the lips of the sage himself. . This little work does not come to us like the *Khun Khiü*, as directly from the pencil of Confucius, but in the shape of conversations between him and his disciple Zang-ze. . No portion of the ancient literature has more exercised the minds and engaged

the attention of many of the Emperors of successive dynasties. . The Hsiào seems to me an attempt to construct a religion on the basis of the cardinal virtue of Filial Piety, and is open to criticism in many respects. .

"The classical books are often spoken of as being 'the five King' and 'the four Shû.' (The latter) is an abbreviation for THE SHÛ or Books of the four Philosophers. The first is the Lun Yü, or 'Discourses and Conversations' of Confucius with many of his disciples. The second is the Works of Mencius, perhaps the greatest thinker and writer of the Confucian school after the Master. . . The third of the Shû is the Tâ Hsio, or 'Great Learning,' ascribed, like the Hsiào to Zang-ze. The fourth is the Kung Yung, or 'Doctrine of the Mean,' the production of Ze-sze, the sage's grandson. Both of these treatises, however, are taken from the Lî Kî."

We have been favored with the following remarks on the Lî Kî and Yî King by Fung Hou Wong, the scholarly Attaché of the Chinese Legation in England:

"Many English translations of Chinese literary works have been published, but none of them is so satisfactory as the translation of the 'Four Books' and 'Five Classics' by Dr. Legge. The latter works, which are not easy to understand, can never be so translated as to satisfy everybody. Most of our native scholars, even, do not understand them thoroughly, so, of course, how much more must their difficulty be to Western Scholars! Chinese Scholars study hard from youth to old age in searching for the proper meanings of many terms in 'the Five Classics.' Although our Scholars might be supposed to understand the 'Five Classics' thoroughly, some of them fail in doing so. According to our system of examinations, if a Scholar passes the first degree, after being first examined by the Magistrate four or five times, he is again examined for the second degree by the Prefect just as many times. After these examinations are successfully passed, the Candidate is again examined by the Literary Chancellor who is specially appointed by our Emperor. If anybody, whose essay has been passed by him, has got the first degree, he must learn the 'Five Classics' from which the subjects are set in subsequent examinations. During the first examination the subjects are always selected from 'the Four Books,' and, during the second, they are selected from 'the Five Classics.'

"As the Candidate obtains his third, or still higher degree, it is impossible for him to pass without keeping up his knowledge of the 'Five Classics.'

"On this account, every Scholar must understand them very well indeed; but none, except a few, who are really of surpassing genius and learning, can *thoroughly* know the above-mentioned books; most Scholars thus owe much to chance, even when they have got the higher degrees.

"I have read the two volumes of translation from the Lî Kî, and the one volume of Yî King, which you sent me, and have compared the former with the Chinese text. The general translation is all right, but the 'Lî Kî' is not so difficult as 'the Yî King,' which I do not think, even as rendered by Dr. Legge, can satisfy everybody. Why?, because if you translate the words into their ordinary meaning, as Dr. Legge has done, it is not really correct, since they contain concealed and deep meanings which no one (even a Chinese) would even dare to express, though he may understand them in his mind.

"Confucius himself said: 'If you lend me a few years, each equal to a

long life, to learn the Yi King, it will take fifty years before I shall be able to avoid the grosser mistakes in its interpretation.'

"The translation of 'the Four Books' has been admirably done by Dr. Legge, but I have not yet had time to read his rendering of the 'Five Classics.' I have, however, no doubt that Dr. Legge and Mr. Wong Tao (his assistant), have certainly shown the greatest care in translating these works. It is rather a pity that the names are given without their equivalents in Chinese characters, for different people pronounce differently, and although this may not matter much to Englishmen, the presence of Chinese letters cannot fail to be of use or interest to them, even were it only a curiosity.*

"The whole Li Books have not yet been translated. I believe that there are more volumes of it; some chapters seem certainly to have been omitted, such as the 'Pan Sang' and 'Wan Sang,' etc.; such chapters even Chinese students do not always read, as they are not interesting."

II. TEXTS OF TAOISM (TRANSLATED BY JAMES LEGGE).

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RETIRED).

These two volumes of the well-known series contain translations of the three principal scriptures of the Tào, one of the three great religions of China. These are the Tào Teh Ching, the writings of Chwang-tze, and the Thāi-shang tractate of actions and their retributions. The first of the three, "the Tào and its characteristics" is the work of Lāo-tze "the old philosopher" and the reputed founder of the Tào religion who was born in B.C. 604 about fifty years before Confucius. In his lucid and interesting introduction to this work the learned translator adduces reasons for believing that Lāo-tze did not create but merely reduced to some sort of system an earlier form of religious thought if such a term can be applied to so mysterious a matter as the Tào. The word Tào simply means "path, way" resembling in its use the term ἡ ὁδός "The Way" applied to Christianity in the Acts of the Apostles. But to this simple primary sense an esoteric meaning is attached which is supremely difficult to seize. "In the Grand Beginning of all things out of the primal nothingness the Tào somehow appeared and there was developed through its operation the world of things." Tào we are further told is not a creation, but an evolution. It is not a positive being but a mode of being. From it was evolved even God himself, if there be a God in Tàoism, for Lāo-tze hardly seems to recognize a God, or if he does, assigns him no very prominent place or functions in his system. His follower Chwang-tze however, the author of the second work in these volumes, writes of Tào that "from It came the mysterious existences of spirits, from It the mysterious existence of God." It is claimed for this religion of negations that it tends to promote longevity and it is probably to this idea that it owes its hold upon the popular mind. Marvellous are the legends of the extreme age attained in times of yore by the votaries of Tào, but these undying patriarchs only succeeded in pro-

* A Chinese gentleman spent a day in looking for "Lichan gardens" which was his guide-book's rendering for "Regent's Park." *Ed.*

longing existence by giving up all that made life worth living. It was truly Juvenal's "*propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas.*" It is said that "doing nothing is the essential condition of the Tào" and again "Vacancy, stillness, placidity, tastelessness, quietude, silence, non-action; this is the perfection of the Tào and its characteristics."

Chwang-tze loves to teach by example. He tells what such and such a great man of old time did, and though it is hinted that many of his great men never existed, the illustrations they afford are none the less amusing for that. We read of the early days of "perfect virtue" in which the people of two neighbouring villages could see each other across the fields and could hear their cocks crowing and their dogs barking and yet never went to see each other! It is added that in those times perfect good order prevailed, which is perhaps hardly surprising. It was the object of the rulers in those happy days to keep the people in ignorance. Nothing was so inimical to "the paradisiacal state" as knowledge. "Therefore" says Láo-tze "the sage in the exercise of government empties their minds, fills their bodies, weakens their wills and strengthens their bones. He constantly tries to keep them without knowledge and without desire, and where there are those who have knowledge to keep them from presuming to act on it. Where there is this abstinence from action, good order is universal."

Even in this dead-alive creed however there are not wanting good points, and lessons of practical utility. Láo-tze teaches humility, gentleness, rendering good for evil, and economy. He deprecates war and conquest, principally perhaps because action of any sort is opposed to his system. It does not appear however that his counsels of perfection bore fruit in the minds of his countrymen, and the importation of Buddhism in the first century of our era threw Tàoism into the shade, where it has remained ever since. From the creed of Buddha with which it had much in common, and for the reception of which by the Chinese its own teaching had to some extent paved the way, it has borrowed some features which distinguish its present, from its earlier, practice. It has a patriarch descended from Tào-ling the first patriarch of the religion, whose soul, like that of the Dalai Lama transmigrates from one holder of the title to another, each successive holder being supernaturally indicated. It has now monasteries and nunneries, images, liturgies, and modes of dress. It has made of the three Buddhist "Precious ones," Buddha, the Law and the Congregation three idols called the "three Pure ones," representing Chaos, Láo-tze and someone else, it is not certain whom. The Tàoists also worship a deified mortal one Yu Hwang Ti, they have the doctrine of purgatory and an everlasting hell, and in recent times celibacy of the monks and nuns is being insisted on. A system however so opposed to all knowledge and to all human progress cannot long survive, indeed it seems probable that it has endured so long only by borrowing the outward garb of another religion. It will remain only on paper as a striking example of the tendencies of the Mongolian mind, so apathetic, unemotional, and yet strangely practical. It will occasionally attract the notice of the student of Comparative Psychology, and to his studies these excellent translations with their learned notes will be a most material help.

NOTICES OF RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS IN ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL, MADRAS ARMY.

RUSSIA, like England, is a great Oriental as well as a great European Power ; and looks with a Janus-face on both the Western and the Eastern world. To the former she may seem the embodiment of Oriental despotism ; to the latter she appears as the Apostle of Western Civilization. From the Straits of the Bosphorus to the Passes of the Pamirs, the expectant eyes of the Sultans, Shahs, and Peoples of the East are turned to a new Kibla, to St. Petersburg, as well as to Mecca, to the throne of the Ak Pádisháh, the Great White Czar, awaiting their destiny in his smile or his frown.

In my intercourse with Orientals of different nations, creeds and classes, I was struck with the fact of how largely Russia looms on the horizon of their hopes and fears : and I thought it might be of some interest to the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly* to put on record some ideas and opinions of Russia and the Russians, as expressed in the literature of the Arabs, Turks, and Persians.

Such notices are not at all so numerous as might be imagined from our experience of European literature. In the Reading Room Library of the British Museum one huge volume of the Catalogue is entirely devoted to a mere list of titles of works relating to Russia. But among them is not a single work in an Oriental language.

To the Moslem, Islam is the world and anything beyond its pale is unworthy of his attention. The science, jurisprudence, and religion of Europe are of no more concern to him than the customs of Zulus or Maoris are to the average Englishman. The chronology of the Musalman begins with the Mission of Muhammad : his history records only the reigns of the Khalifs and Sultans of the Countries of the Islam ; his geography embraces only the lands lying between Morocco to the west and Kashgar to the east.

All the ages before the coming of Muhammad are lumped together as the *Ahd-i-Jahálat* "the Time of Ignorance" and all the Powers of Europe are conveniently classified as "the Seven Infidel Kingdoms of the Farang." I suppose that during the four hundred years that the Turks have ruled in Egypt, no Turk has been curious enough to pay a visit to the Pyramids: and the Musalmans attribute the excavations of Layard and Schliemann to a search for hidden hoards of buried treasure.

Our field of research is therefore a limited one, and the writers in whose works we find other than the most casual allusions to Russia and the Russians are exceptions to a general rule. The first Oriental writer in whom I find a reference to them is the Arabic geographer and historiographer Al Mas'údi who compiled his learned and voluminous cosmographical cyclopedia entitled "*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*" (*Murúj ad Dhahab wa Ma'ádin al Jauhar*) towards the latter end of the tenth century of our era. He describes all the known kingdoms and countries of his time from the isles of Britannia to China whither the Arab traders used to repair in their ships, as related in the voyages of Sindbad the Sailor in the *Thousand Nights* (*Alif Laila*). He is describing the empire of the King (*Khákán*) of the Khazars, the Avars of Gibbon, who reigned in the city of *Itil* on the *Volga*, and made peace and war on equal terms with the *Kaisar of Rúm* (the Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire). Al Mas'údi says,

"One of the various Pagan nations who live in his country are the *Sakáliba* (Sclavonians) and another the *Rús* (Russians). They live in one of the two sides of this town: they burn the dead with their cattle, utensils, arms and ornaments. When a man dies, his wife is burnt alive with him: but when the wife dies her husband is not burnt. If a bachelor dies, he is married after his death. Women are glad to be burnt; for they cannot enter into Paradise by themselves. This usage also prevails among the Hindus, as we have said. But the Hindus never burn a woman with her husband, unless it is her own wish."

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"In accordance with the constitution of the kingdom of the Khazar there are nine supreme judges in the country: two of them for the Muslims;

two for the Khazars, who follow the laws of the Pentateuch in passing sentence ; two for the Christians, who follow the laws of the Gospel in their decisions ; and one for the Slavonians, Russians, and the other Pagan population. The Pagan judge decides after the heathen laws ; that is to say, the dictates of reason, not revelation. If any important case comes before him, he refers to the Muslim judges, and lets them decide after the law of the Islam.

“There is no other King in these parts who has *paid* troops except the King of the Khazar. Every Muslim has there the name Larisian (although he may not be of this nation), and it is even extended to such Russians and Slavonians as serve in the army or household of the King : although they are pagans as we have said.”

The Larisians of Al Mas'údi are the Alares of Gibbon, a nation which has long since disappeared, like the Khazars themselves, and like the Bortas mentioned in the following passage ; all swamped in the Mogul deluge of the thirteenth century, overflowing the whole of Western Asia and Eastern Europe in an irresistible torrent. The once great name of the Khazars still survives in an insignificant tribe now subject to Russia and inhabiting the shores of the Caspian, which the Persians to this day call the Bahr al Khazarán or sea of the Khazars.

The term “Rús” used by Al Ma's'údi is it appears the original form of our words Russia and Russians. Mr. Morfill, in his history of Russia, says, “The old name of the country is Rúš, the form Russia not having arisen earlier than the close of the seventeenth century when it was artificially framed on the analogy of such classical names as Grecia, etc.”

The Russians appear to have first become known to the Moslem nations by the piratical raids which they made upon the dwellers on the southern shores of the Black Sea (called the Pontus by Al Mas'údi, after the Greek) and of the Caspian. Their attacks on the Byzantine capital are well known to us through history ; and Al Mas'údi gives the following account of a great raid made by them on the countries of the Islám.

“From the upper course of the river of the Khazar (the Volga) an arm branches off (the Don) that falls into a narrow gulf of the sea Pontus, which is the sea of the Russians ; for no nation, excepting the Russians,

navigates this sea. They are a great nation, living on one of the coasts of this sea. They neither have a king, nor do they acknowledge a divine revelation. Many of them are merchants, and trade with the kingdom of the Targhiz (Bulgarians). The Russians are in possession of great silver mines which may be compared with those in the mountain of Lahjir in Khorásán.

* * * * *

“The Russians (Ar-Rús) consist of several different nations and distinct hordes ; one is called Al Lúdá’iya (Lithuanians ?). They go on their mercantile business as far as Spain, Rome, Constantinople and the Khazar. After the year 300 (circa A.D. 920) they had five hundred ships, every one of which had one hundred men on board : they passed up the estuary (of the Don) which opens into the Pontus and is in communication with the river of the Khazar (the Volga). The King of the Khazar keeps a garrison on this side the estuary with efficient warlike equipments to exclude any other power from this passage, and to prevent them occupying by land that branch of the river of the Khazar which stands in connection with the Pontus : for the nomadic Turks, who are the Ghuz, try frequently to winter there. Sometimes the water (the Don) which connects the river of the Khazar (the Volga) with the above-mentioned estuary is frozen, and the Ghuz cross it with their horses, for although it is a great water, the ice does not break under them. The King of the Khazar himself frequently takes the field against them, if his garrison is too weak to drive them back, and he prevents them going over the ice, thus defending his dominions. It is impossible for the Turks to cross the river in summer.

“When the Russian vessels came to the garrison, on the entrance of the estuary, they sent to the King of the Khazar to ask his permission to pass through his dominions, to go down his river, and enter into the sea of the Khazar which is the sea of Jorján, Taberistán, and of other places of the Barbarians (al ‘Aájim) as we have stated, promising him half the plunder which they should take from the nations who live on the coast of the sea. He gave them leave. They entered the estuary, and continuing their voyage up the river (Don) as far as the river of the Khazar (Volga) they went down this river, passed the town of Itil, and entered through its mouth into the sea of the Khazar. This is a very large and deep river. By these means the Russians came into this sea, and spread their predatory excursions over Ghilán, Dailam, Tabaristán, and Atoskún which is the name of the coast of Jorján the Naphtha country, and towards Aderbaiján, the town of Ardebil which is in Aderbaiján, and about three days’ journey from this sea. They shed blood, plundered property, made children prisoners, and sent out predatory and incendiary companies in all directions. The inhabitants of the coasts of this sea were filled with consternation, for they had never had to contend with an enemy from these quarters : for the sea had only been frequented by peaceful traders and fishing boats. They had been at war with el Jíl (Ghilán), ad Dailam ; and the leader of the forces of Ibn Abi-s-Saj, but with no other nation. The Russians landed on the coast of the Naphtha country which is called Bábika (Bákú) and belongs to the kingdom of Shirwán Sháh. On their

return from the coast, the Russians landed in the islands which are near the Naphtha country, being only a few miles distant from it. The King of Shirwán was then 'Ali Bin al Haitham. As the merchants sailed in boats and vessels in pursuit of their commercial business to those islands, the Russians attacked them; thousands of Muslims perished, being partly put to the sword, partly drowned. The Russians remained several months in this sea, as we have before said. The nations on the coast had no means of repelling them, although they made warlike preparations and put themselves in a state of defence, for the inhabitants of the coasts on this sea are well civilized. When they had made booty and captives, they sailed to the mouths of the river of the Khazar (Volga) and sent messengers with money and booty to the King, in conformity with the stipulations which they had made. The King of the Khazar has no ships on this sea, for the Khazar are no sailors. If they were, they would be of the greatest danger to the Muslims. The Al-Larisia (Alares) and other Muslims in the country of the Khazar heard of the conduct of the Russians, and they said to their king: 'The Russians have invaded the country of our Muslim brothers; they have shed their blood and made their wives and children captives, as they were unable to resist; permit us to oppose them.' As the King was not able to keep them quiet he sent messengers to the Russians, informing them that the Muslims intended to attack them. The Muslims took the field and marched against them, going down the banks of the river. When both parties saw each other, the Russians left their vessels and formed their battle array opposite the Muslims. In the ranks of the latter were many Christians of Itil. The number of the Muslim army was about fifteen thousand men provided with horses and equipments. They fought three days, and God gave the victory to the Muslims: they put the Russians to the sword, some of them were drowned, and only five thousand escaped; who sailed first along the bank of the river on which Bortas is situated; then they left their vessels and proceeded by land. Some of them were slain by the inhabitants of Bortas, and others came into the country of Targhiz (Bulgaria) where they fell under the sword of the Muslims. There were about thirty thousand dead counted on the banks of the river of the Khazar. The Russians did not make a similar attempt after that year."

Al Ma's'údi says "We have related this fact in proof of our statement that the Black Sea and Caspian are separated, against those who maintain that the sea of the Khazar is connected with the sea Mayotis and the strait of Constantinople, through the Mayotis or Pontus: for if this was the case, the Russians would have made their voyage by this way, being the masters of the Black Sea as we have said. Besides, the merchants of all the nations who live near this sea state unanimously, that the sea of the Barbarians has no strait by which it is connected with any other sea; and as this sea is but small, it can be known in its whole extent. The history of the Russian ships, which we have related, is generally known amongst all nations who live there. I have forgotten the exact date of their expedition but it happened after 300 A.H. Perhaps those who maintain that the sea of the Khazar is connected with the strait of Constantinople, mean by

the sea of the Khazar the sea Mayotis and Pontus, which is the sea of the Targhiz and Russians : God knows how this is."

This raid of the Russians on the northern provinces of Persia, though it had no lasting political consequences, has contributed more to their fame and renown among the Oriental nations than all their later exploits and conquests : for it has supplied the theme for a celebrated episode in the great epic of the Persian poet Nizámi called the *Sikandar Náma* (Alexandriad) ; one of the most widely read and best known of those heroic and mythical works which throughout the East fill the place of authentic ancient history.

But before considering Nizámi's poetical account of the Russians, it may be as well to conclude our extracts from al Mas'údi with the following curious fragment, relating to the first appearance of the Danish and Norse Vikings on the coast of Spain, then a Moslem country under the rule of an Arab Khalifa. Al Mas'údi's identification of the newcomers with the Russians was certainly an ingenious, and not an unreasonable guess.

"A short time previous to the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijra, ships landed in Spain which had thousands of men on board who made incursions on the coast. The Muslims of Spain believed that they were a Magian nation (Ummiat Min al Majús) who were in the habit of visiting this country every two centuries. They came from a gulf of the ocean, and not from the strait on which the pillars of copper (columns of Hercules) stand. I suppose this gulf is connected with the sea of Mayotis and of Pontus, through a northern passage, and that the invading nation were the Russians of whom we have spoken ; for no other nation sails in the seas which stand in connection with the Ocean."

It may surprise a Western reader to find the Russians specified by name as opponents of Alexander the Great, but the poetic license assumed by Persian writers is a wide one. Firdúsi and Nizámi and their imitators supply their want of antiquarian knowledge by assuming the ancient world of their mythical heroes to be the same in all respects as the world of their own time. Thus Firdúsi in the *Sháh Náma* or *Book of Kings* makes Alexander the Great conquer the land of al Andalus or Andalusia, the Arab

name for Spain. And to Nizámi, who dwelt at Ganja (now Elisabetpol) in Armenia, the Russian raid on his birthplace no doubt appeared to be a salient fact in history and worthy of being commemorated by the inclusion of a similar incident in his great historical epic. To the Moslem writers Greeks and Romans are the same nations, because the Roman Empire (Ar Rúm) had its capital at Constantinople at the time of the Prophet Muhammad; and their principal idea of Sikandar ar Rúmi or Alexander the Great is connected with the reference to him in the Koran by the name of Dhú'l Karnain, the Lord of the two Horns. Instead of being to them "the youth who all things but himself subdued," he is a Prophet-King like David or Sulimán, an adorer of the One True God, a special favourite of Providence, as evinced by his miraculous career of conquest. Except for his being labelled with all the virtues, there is nothing to distinguish him from his rival Dárá (Darius) King of Irán whose overthrow is attributed to his injustice and tyranny. Both of these monarchs preside over courts like that of Harún ar Rashíd or Sálíh ud Dín, command armies of myriads of bow-bearing and sabrewielding horsemen, and take counsel with long-robed sages like the 'Ulama of Naishapur and Isfahán.

In Nizámi's pages Sikandar is the son of Filikús King of Makdúnya (Macedonia), a tributary of Dárá the Shahinsháh of Irán; and when he succeeds to his father's throne he refuses the tribute on the ground of Dárá's injustice and infidelity. The Persian envöy sent to threaten him empties a bag of millet-seed on the ground before him as a vaunt of the multitude of his master's hosts, and Alexander produces a fowl which picks up the seed, as his answer. To make a long story short, he takes the field against Dárá, conquers Persia, makes the pilgrimage to Makka and founds Alexandria (Iskandariya). He finds among the tributary kingdoms of Irán, that of Berda'a on the Caspian Sea, ruled over by a beautiful Queen called Naushába, who has a court and camp of women as fair as herself, a story

perhaps suggested to Nizámi by some reminiscence of the Grecian myth of the Amazons. Alexander afterwards invades India, where he defeats and kills Fúr (Porus) the King of that country.

In the words of Nizámi

“ZA SAUDÁI HIND O ZA SAFRAI RÚS
FAROSHUST ‘ÁLAM CHU’ KHWÁN-I ARÚS :”

“He cleansed the world, like a bright bridal dress,
From India’s Black, and Russia’s Yellowness.”

“Sauda” and “Safrá” besides signifying “black” and “yellow” also stand for the melancholic and bilious temperaments in the Akhlát i Arba or Four Temperaments of the human race, according to the Greek physiology adopted by the Arabs.

Alexander next goes to China where the Khakán or Emperor acknowledges his Suzerainty, and agrees to pay him tribute. As he is returning thence Dawál the Satrap of Anjáz comes to report to him that the Russians have raided Berda’a and the neighbouring countries, and have carried away Queen Naushába and her ladies into captivity. Alexander enquires about the Russians, and Dawál replies that they are a wild and barbarous nation who continually harry the borders of Rúm and Arman (Greece and Armenia) :

“Ke Khamán-i khalq and, o dunán-i Dahr :”

“They are rudest of Nations, and vilest of Men.”

Alexander accordingly changes the *route* of his army and marches to the Dasht-i Khufchák, or the Kipchák plains, on his way to invade Russia, and avenge his wounded honour. When the King of the Haft Rús (Seven Russias) hears of the approach of the hosts of Rúm, he summons all his warriors to meet them, and calls on his neighbours, vassals, and allies, the Sakláb, the Partás, the Álán and the Khazar to join his standard. The King is called “the Kintal” by Nizámi, a title for which I can suggest no explanation unless it is intended to represent the Slavonic Karál.

The "Seven Russias" probably means the countries of Great Russia, Red Russia, Malo-Russia, etc., seven being used only as a convenient geographical expression, like the Seven Climates, the Seven Seas, the seven infidel kingdoms of Europe and so on.

Nine hundred thousand warriors answer to the call, hungry lions clad in the skins of wild beasts and in armour of steel. The Kintal spurs his horse on to an eminence, from whence he surveys the approach of Alexander's army : and he harangues his Russians, expatiating on the effeminacy of the men of Rúm and Irán and Chín, and on the splendour of their equipment which will afford a rich booty to his hardy and skin-clad warriors.

Nizámi then contrasts the appearance of the two mighty armies drawn up in battle array opposite to each other

"ZA DIGAR TARAF SURKH RUYÁN I RÚS,
FAROZINDA CHUN KIBLA GAH I MAJÚS"

"Opposed, the red-faced Russian's line
Shines like the flame on Magian shrine."

Seven chapters of the epic recount the doubtful fate of as many battles, fought on seven successive days, in much the same way as the Greek and Trojan battles in the Iliad, and described with all the extravagance of Persian *hyperbole* : mountains of slain ; rivers of blood ; cloven limbs, and heads rolling in the dust ; thundering of horsehoofs, lightning of scimitars, neighing of war-horses and shouting of heroes. While the hosts on each side slaughter each other indiscriminately, the main interest centres in the deeds of chosen champions, who successively encounter each other in single combat. The Russian heroes bear such uncouth names as Afranj, Tartús, Jaram, and Jaudará. The Russians nearly gain the victory by bringing into the field a man-monster, a kind of Caliban, who even seizes a war-elephant by the trunk and dashes it to the ground. He is one of a giant race of wild men of the woods, who inhabit a country to the North of Russia. The Russians catch them roosting in trees, and take them with strong nets and

chains with difficulty for it takes fifty ordinary men to hold them ; and then they tame them and utilise their strength in labour and their courage in war. I can discover no foundation for this curious legend of Nizámi's : perhaps some experience of the Berserkers suggested the tale. Alexander at length captures the man-monster with a lasso and drags him to his camp, where by his kindness he so overcomes him that he serves the King against his former master : but I have not space to dwell on the romantic episodes with which Nizámi embellishes his tale. To make a long story short, on the eighth day of battle Alexander vanquishes the Kintál in single combat and so concludes the war. The Russians submit ; Naushaba and her ladies are restored ; and the Kintál regains his liberty on condition of acknowledging the suzerainty of Alexander and paying tribute to him like the rest of the world. This tribute is paid in furs, for the Russians have no money, but use the skins of animals for currency.

Nizámi calls the Russians "Gurba chashm," blue-eyed, literally cat-eyed, because Persian cats have commonly blue eyes. Blue eyes and fair hair are not admired by the Persians and Turks who use the epithet "Kará" (Black) to describe their favourite type of manly beauty : as Kará Osmán, Kará Mustafá—Black Osmán, Black Mustafá. So Byron says in his poem, the Giaour

"Black Hassan from the harem flies,
Nor bends on woman's form his eyes."

After his triumph over the Russians, Alexander goes to the Zulmát or Darkness, the land of eternal Night, as the Moslems call the land of the midnight sun ; in quest of the fountain of the water of life which is found there : and he builds the Sad-i Sikandar or Barrier of Alexander, a brazen wall between two mountains, which according to Musalman idea exists at this day, and prevents Gog and Magog (Yájúj and Májúj) from invading and subjugating our world. The ground for this belief is the strange story of Dhul Karnain's building of this barrier contained in the

Korán, perhaps suggested to Muhammad by some traveller's tale of the Great Wall of China.

This story of the wars of Alexander the Great with the Russians is accepted as authentic history among Musalmans: and as Nizámi's epic is well known and used as a classic wherever Persian literature has made its way, the Russians owe their fame and *prestige* in the East quite as much to this fabulous story as to their present power and position. Muhammadans may be heard saying "Rúm and Rú are old nations and ancient kingdoms; but who ever heard of England or Germany until to-day?"

The Kitáb Nuzhat ul Mushták fi akhtorák al Afák (Book for the Solace of the Enquirers into the Knowledge of the Universe) was compiled by the Arab geographer Sharíf al Idrisi about the year 1150 A.D. for his patron Roger the Norman King of Sicily. After describing Germany, Hungary, and Poland he goes on to say :

"As to Russia (Arz ar Rúsiya) it is a vast country with few towns, and villages so scattered that to go from one province to another one must traverse immense distances through uninhabited tracts. The Russians are continually at war and in strife either among themselves or with their neighbours. In the number of the towns of Russia comprised in the present section we must enumerate Sarmali, Zána, Barmúniya and Ghalisia (Galicia?). The first of these towns is situated on the river Dniest (Dneister) to the north of the stream, which flows eastwards towards Zána distant twelve days' journey. From Zána on its banks to Barmúniya nine days' journey: and from Barmúniya to Ghalisiya two hundred miles."

In his description of the nations dwelling on the Volga, the Bartas (the Partás of Nizámi) the Bulghar, etc., he again refers to the Russians

"Kokiana is inhabited by Tartars called Russians (Rúsa). The Russians are divided into three hordes, one of which is called Baráwas: its king lives at Kokiana. The second is called Sláwia, and its king lives at Sláwa, a town on the top of a mountain. The third is Arthania: its king resides at Arthána, a pretty town, built on a steep mountain between Sláwa and Kokiána, and four days' journey from each of these towns.

"Musalman merchants visit Kokiána.

"As to Arthania Ibn Haukal says that no stranger may enter there: for the people there put to death without mercy any stranger who visits their country. They bring thence the skins of black tigers (babr), and black foxes, and lead. The merchants of Kokiána traffic in these things.

‘The Russians burn their dead and do not bury them : some of them shave their beards ; others trim and curl their beards after the fashion of the Arabs of Dawáb. Their clothes are short skirted of the kind called Kurtak while the Khazars, the Bulgars, and the Bajnáks wear the long Kurtak of silk, cotton, linen or wool.

“The language of the Russians differs entirely from that of the Khazars and the Bartas.

“In Russia and in Bulgaria the length of the day is not more than three and a half hours in winter. Ibn Haukal assures us that he has witnessed this fact, and he adds that in this country the length of the day in winter is barely sufficient to allow of the four obligatory prayers being gone through in succession without interval, even making as few prostrations as possible.

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“There are two kinds of Russians : those of whom we have treated in the present section ; and the others who dwell near Hungary and Gotulia. At this present time they have subjugated the Bartás, the Bulgars, and the Khazars ; have chased them from their lands and occupied their possessions, so that there remains of the Bartás, Bulgars, and Khazars absolutely nothing but the name.”

He goes on to describe the Bashkirs as neighbours of the Russians ; and then the Ghuz (Kirghiz ?) who inhabit the deserts on the shores of the Caspian Sea. He also mentions several places to the north of Russia as “Finmark,” “Lestlanda” (Ostland ?), “Kalmar” etc. The dark ocean, he says, washes the northern coasts of Russia from East to West. No part of it can be navigated, owing to the fogs and the cold.

Al Idrisi also gives a long and circumstantial story of an Arab explorer who was sent by the Khalifa Al Váthik to verify the existence of the brazen wall of Alexander ; and who returned with a full and particular notice of it : but the Moorish historian and geographer Abu Zeid Abdur Rahmán Ibn Khalidún who follows al Idrisi in most particulars naïvely says that “the only authentic notice of this work” (Alexander’s wall) “is that contained in the Korán.”

Ibn Khalidún composed his monumental work about the year 1350 A.D. He follows al Idrisi in most things relating to the Russians and the neighbouring nations. He says that they and all the Slavonic tribes use skins and furs

instead of money: and he compares the Russians in the Northern Hemisphere to the Zangis (Negroes) in the Southern, when speaking of the effect of climate on the human race, and the variation of type. Extreme heat and extreme cold show, he argues, the same effects in making men brutal and savage, physically strong and intellectually weak as are the Russians to the extreme North and the Zangi to the far south.

Muhammad Ibn Batúta was a contemporary of Ibn Khalidún and spent twenty years in travelling, visiting every place of note almost in all Islam from Timbuctoo to the cities of China. In his time Russia was subject to the Khán of the Kizil Urdú or Golden Horde of the Mogul Tartars, who had established their standing camp at Sarái (the Tabernacle) on the banks of the Volga. The father of English poetry, Chaucer, writing in A.D. 1400 says in his "Story of Cambuscan bold":

"At Sara in the londe of Tartarie
There dwelled a King who werreyed Russie,"

which seems to disprove Mr. Morfill's assertion that the word Russia was only invented towards the end of the seventeenth century.

Abdulla Ibn Fazlulla, surnamed Vassáf, a well known Persian historian, has a chapter in his erudite work headed "Yurish-i Maghúl ba Mulk-i Rúš" or "Invasion of the land of Russia by the Moguls." In it he says that Júji Khán son of Changhiz Khán left seven sons, who were seven planets of the Firmament of Dominion, and seven limbs of the Body Politic: that Bátú Khan who was distinguished among the seven brothers for courage, justice, and generosity, succeeded to his father's throne; and that he built the city of Sarái on the banks of the river Itil (Volga) and made it the seat of his government. In his second Parliament (quríltái) opinions were unanimously given in favour of an attack upon the chiefs of Russia (Sarwarán-i Rúš) who dwelt in convenient contiguity: and the Princes Mangú, Kayúk, Kadákán, Kurkán, Búri

(Nuri?), Baidár, and Hardú were appointed to lead the expedition. In the spring of the year they assembled their armies on the frontiers of Balghár, and marched into Russia. They captured a city impervious even to the air, and filled with soldiers numerous as leaves and thick as swarms of flies. The Moguls plundered everything and slew all agreeably to custom and according to orders, and cut off the ears of all the slain: on which circumstance Vassáf jests after the Persian fashion about the obstinate Russians having their ears twisted for their contumacy. The tale of cropped ears when counted amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand. The historian then proceeds to narrate the subsequent invasion and conquest of the countries of Kalár and Báshghar by the victorious Moguls led by Bátú Khan in person.

The author of the *Shajrat al Atrák* (Genealogical Tree of the Turks) gives a very similar account of the Tartar Conquest of Russia. He says that Júji Khán subdued Russia, and that after his death the Russians along with other subject nations, revolted: and that an army was mustered to quell the revolt under the Tartar Princes Kayúk Khán, Mangú the son of Tuli Khán, Bulki, Núri, and Baidár. He thus describes the conquest and capture of Moscow.

“As the city of Mugus (Moscow) was surrounded by a forest so thick that the wind could scarcely penetrate it, the princes cut it down and made a road round the city that would admit of four carriages abreast. They then closely besieged the city, and taking it, massacred the whole of the inhabitants. The right ears of the slain, amounting to seventy-two thousand, were cut off, and sent to Oktái Ká’án.

“On the arrival of the spring, when the princes had finished their warfare with the people of Rúš, Kipchák, and ‘Alán, they proceeded to the conquest of Kulah and Bashkar, the people of these countries from their vicinity to the cities of Farangistán, being all Christians.”

By Kulah or Kalár and Báshkar perhaps Poland and Hungary may be meant, which were raided by the Moguls under Bátú Khán after their conquest of Russia. After encountering and defeating the chivalry of Europe on the

plains near Liegnitz in Silesia the victors filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain Christians.

Muhammad Ibn Batúta visited Sarái in his travels, and went northwards thence to Bulghar, the original seat of the Bulgarian Nation before it migrated to the banks of the Danube. The pious Musalman was much puzzled by the shortness of the nights in that northern land. He says :

“When therefore I was saying the prayer of sunset in that place, which happened in the month of Ramazán, I hasted, nevertheless the time for evening prayer came on, which I went hastily through. I then said that of midnight, as well as that termed Al Witr ; but was overtaken by the dawn. In the same manner also the day is shortened in this place in the opposite season of the year.

“In Bulgar, I was told of the land of darkness, and certainly had a great desire to go to it from that place. The distance however was that of forty days. I was diverted therefore from the undertaking, both on account of its great danger, and the little good to be derived from it. I was told that there was no travelling thither except upon little sledges, which are drawn by large dogs ; and that, during the whole of the journey, the roads are covered with ice, upon which neither the feet of man, nor the hoofs of beast can take any hold. These dogs, however, have claws by which their feet take firm hold on the ice.

“No one enters these parts except powerful merchants, each of whom has perhaps a hundred of such sledges as these, which they load with provisions, drinks, and wood : for there we have neither trees, stones, nor houses. The guide in this country is the dog which has gone the journey several times, and the price of such a dog will amount to about a thousand *dinars*.

“The sledge is harnessed to his neck, and with him three other dogs are joined, of which he is the leader. The others then follow him with the sledge, and when he stops they stop.

“The master never strikes or reprimands this dog ; and when he proceeds to a meal, the dogs are fed first : for if this were not done, they would become enraged, and perhaps run away and leave their master to perish. When the travellers have completed their forty days or stages through this desert, they arrive at the land of darkness ; and each man, leaving what he has brought with him, goes back to his appointed station. On the morrow they return to look for their goods, and find instead of them sable, ermine, and the fur of the *sinjáb*. If then the merchant likes what he finds, he takes it away : if not, he leaves it, and more is added to it : upon some occasions, however, these people will take back their own goods, and leave those of the merchants. In this way is their buying and selling carried on ; for the merchants do not know whether it is with mankind or demons that they have to do ; no one being seen during the transaction. It is one of the properties of these furs, that no vermin ever enters them.”

Ibn Batúta goes on to describe his travels to other places in the land of the Tartars.

"In this manner," he says, "we arrived at Ukak or Ukal, which is a middling-sized town, but excessively cold. Between this place and Al Sarái which belongs to the Sultan, there is a distance of ten days' journey. At the distance of one day from this place are the mountains of the Russians, who are Christians with red hair, and blue eyes, an ugly and perfidious people. They have silver mines: and from their country is 'as-súm,' *i.e.*, the pieces of silver bullion, brought. With these they buy and sell, each piece weighing five ounces."

As the Mogul power decayed the Golden Horde split up into the three Khanates of Kazan, Haji Tarkhán (Astrachan) and Karím (the Crimea). This last long survived under the protection of the Ottoman Sultáns, and only fell a prey to the arms of the great Empress Catherine; but the two former were conquered and annexed by the Russians in the reign of the Czar Ivan the Terrible.

The songs of the Tartar nomad herdsmen of the steppes by the Volga still bewail in pathetic strains the fall of "the strong-walled city, the city Kazan," and the untimely fate of the brave young Prince of the Crimea, Batyr or Bahádur Tora who perished in attempting to relieve it. He thought to evade the vigilance of the besiegers by leading his army by paths across the marshes into Kazan; but being discovered and attacked by the Russians under Glinski and Sheremetoff the Tartars were defeated, and five thousand of them killed or drowned in the marshes; among the latter being Batyr Tora himself. His fate is alluded to in the following Tartar song translated by the Pole Alexander Chodzko.

"The town of Kazan belonged to us. We started as soon as we heard that the enemy had besieged it. We shall be under its walls before they take it. We will make our way to the gates of the Fort, to the threshold of its door. Like an iron bar, we will cut our way to the walls. There are black swamps before Kazan; their stagnant waters smell of blood. It is shallow; thought I in my heart, I will swim across it; and giving the spur to my horse I threw myself into it. Numerous warriors were behind me, thought I; but when I looked behind, there was not one left out of that gallant troop. Not knowing that accursed bog, I fell into deep water. I wish thou wert lost for ever, thou muddy abyss! Where are

now our shallow fords? Where is our power over Kazan with its four gates?

* * * * *

“The innumerable Russian troops hurrah’d, hearing that Tora was approaching Kazan: but we did not know that many warriors were to fall there, and that the black day was coming upon Kazan.”

In another Tartar song on the same event the Tartars flying before the Russians, are likened to a frightened doe flying over the morasses

“When a startled doe runs away with her fawns, it leaves a track on the swampy morasses :

“On the mountains of Kavkáz, the falcon Terlau will raise his voice :

“A solitary white-beaked vulture, perched on the top of a rock, screamed and spread terror on the vast lake :

“Two eagles are shedding their feathers on the banks of Itll (the river Volga) and fear arises in the hearts of the enemy.”

It is supposed that the “Ak minkár” or white-beaked vulture in the above song refers to Russia, the falcon of the Caucasus to the famous Circassian chief Gházi Beg, and the two eagles shedding their feathers to the Kháns of Kazan and Astrachán.

In the celebrated Persian history called the *Jahán Kushái Nádiri* or *World Conquests of Nádir Sháh*, by his minister Mirza Mahdi Khán there is a passage describing the seizure of the provinces of Ghilan and Mazendarán by the Russians under pretence of assisting the feeble Shah Tamasp against his numerous enemies. It says that the Persian Shah having sent an embassy to ask aid from the Russians, a Russian force under the command of a Russian officer came accordingly in boats, and cast anchor in the harbour of Resht. The Vazir of Resht attempting to oppose them was defeated, and the Russians established a station in the neighbourhood of Resht, and unloaded their baggage: and represented that the Ambassador of Shah Tamasp had ceded the country to them from Niázabád as far as the frontier of Astarabád, on condition of their helping him against his enemies: and that they had undertaken this long and arduous journey out of friendship for the Persians: and on this pretext they assumed the administration of the

country, and collected the revenues. Soon afterwards their chief commander arrived with ten thousand men, and claimed that the country had been ceded to him by the Sháh. Sháh Tamásp sent troops to expel them, but the Kizilbáshes were beaten and put to flight by the Russians, who took possession of the whole country round, and administered it peaceably enough : and took advantage of the civil wars going on around to extend their authority into the neighbouring districts : and shortly afterwards Peter the Padisháh of the Russians came by land by way of the castle of Kizlar with a large army to Derbend : and the people of that place through the fear they were in of the Lesghis and their allies the Turks who were mortal foes to the Persian nation, submitted to him ; and he ordered them to evacuate the fort of Derbend, and placed in it as a garrison three thousand musketeers, whom the Russians call "soldat" : and in the same way he took possession of Bádkúba and Salián, and having assessed the revenue and settled the government of these places, he returned to his own country.

Afterwards he relates how a Russian named Kannás was sent as an ambassador to the Court of Nádir Sháh, and was a companion of the Imperial stirrup when that monarch marched to the northwards : and how the Sun-crowned Emperor of Russia feeling that delay and procrastination would be useless, and resistance calamitous, consented to the evacuation of the Persian provinces, and the release of all prisoners : while Nádir Sháh guaranteed that the Russian garrisons should return unmolested to their own country.

The epithet used here Pádisháh Khurshíd Kuláh, "Sun-capped or Sun-crowned Emperor," for the Czar is one commonly applied to him by the Persians. They speak of the great Empress Catherine the Second as Khurshíd Kuláh, as if it was her proper name ; and it has been suggested that it originated from the fame of her conquests and victories ; but its use by Mirza Mahdí Khán proves

that it existed before her time. Persians have applied to me for an explanation of it, imagining it to be in use in Europe also.

Among the Tartars and Asiatic Turks the Czar is commonly spoken of as the *Ák-Padishah* or White Emperor. The Ottoman Turks did not give the title of Padishah or Emperor to the Sovereigns of Russia until 1740 A.D. Before that time they were styled *Karál*, a Slavonic word for King.

The Turkish Chronicler Auliya Effendi tells a story of how the Sultan Ahmad the First said to his eldest son and heir, Osmán :

“ My Osman, wilt thou conquer Creta for me ? ”

“ What have I to do with Creta ? ” replied the boy ; “ I will conquer the land of the white Russian girls, and shed blood there.”

White Russian girls were an article in great demand among the Turks, and there was a constant supply in the slave-markets at Constantinople, procured by the raids of the Tartars of the Crimea. Giles Fletcher, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Czar Ivan the Terrible, says these Tartars come into Russia “ to get store of captives both boys and girls whom they sell to the Turkes and other their neighbours.”

The favourite wife of Sultan Sulimán the Magnificent was a Russian captive named *Khurram* (Pleasant) whom European writers call *Roxolana*. The great Sultan, like his great namesake, was susceptible to feminine influence, and *Khurram* instigated him to put to death his eldest son, the princely *Mustafa*, in order to secure the succession of her own unworthy son *Selim the Sot*, from whose reign the decline of the Ottoman Empire may be said to date.

Prince Cantemir, who lived much among the Turks, says in his history that they preferred Russian and Polish slaves to those from the Western nations, thinking the women of those nations prettier and more pleasing. They seem to have looked on the *Sakláb* (Slaves) and the

Majár (Hungarians) as Oriental nations, and they did not class them among the hated "Farang." Auliya Effendi says in his Book of Travels that Transylvania is inhabited by Saxons and by Saklav: the latter are well affected to the Sultan's Government, but the former are most stubborn infidels.

Prince Cantemir tells us that the Turks, who used nicknames much among themselves, used to apply them also to denote their estimate of the characters of the different European nations: thus they used to call the Germans the "Ghurúr Káfir" or Proud Infidels: the Poles were the "Fuzúl Giaur" or Boasting Gentiles: the Italians were the Farang Hazar Rang or tricky Europeans; Fransawi Ainaji was the Deceitful Frenchman: Ispanioli Tambal was the Lazy Spaniard: the Dutchman was a Panirji or Cheesemonger; the Venetian was a Balikji, or Fisherman; and the Englishman was a Chokaji or Cloth-merchant. The Russian was Rús Mankiús or the perverse Russians. In an Urdu history of the Ottoman Empire called the Kaisar Náma which I saw in India, either translated from the Turkish or taken from Turkish sources the word Maskúb (Muscovite) was always used instead of Russian, and I believe it is in common use among the Turks to this day.

The Turks and Arabs call the Russians Beni ul Asfar the "Sons of Yellowness," and Byron has alluded to this epithet in the lines

"Dark Mukhtár his son to the Danube has sped,
Let the yellow-haired Giaours view his horsetails with dread:
When his Delis come dashing in blood o'er the banks
How few shall escape from the Muscovite ranks!"

When Mr. Donovan the *Daily News* Correspondent visited Merv in 1881 he found the Turkmans always spoke of the "Yellow Russians." And we have seen Nizámi using the same epithet six hundred years ago.

There is very little except the most meagre record of events to be found concerning the wars waged by the

Russians against Turks and Persians in the pages of Oriental histories. "Instead of history," says Von Moltke, "the Turks write only inflated bombast"; and their account of their numerous wars with the Russians are quite valueless for military or historical purposes. "Five thousand of the warriors of Islam became martyrs, and ten thousand of the accursed infidels were made fuel for hell fire" is a sample of their style of recording the results of an engagement.

A bridge as fine as a hair and as sharp as a sword is the Moslem expression for the strait gate and the narrow way; and a Turkish Saraskier, reporting a victory over the Russians to his master Sultan Mahmúd the First, writes, "Thousands of the infidels passing over the arch of the bridge formed by the sparkling sabre of the true believers were precipitated into the infernal gulf." In Turkish histories the most striking literary feature is what Mrs. Malaprop would have called a nice derangement of epitaphs: the Russians and other Christian soldiers being foxes, vultures, and hyaenas: while the Osmanlis are lions, leopards, eagles and the like.

Many Russian words are to be met with nowadays in ordinary use in the Persian language: such as Samávar for a tea-urn, Istikán for a glass tumbler, Káliská for a carriage, etc. The words "Musikánchi" for a military Bandsman, and "Kashakchi" for a military Sentinel also appear to be adopted from Russian military terms. The use of the word "Imperátor" for Emperor which is now common in the Persian language, has probably been derived through the Russians.

These straws on the current are trifling indications of the rapid growth and wide extent of the influence of Russia on the national language of Persia, which in its turn exercises a widespread influence throughout the Muhammadan world.

I have always heard natives of Persia and of Central Asia, when they have spoken unreservedly, express strongly

their sense of the justice and rectitude of the Russian Government in Asia, and contrast it with the rule of their own countrymen, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter ; and this in spite of their avowed prejudice against the Russians on account of their religion.

The Oriental mind adores force : and the irresistible evidence of the power of Russia, and of her military might, appeals strongly to the Eastern imagination and leads it to accept the supremacy of Russia in the East as decreed by an inscrutable Providence.

CONCLUSIONS OF "THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN ALBANIAN DESCENDANTS."

(BY THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN AND HIS EXC. THE LATE
P. WASSA PASHA.)

(*Begun with the January number 1891 and regularly continued to the
January number 1894.*)

WITH A NOTE BY THE EDITOR AND A PARALLEL PASSAGE IN THE
ODYSSEY IN GREEK, ALBANIAN AND ENGLISH—PELASGIC SIGNIFI-
CATIONS OF GREEK WORDS—PELASGIC OMENS, PIRACY, LANGUAGE
—HOMERIC POEMS IN PELASGIC—PHENICIAN TRADE.

WHEN the rough manuscript, of which we now give the last portion, was placed in our hands for publication in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, both the learned authors of "The Pelasgi and their Modern Descendants" seemed, to all human appearances, to have a fairly long life before them; and we hoped that the work would not only have the advantage of their personal revision while being published in instalments by us, but also that they would give it a formal conclusion and sum up with replies to such criticisms as its publication might raise. Those expectations were destroyed, within a year, by the death first of the erudite SIR PATRICK COLQUHOUN and then of the learned Albanian, PASCUAL WASSA PASHA. Since then we have simply continued to edit the manuscript as it was left in our hands. That it was the intention of the authors to add much more to it, in order to complete their work, it is quite easy to perceive; but no subsequent papers have reached us from the pen of either author, nor was any indication left to us as a guide to their intended conclusion.

It is evident that, among other matter, it had been originally intended to give, perhaps long, specimens of translations from Homer into modern Albanian, side by side with the Greek texts, so as to emphasize the contentions in various places of the work.* On Wassa Pasha would naturally devolve the task of making such translations; but we are unable to say how much he may have actually executed: for though we wrote to enquire, we failed to elicit any precise statement. Sir Patrick had, however, left us a small fragment of such a translation; and with this we conclude his manuscript, giving an English version opposite to the Albanian, with the Greek text of the passage underneath.

The work, as it now stands, is in two unequal parts. The first—the larger one—gives a close and erudite study of Asia Minor, Greece and Albania, in both ancient and modern times, whence the conclusion is drawn that the lineal descendants of the ancient Pelasgians, wherever else they may have been eliminated or absorbed, have held their own continuously in the Ancient Epeiros—the modern Albania. From philological proofs, the authors deduce that the modern Albanian is essentially the older Pelasgic

* See, e.g., pages 92, 95, 113, *et seq.*

language. The Pelasgic races, the area they occupied, the language they used, the territories they invaded and conquered are dealt with; and among other conclusions, it is maintained that at Troy, both the besiegers and the besieged were Pelasgic Tribes. Interesting too is the contention, that after the Pelasgi had occupied Asia Minor and the islands in the Ægean Sea, they conquered Greece, became gradually grecicized, and then, from Greece, re-conquered their original settlements, which in the meanwhile had themselves become grecicized.

In the second part, the Homeric poems are traced up to Pelasgic effusions, originally sung by the bards attached to various chiefs: their poems surviving as popular ballads were subsequently collected, collated and translated into Greek.

How far the authors have succeeded in proving their conclusions, it is not for us alone to judge. But whether specialists agree with them or not, no one can fail to find in these pages a vast amount of erudite information on archæology, ethnology, philology, history and the Homeric literature, which will repay close study. Let us hope that this work may induce other scholars to investigate and elucidate further the points which the authors have touched, but which their lamented death did not allow them to bring to a complete demonstration.

Besides its appearance in the pages of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, "The Pelasgi and their Modern Descendants" is also issued in book form, by the Publishing Department of the Oriental University Institute, Woking, as a posthumous "*In memoriam*" publication to record the services rendered by SIR PATRICK COLQUHOUN to the Statutory IXth International Congress of Orientalists (London, 1891), which was organized by Dr. G. W. Leitner, the Principal of the Institute, and of the Organizing Committee of which Sir Patrick was President till his death.—ED.

THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(Concluded from page 444 of Vol. VI. (Second Series),
July-October, 1893.)

EAGLE OMENS IN PELASGIC DIVINATIONS.

The importance attached to the flight of the Eagle in the divinations of the Pelasgi is often insisted on. Telemachus searching for Odysseus visits Menelaus, and rejoices on seeing an eagle flying to the right, with a tame white

goose in its talons caught in his courtyard ; whence Helen predicts the destruction of Penelope's suitors. Penelope also dreams that an eagle kills twenty geese feeding in her palace, which lie about here and there. Telemachus sees, not an eagle which was sacred to Zeus, but an analogous bird of prey, a hawk, sacred to Hermes, on his right, tearing a dove ; and Amphinomos concludes that they would not entrap Telemachus. (Od. θ, 172 ; T, 535 ; O, 160 ; O, 182-524.) Halitherses seeing two eagles tearing each other above the assembled suitors, predicts their slaughter by Odysseus. (Od. β, 157.) The disheartened besiegers of Troy, seeing an eagle carrying a fawn by the feet and dropping it on the altar of Zeus Panomphaios, take courage and defeat the Trojans. (Il. M, 200.) Hector attempting to burn the besiegers' fleet, sees an eagle bearing in its talons a live writhing serpent, the struggles of which oblige him to drop it : this Polydamas declares to foretell the failure of Hector's purpose. Priam beseeches Zeus to send him an eagle on the right, when about to set out to redeem Hector's body. (Il. Ω, 293.) To constitute a good omen, the bird must fly from right to left. Lastly, not to needlessly multiply instances, Aristander predicts that Alexander, who was of the Shkypetar race, would be victorious, because he had seen an eagle fly from the Macedonian to the enemy's camp. (Plut. in Alex., Plin. 17, 25.) It has been before remarked that the national name of the Pelasgi is Shkypetar = sons of the Eagle. The national or generic name it would appear was 'Αχαιοί.

PHœNICIAN TRADE AND PIRACY OF THE PELASGI.

Passing to another subject, it does not appear that at the period of the Trojan war any other than the Phœnicians carried on trading operations ; and even in the age of Solomon they certainly had the monopoly of the Mediterranean commerce, according to the mode it was then

carried on. Having taken a cargo on board, the vessel sailed for the port where the best market was judged to be. Having disposed of as much as he could, the captain filled up with what profitable merchandise he found at that place, and went to another port: and so on, as long as he found a market. His vessel was a floating warehouse, and his trade a *commerce d'échelle* as practised in the present day and recognised by treaty in the Levant. The Pelasgi, on the other hand, were only sea-robbers and pirates, landing and stealing whatever they could lay their hands on, whether moveable property or slaves, or free persons whom they afterwards sold as slaves.

A Phœnician vessel having touched in the way of business at Syra there found a Phœnician woman who had been stolen by Taphian pirates from Sidon, famous for its brass. (Od. O, 424.) We know from the Bible that Tyrian and Sidonian artificers were brought as brass founders and workers for building and furnishing the temple of Solomon, who had entered into a treaty with Hiram for the supply of artificers of all sorts,—carpenters, stone quarriers and masons, as well as metal workers.

The Taphians inhabited islands between Achaia and Leukas, called the Teleboies now Kastos and Kalamos; and they had sold this Phœnician woman as a slave to Ktesias son of Ormenus, Ruler of Syra and Delos, where she acted as the nurse of his son whom she proposes to deliver to these Phœnicians, as the price for taking her home. Diana slays her and she is thrown overboard; and the child Eumaios is sold to Laertes by the Phœnicians, and becomes his swineherd. Hence it appears that the Taphians, by their position and occupation, were pirates, and the Phœnicians, traders and slave dealers. The former by their locality must have been a Pelasgic and the latter a Shemitic race. At the age of the Trojan war, therefore, the trade was generally in the hands of the Shemites, and piracy in that of the Pelasgi, though the Phœnicians also kidnapped.

NO GREEK TRADERS 1,000 B.C.

Traders of the Greek-speaking race are not referred to in the Homeric poems, nor in contemporary histories; but Phœnicians are mentioned as having had many trading stations in the Mediterranean. They were finally extinguished by the Romans under Scipio Africanus 147 B.C. Their territory extended from the river Eleutherus on the north to Pelusium on the south, and Syria on the east—Tyre and Sidon being their principal cities. (Od. A, 181, 419; O. 426. They were otherwise called Teleboies; Plin. 4, 12. Virg. Aen. VII, 715. Apollod. II, 4. Plin. II. 47; V, 12. At Temesa in Calabria, there was probably a Phœnician station.)

PELASGIC DERIVATION OF HOMERIC NAMES.

An insuperable difficulty has generally been acknowledged by scholars to exist in explaining by the Greek language the proper and local names in the Homeric poems. Many attempts have been made, but the result has been so strained and improbable, as not to commend itself to any important investigation. This difficulty at once disappears if the Pelasgic language, in the form in which it has descended to us, be invoked in aid. Until recently no attention has been bestowed on the Pelasgic category of speech. The first who seriously and systematically investigated it was Dr. Von Hahn, some time Russian Consul General at Janina, whose book contains most interesting information more especially applicable to the Tosk division. But since that time, some forty years ago, several learned Albanians have taken up the study of their own tongue. Indeed until lately ethnographers were at a loss to what division the Albanian race was to be assigned: they have, among other surmises, supposed them to be Finns. All these speculations have now been dispelled; and it has been settled beyond doubt, that they are the descendants of the second oldest known settlers in Europe—the Pelasgi or Palesta.

THE HOMERIC POEMS FORMERLY EXISTED IN AN OLDER
FORM AND LANGUAGE.

The proof of that assumption, curiously enough, comes through a foreign, and, in some respects, a dead language—that of the Homeric poems; and although the allegation that the poems exist in their original form can by no means be supported, yet sufficient indication of their origin is contained in the poems themselves, to prove conclusively their previous existence in an older form and language,—at least older in that locality whence the Greek race came. It is impossible to ascertain, or to do more than conjecture; but two theories are possible. If there be a third, the distinguished statesman who has made Homer his special study will probably add it. Either the so-called Greek race was anterior or posterior to the Pelasgic immigration. Philologically speaking, the antiquity of the two languages is probably about the same, taking into account that no remnant of archaic Greece exists. Now if the Greek race arrived first in the west, settled there, and was conquered and subjugated by the Pelasgians—the more warlike race,—and remained in a subordinate position, it must be supposed that their culture, superior to that of their conquerors, pierced through the barbarism of the dominant class. It must be borne in mind, that this must have happened long before the invention of writing.* This theory, therefore, would not account for Greek becoming the written language in preference to Pelasgian. The Greek historians, however, do not even hint at such a theory. On the contrary they imply that wheresoever the Greeks came from, it was subsequent to the arrival of the Pelasgic immigrants; and they never call in question the difference, both in race and language, between themselves and the Pelasgi. The information of Herodotus is, however, meagre, scanty and confused. He evidently knew no language but his own;

* Probably Pocock, had he been alive, would have taken this view. His *India in Greece* is well worth consulting.

nor was he able to appreciate the Pelasgian further than to relate that it was "a barbarous language,"—although it is sufficiently clear that Pelasgian must have been commonly spoken at his time even in the Athenian streets.

PARALLEL OF GAELIC, ERSE AND KYMRAEG.

An analogy may be drawn from Gaelic, Erse and Kymraeg; for although the two former are spoken by a large bilingual population, not only in the countries to which they belong but also in both Edinburgh and Glasgow,—nay even in London,—and Kymraeg in many border towns in Wales, yet the general population only know them as "barbarous languages," with which they have no acquaintance whatever. Even the great novelist, Sir Walter Scott, who first invested highland Scottish history with poetry, never attempts a Gaelic word or sentence without some gross and ridiculous blunder, though assistance was at hand. Albanian at present occupies the same position in Athens; and though widely spoken among Albanian residents, not a single non-Albanian will be found, who knows a word of that tongue. English has swamped Gaelic, Erse and Kymraeg, as Greek has swamped Shkypetar.

THE PELASGI NOT SUPPRESSED WITHOUT A CONVULSION.

The second possible theory is that the Greek race and their language arrived after the Pelasgi. If this be so, it could not have been a warlike irruption, or what is termed an "invasion in force." History furnishes no trace of it; and a warlike and wide-spread people could not have been suppressed without a considerable convulsion; for they have not been suppressed to the present day, and every attempt to do so has caused a convulsion. The only possible theory would, therefore, be that the Greeks succeeded the Phœnicians as traders, were few in number, arrived at a comparatively late epoch, and disseminated through trade their speech, which for its superiority in all respects was

adopted as the literary language, and so became general. But this view is by no means tenable. That the designations of the Homeric Heroes are significant in modern Pelasgic affords an overwhelming argument in favour of those poems having been first sung by Pelasgic bards in their own tongue.

PELASGIC SIGNIFICATION OF GREEK WORDS.

I commence with the very word which furnished subsequent historians the opportunity of personifying Homer :

I-mir in modern Pelasgic signifies “the good” ; it is applied to anything of excellence, and first of all to the Deity. Thus *I-mir-* (os) would, in its Greek form, signify “the Good Poem” ; and those ballads, worthy of that designation, received it to distinguish them from others of inferior quality.

Ἀγαμέμνων—*Ai-ge-mendon*, he who thinks or gives attention.

Ἄιας—*I-gheachs*, the bloodthirsty—the bloodspiller.

Ἑκτωρ—*Hek-der*, he who strikes with the hand, “l’assommeur.”

Πρίαμος—*Bir-i-ams*, son of the earth,—autochthon.

Ἀχιλλεύς—I-Kheals- (εύς)—the heavenly, the celestial, one sprung from heaven.

Ὀδυσσεύς—*I-oudhis-* (εύς)—the traveller, the man of the way ; thus he tells the *Kyklops* his name

Οὐτις ἐμοὶ γ’ ὄνομα· Οὐτιν δέ μιν κτελέσκουσιν
Μήτηρ γὰρ ἔστι πατήρ γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες ἑταῖροι.

In Ionic Greek, this is converted into a pun, for when *Odysseus* reviles the *Kyklop*, he replies it had been predicted that *Outis* should destroy him. This in Pelasgic means that a “traveller,”—in Greek, that “nobody”—should be the ruin of him. The attempt to explain it by Greek is strained, ridiculous and inapplicable ; for “wrathful” is never applied to *Odysseus* ; on the contrary, his epithets are prudent, cool to a fault, cunning, versed in wiles, crafty, designing, all of which qualities he shows when

insulted and assaulted by the suitors, reserving his courage to a fitting opportunity.

Ἰθακη, — *I-thak* — the rugged, arid ; and such is Ithaka still, and such, from its rocky nature, it must always have been.

Νέριτος — *I-nerit-* (ος) — moist, humid.

Πολύκτωρ — *Balhâr* — the muddy.

Τρωίλος — *Droi-li-* (ος) — the coward who fears.

Πατρόκλος — *Per-Droi-li-* (ος) — he who feareth not.

Θερσίτης — *Der-i-zé-* (ης) — the black pig. In this, as in other cases, the adjectives joined with the denomination explain the character of the individual or place.

Πανδόκλις — *Pa-ndouk-* (λις) — one wearing his hair and beard ; one who has never been shaven, — a Samson — a Nazarene.

Μαχάων — *Makon-yon* — our friend.

Ἰπασσος — *I-pâs-* (ος) — whoso possesses, who is rich.

Κάρπος — *Ka-rop-* (ος) — who holds slaves.

Λυκάων — *Lî-kâ-oun* — who is born to me or of me.

Ἰφιτιών — *I-fisit-on* — of our race.

Μαλίονες — *Male-on* — our mountain.

Μυρμίδονες — *Mir-me-dhen-* (ες) — rich in cattle.

Λαέρτες — *I-larté* — the high — resplendent.

Ρεξένωρ — *Rheze-n'dor* — having rays in his hands.

Ποντόνοος — *Poun-t-on-* (ος) — our business or work : *Pountor* = labourer, two “o” suffixed often signify a vocative in Shkypetar *bir-oo-oston mot-oo*, a sister.

Κύκλωψ — *Ki-ka-lope* — who has cows.

A HOMERIC PASSAGE COMPARED IN ENGLISH AND ALBANIAN AND
THE ORIGINAL WITH GREEK VERSION.

<i>Albanian Rendering.</i>	<i>Odys. I. 437-455.</i>
Puk zûnli me shendrit e-bija drits	So soon as the daughter of light began to shine
Te Gelhibit qi kâ gishtat drandopelhiët	Aurora who has fingers of rose color
Gikalope nziti dihtë e-tupes ti	The Cyclops drove the sheep of his flock
Ti dergoin me kulliot n'livadhe t'prëstita	To send them to feed on the green pastures
Dëlet qi smurt ti mielin me zhizh 'ai	The sheep which were unable to drag their udders, swelled
Prëi gymshil shum, brësin ne vath te 'tyne	By the abundance of the milk bleated in their stall.
T-Zoti' tyne, lodhun dhimash whta,	Their master—overcome by bitter pains
Ne te dalun, lemontë shipinat dëstroë ;	Caressed, as they went out the backs of the rams
Poi, i-pâ-mend qi kië, nuk u-kuitue	But fool that he was he did not perceive
Qi nen krahnor t'mbuluem me lësh	How under their breasts covered with wool
Tshin lidhun e-mbëshëf gjith shokte-mi	Were bound and concealed all my fellows.
Dashi qi m'baitë mue duet më t-mrapmi	The ram which carried me went out last
Psë ish randue prëi lëshit vët e-mëfël,	For he was weighed down by his own wool and me
Qi u-kiutuesch me kaq té holt urti	Who thought with such subtle prudence.
E-ndati n't'dalun Polifemi, é i-thà	Stopped him going out Polyphemus and said
O i-dashtuni dash psë po dél kagoôn	O dear beast wherefore dost thou go out so late
Sot viga shpelh'e ime ? ti s'kë pas zakôn	To-day from the cavern ? such was not thy wont
Me sidei kurh mrapa poi ké prigjeth môn	To remain always to the last : thou always wentest out first
Clle madni tiu erhun, tufes dhënoë më,	Walking with pride the first of my sheep
Kür vëishen me kulhot lulet e-buta	When they went out to feed on the tender flowers
Qi bin e gjindën ne livadhe s'prestita	Which sprung up and covered the green pastures.
Pa her no brég te lumavet më-i-pari	Always the first on the banks of the rivers
Ke voitun më i par édhe n' mranie ké	Art thou gone, and the evening the first
Kthyë n' vâth tande me Témer t'indërzun	Art returned to thy stall with thy heart inflamed ;
E tane u-bane më i-kadalshmit gjithoe	But now thou art become the slowest of all.
U t'dhimet, ndoshta syni zotet yt	Dost thou feel the pain for thy master's eye
Qi mbasi edëu mevën ndifun skoksks vet	Whom after having been made drunk with wine and aided by his fellows,
T verboi nji nieri, nji nier qi dés ?	A man destroyed a man subject to death.

ODYSS. I. 437-455.

Ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,
καὶ τότε ἔπειτα νομόν δ' ἐξέσσυτο ἄρσενά μῃλα,
θήλειαι δὲ μέμηκον ἀνήμελκται περὶ σηκούς·
οὐθατὰ γὰρ σφαραγεῖντο. ἀναξ δ' ὀδύνησι κακῇσιν
τεϊρόμενος πάντων ὧν ἐπεμαίετο νῶτα
ὀρθῶν ἐσταῶτων· τὸ δὲ νῆπιος οὐκ ἐνόησεν,
ὥς οἱ ὑπ' εἰροπόκων ὧν στέρνοισι δέδεοντο.
ῥστατος ἀρνεῖός μῃλων ἔστειχε θύραζε
λάχρῳ στειρόμενος καὶ ἐμοὶ πυκινὰ φρονέοντι.
τὸν δ' ἐπιμασσάμενος προσέφη κρατερὸς Πολύφημος·
κρίε πέπον, τί μοι ὦδε διὰ σπέος ἔσσυτο μῃλων
ῥστατος ; οὐ τι πάρος γε λειμώμενος ἔρχεαι οἶων,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρῶτος νέμει τέρην· ἀνθεα ποίης
μακρὰ βιββάς, πρῶτος δὲ ῥῶας ποταμῶν ἀφικάνεις,
πρῶτος δὲ σταθμόνδε λιλαλεαι ἀπονέεσθαι
ἐσπέριος· νῦν αὖτε πανύστατος. ἦ σύ γ' ἀνακτος
ὀρθαλμὸν ποθέεις, τὸν ἀνὴρ κακὸς ἐξαλάωσεν
σὺν λυγροῖς ἐτάροισι δαμασσάμενος φρένας ὀνυφ,
Ὅστις, ὃν οὐ πῶ φημι πεφυγμένον εἶναι δλεθρον.

GRÆCO-BUDDHISTIC SCULPTURE.—I.

THE lamented death of the Veteran of Indian archæologists, General Sir Alexander Cunningham, has called forth an exhaustive obituary in the *Times* of the 1st December 1893, which, however, omits to state his precise relation to the question of the "*Græco-buddhistic*" *sculptures*, which I first so named, as will appear from the following account (in the *Indian Public Opinion* of the 11th February 1871) of my discoveries during the Christmas vacation of 1870 on, and beyond, the Panjab Frontier. Nothing could have been more emphatic than the support given to that apparently incongruous appellation by General Cunningham in the bitter controversy which the term, now accepted as a matter of course, then evoked among European Orientalists.* Mr. Childers was foremost among those who denied the Greek influence on these sculptures, and ascribed them to an indigenous native development in the obscure recesses of the Himalayas; other Scholars, especially in Germany, found Byzantine echoes in these specimens of Indian Art, forgetting that the influences of maritime commerce had not historically extended so far North, whereas Greek and other authors had narrated the successes of the invasion of Alexander the Great in promoting Greek art, religion and institutions. Professor Max Müller admitted its possibility in his "Chips from a German Workshop"; Professor Weber found Greek influences in his "Indian Literature," but only those who combined Greek with Oriental Scholarship, in a more than usual degree, were ready to admit that the word "Græco-buddhistic" designated a period not only in the History of Art, but also in that of Religion and in General History. The influence of Greek Art on Indian *Architecture* had been conjectured before, more or less plainly, by General Cunningham, Mr. William Simpson, Dr. W. H. Bellew and others, but the point at issue was not one mainly of art, and not at all of its architectural sub-division, but of what historical or mythological personages or events these *sculptures* represented and when or how it was that the Buddhism of the North of India had received these Classical inspirations? Mr. V. A. Smith, of the Indian Civil Service, has admitted them in an account of the history and results of the "Græco-buddhistic" research, which is, by far, the most accurate and scholarly on the subject, though I regret his use of the term "Indo-Roman." Dr. L. A. Waddell has shown that even modern Lamaism cannot be thoroughly understood without some reference to a Greek influence, and, indeed, Buddhism, as a whole, must not be confounded with the one-sided interpretations of those who are mainly acquainted with its Ceylon School and has to be studied on the broader basis of Universal History, in which the first attempt,—through the Greeks—of the West to carry its Law and civilization to the East from which it had received its Light, forms an important epoch. In my note on "Classical Allusions to the Dards and to Greek influence in India," republished in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July

* General Cunningham, in his Archæological Report for 1872-73, speaking of these Buddhist sculptures, says: "Dr. Leitner has not only excited much attention, but has caused some controversy both as to the age when the sculptures were executed, and as to the alleged traces of Grecian art which Dr. Leitner believes them to possess. On the latter point, I must say that I agree entirely with Dr. Leitner."



FRAGMENT OF GRÆCO-BUDDHISTIC
SCULPTURE.



FRAGMENT OF GRÆCO-BUDDHISTIC
SCULPTURE, ILLUSTRATING DRESS
AND ATTITUDE.



HEAD OF A KING (GRÆCO-BUDDHISTIC).



A HINDU DEITY SHOWING
NO TRACE OF GREEK
INFLUENCE.



BUDDHA RIDING (ON AN ANIMAL WHICH
IS CARRIED BY WORSHIPPERS).
GRÆCO-BUDDHISTIC.

1893, and in my recent work on "Dardistan in 1893," the subject is dealt with in general outline. I propose to go into further detail in a future number of this Review, and to show the Greek Gods and events in Alexander's career by the reproduction of sculptures that are supposed to represent incidents in the life and teaching of Buddha. I find, for instance, in what even our great Master, the deceased Cunningham, accepted as Buddha's dream or temptation by the illusions of Maya, a mere sober representation of a reference in Arrian to the discontent of the Macedonians in having to take part in Indian processions. Why, indeed, should Maya tempt Buddha with pageantry that took place 300 years after his death? for, on the sculpture in question, the Vices and Virtues of the procession are accompanied by soldiers with Greek faces, dress and weapons and are masked in precisely the same manner as they are to this day in the pantomimic processions or plays in Tibetan Monasteries that I first saw and described in 1865, when, welcomed as a follower in the footsteps of the "Pelingi Dása" or European disciple, the Hungarian Csoma de Kőrös, at Pugdal in Zanskar, I found a condition of Buddhist traditions and doctrine very different, indeed, from the conjectures of Pali Scholars and of German philosophers, even as regards the practical view of "Nirvána" and of an eventual Deity, conceded in affirmative-negative propositions. In 1870 came the discovery of "Græco-buddhism," which has now conquered a School, but has few Scholars. This Buddhism has to be interpreted by coins, inscriptions and sculptures, with the light of historians, that are admired but not read, and even of the Buddhism of Tibet, as it still survives and is, at last, dealt with, not in my own general suggestions in 1865, but in the masterly manner in which Dr. Waddell is bringing it before the public. In this issue I confine myself to the "*historique*" of the discovery and appellation of "Græco-buddhistic sculpture," and I only add one illustration this time in order to show how obvious and "near and yet how far" has been the Greek interpretation of that sculpture, when compared with other Indian carvings.

G. W. LEITNER.

DISCOVERY OF SCULPTURES AT TAKHT-I-BAHI ON THE PANJAB FRONTIER.

In spite of the success of Dr. Bellew at Sahr-i-Balol and other places in Yusufzai—a success attested by his remarkable collection at the Lahore Museum—the neighbouring Takht-i-Bahi (near Hoti-Murdan) had never been properly explored. Dr. Leitner, during a short visit of two days during the last Christmas vacation (in 1870), had the singular good fortune to hit upon a mine of sculptures, which has since proved a very rich one, and from which some really good things have been excavated; he, however, was unable to benefit by his luck, as he had to hurry back to Lahore.

The Government, we are glad to hear, have since despatched a party of sappers, who are digging all over the place. This Government ought to have done long ago, and we trust that the exploration will be carried on in a systematic manner. The following is the account of the discovery placed at our disposal by Dr. Leitner, which may perhaps interest some of our readers:—"I had often thought of a visit to these ruins, and, although told of the failure of previous visitors, I derived some hope from Dr. Bellew's remarks (page 131 of his 'Yusufzai'), and from his success in the excava

tions which he had carried on in the neighbouring Sahr-i-Balol. Where 'fragments of scenes sculptured on tablets' could be found, it was not improbable that entire statues would be obtainable, whilst even an examination of 'fragments' might alone yield important results. I availed myself, therefore, of the last Christmas vacation to proceed to Hoti-Murdan, within a few miles of which is Takht-i-Bahi, with its hitherto mysterious rows of walls, that look like the ruins of an ancient fortified city. In the early morning I crossed the spur bearing the same name to its northern side being accompanied by Samundar Khan, Havildar, and Kale Khan, Sipahi of the 2nd Company of the Guides, whom Major Jenkins of Hoti-Murdan had kindly placed at my disposal. Four coolies, headed by Niaz Beg and Hazret Shah, calling themselves Mohmand Zamindars of Sahr-i-Balol, were also present on the occasion. Starting at once for the Takht-i-Padishah,—the ruins on the extreme west which overlook the dead city—I gradually worked my way back to the centre of the town, ascending and descending, as the case might be, every one of the intervening ridges, and examining, as far as possible, every one of the structures on our way. Even this preliminary search was sufficiently remunerative. By 12 o'clock we had found 25 fragments, chiefly of slate, representing portions of the human body, religious and other processions, architectural carvings, etc., etc., whilst in a spot where Dr. Bellew had left a heap of fragments, was discovered, close to the surface, the headless trunk of a very large statue with most artistic drapery. The most prolific parts of the city were at the bottom of the hollows between the ridges, for to it, in course of time, any detached portion of a building was, of course, likely to be drifted. These hollows, therefore, received our first attention. On taking, however, a general view of the city with principal reference to its eastern side, and reflecting on the probable cause of the comparative failure of previous explorations, it occurred to me that *sufficient allowance had not been made for the falling in of roofs and of the highest portions of the walls.* These would naturally fill the roads. They were unlikely to have much carving bestowed on them, and idols were unlikely to be placed, almost out of reach and sight, at the *tops* of houses. Any amount of search by visitors among the *débris* of roofs or in *streets* was, therefore, unlikely to yield much. Disregarding, therefore—for the present—what I conjecture to have been the main thoroughfare and the 'piazza,' we devoted ourselves to what was clearly the inside of houses, and presuming the most inaccessible edifice to be the temple, we began to *dig*, after removing the slates obstructing the way, at the third house in the second row on the extreme east of the city. Half a foot below the surface we came to a circular slab, under which a female statue was found. Another slab, with broad lines, concealed the figure of a warrior, whilst a third with numerous and narrow lines covered a carved group of boys. Then, as we dug on, we found more and more. At last, the approaching darkness of the evening put an end to our search, which was resumed next day with equally satisfactory results. I was, however, obliged to return on the third day to Lahore, but I made arrangements for continuing the search in the above row. Major Jenkins has also very kindly promised to send me a sketch of the Takht-i-Bahi ruins, on which I propose to mark the places which should, in my humble opinion, be dug

up, for the consideration of Government. Two facts, which you must take for what they are worth, seem to me to deserve a little notice, as they establish a coincidence, with certain 'Dardu discoveries.'—The King of Takht-i-Bahi, an idolator, had a beautiful daughter. Mahmud (of Ghazni) had established his seat at Ranigatt, and with him the princess fell in love. He availed himself of this attachment to induce her to betray her father. This led to the conquest of Takht-i-Bahi and the abolition of idolatry, but Mahmud, fearing that the fair traitor might prove equally false to him, exposed her on the highest rock at Ranigatt, where, so runs the legend, the rays of the sun melted her delicate body.—In Gilgit, Azru, the youngest of three fairy-brothers, becomes a human being by *eating meat* (incarnation), and kills the tyrant of that region by throwing brands of fire upon him, under which he melts, as his soul is made of snow. This tyrant, called Shiribadatt, had a daughter who fell in love with Azru, and was the means of betraying her father (who occupied an impregnable castle) into her lover's hands. Azru, on ascending the throne, also seems to have established a new religion, for he abolished the human sacrifice which had been offered to the demon Shiribadatt and substituted for it the annual sacrifice of a sheep from each of the Gilgit inhabitants.—The second fact refers to the construction of the houses, which is similar to that adopted, in many instances, in Gilgit. As Dr. Bellew says (page 124 of his 'Yusufzai') 'most of the houses consist of only two rooms, one above the other,' 'the upper being reached from the outside by a flight of stone steps built up with the wall.' Others are 'in the form of quadrangles with rooms along each side into a central courtyard.' I need scarcely add that I draw no inference from these coincidences at present.—With regard to the statues, they appear to me to be Græco-Indian and Buddhistic. Should I find the necessary leisure to compare them with others of a similar character, I may venture to express an opinion regarding them. In the meanwhile, it is satisfactory that the Government have sent out a party of sappers, and it is, in the interests of science, to be hoped that the announcement, made in the following extract from a letter received from Dr. Bellew, may prove correct: 'I hear that the mine you discovered on Takht-i-Bahi has proved a very rich one, and that some really good sculptures have been excavated from it. I should be glad to hear that you meant to carry on the exploration. I am persuaded that there are many other places in the Yusufzai district equally rich in these remains.'" We trust that the last sentence will induce the "Archæological Survey" to devote themselves to the Yusufzai district early next winter, when, it is said, their operations will begin.—*Indian Public Opinion*, Lahore, 11th February, 1871.

My servants continued the search with excellent results. Subsequently I exchanged the Lahore Principalship for the Inspectorship of Schools of the Rawalpindi Circle, and on my tour along the frontier I found, or purchased, a number of sculptures. I also despatched my Swati retainer to his native village, where he dug up and brought into the Punjab, not without danger, the first specimens of sculptures ever procured from that inhospitable region. They are a proof of the former ascendancy of Buddhism in that country, and of Greek art in the Hindukush.—*Dardistan*, 1872.

A BRAHMIN'S IMPRESSIONS AT THE CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR.

To me the World's Fair presented a spectacle that exceeded all my expectations of grandeur. The majestic *White City* where poverty has no place to live, exercises over the mind such a charm, that its defects, like the dark spots of the sun, are invisible to the naked eye, owing to the great halo of lustre that pervades throughout. Look from the lake, from the tower, or from the flying trains, its attractiveness is the same. Poets evolve creations from their imagination, which can be enjoyed by the imagination alone. But here, the great poets of science and art have created things which can be perceived by the senses and then dwelt upon by the imagination.

When I entered the Transportation Building by the golden gate I felt as if I were in a world of unmixed bliss. Of the multitude that meets the gaze on all sides, no one is sullen or sad.

Here we have all the implements of minimising distance. The history of the progress of the art of locomotion is depicted by examples of carriages, ships, cycles, steam-engines etc., etc., of different periods. The comfort and speed of the present conveyances, when compared with the slow motion and repulsive form of the wooden carts of more primitive ages, excites wonder at human skill and ingenuity. The "Director General" Engine is reported to be capable of running nearly a hundred miles per hour. The magnificent saloon cars and the state rooms of the standard ships exceed in splendour the royal hall of an Oriental prince. But the objects which tend to increase the material happiness of human beings are not unaccompanied by others calculated to destroy human beings themselves and all their works in a twinkling. Steel armour plates and breech-loading guns of enormous sizes and powers stare at you with their ominous looks, and inform you that the present civilization has not been successful in abolishing the profession of freebooters, because instead of small associations we have large ones each of which consists of one nation or more. The innocent Siamese or the ignorant African, the red Indian or the passive Hindu, is driven to accept one of the two alternatives, either to give up the fruits of his labour or to end his existence, whenever lawless Might finds it pleasant to civilize its victims, under the shelter of the law that: "they have no rights who cannot successfully maintain them."

Next comes the Building devoted to the subjects of Mining and Minerals; various useful and curious mineral products are exhibited in large quantities, as also machines and models. There is, in the gallery, an assay office where useful information is given to those interested in metallurgy. The Electric Building is a building of wonders. Here Edison, the great magician, produces sunlight at night with a slight turn of his wand; brings to you the voice of your friend several thousand miles away; conveys your autograph instantaneously to any distance; records speeches, songs and musical notes to reproduce them at will; puts the air in motion; and

supplies force, as well, to heavy machines. Electricity cures headache, carves glass, extracts iron as well as refines gold, signals the approach of a railway train, and does other manifold services to man.

The Building devoted to Manufacture is the greatest building in the World and draws you irresistibly to itself. Here France has the most beautiful collection of goods of silk, wool and cotton, and furniture. Those who are familiar with Russia through such scanty reports as only appear in newspapers and books, are led to believe, when they find themselves surrounded by samples of her art and manufacturing industry, that she is by no means inferior to other countries. Germans have shown their love of music by the great variety of musical instruments. China, the France of Asia, has a pavilion splendidly decorated with her artistic goods of which almost all have been sold, unlike the fate of other exhibits. Undoubtedly, the "pig-tails" surpass the pig-eaters in handicrafts. That India has been impoverished is manifest from the small yet nice exhibit in the gloomy verandah from which an Indian visitor cannot but avert the gaze in shame and dismay. Where, where is her ancient glory! We are "proud of the past, and lazy amidst ruins," though not "a worn-out stock." By this mournful miniature she reproaches her sons for their narrow-mindedness, disunion and impotence. She laments to see that, though under the rule of her enlightened, honest, just and free sister, instead of respecting her common bond her sons slaughter one another at the instigation, direct or indirect, of some blood-thirsty Rakshasas.

In the Austrian pavilion there are charming glass-wares made in Bohemia. According to the narration of a Bohemian gentleman the present Emperor of Austria has not the loyal homage of the Bohemians who would prefer to place themselves under Russia if they could do so.

Swiss wood-work is second to none but that of China.

The United States occupy a large portion of this building.

While our eyes are enjoying the sight of skilful works in gold, silver, copper, brass, iron, ivory, wood, silk, cotton, and wool, etc.; and the mind is absorbed in the happy reflexion that man can produce such marvels out of rude materials, our attention is suddenly drawn towards a butcher's den by the shocking smell of the hides, carcasses, tails, feathers, etc., designated by the name of "furs." The barbarous tribes of America used to kill their fellow beings to adorn themselves with human scalps. The more humane tribes of the world desist from killing man for the sake of utilizing any portion of his body. So also, amongst the flesh-eaters less cultured societies "murder" lower animals for the sake of making ornaments and garments; and the better cultured, only for food. This desire of decorating themselves with skins and dead birds is a remnant of the barbarism of the ancient times; a remnant of which even the most barbarous communities ought to be ashamed in this era of science and art. Bentham and Spencer agree that "that depravity, which, after fleshing itself upon animals, presently demands human suffering to satiate its appetite" should be prevented by "making criminal gratuitous cruelties." The aborigines of America have no reason to give up their liking for ornaments of teeth of sharks, skins of animals, and of feathers, so long as their civilized

conquerors do not show their superiority in this themselves. The most lamentable circumstance about this barbarism is that it is cherished by the fair sex which should be the source of gentleness, purity and kindness.

To mention the various educational exhibits would take up too much space. Americans deserve great credit for their institutions for the education of the American Indians. The members of the wild tribes, not only receive free education but are supported entirely at the expense of the States. However blameworthy their past conduct towards the Indians may have been, the settlers evince a keen sympathy and compassion towards the departing race. When the secretary of the Institute was pointing out to me the change effected by education in Indian boys and girls, her eyes were beaming with internal joy. Their training, before extinction, includes practical lessons of self-government !

In America the Kindergarten system is prevalent in many elementary schools. Children are not forced to learn a fact, but their curiosity is artificially encouraged and satisfied by a sensible governess. America provides for the masses ample means of acquiring knowledge. In free and liberal education alone lies the safety of a real republic. It can never die or deteriorate so long as the citizens are kept alive to their duties. They will have no danger from within and none from without. What potentate would be so foolish as to conceive the idea of sacrificing money and time for the conquest of a people whose spirit recognises no superior except the Almighty? The government that either positively or negatively includes any class of its subjects from sharing in the benefits of education must be tyrannical, because it not only refuses to its subjects their "birth-right," but also reduces them to the level of beasts of burden and inanimate machines ; lest they might cease to sacrifice men, women and children on the altar of its greed. Formerly, it is said, light came from the East ; but now, as far as material civilization is concerned, the American Eagle has soared so high that both East and West may, with advantage, look up to it as the greatest propounder of the equality of man, and as the wisest distributor of pleasure and pain. The Agricultural Building is stocked with the many products of the surface of this earth which supply the necessities of human existence ; together with these are exhibited agricultural implements and machinery. Here it is made evident that, with the aid of science, we can produce any sort of cereal, plant or vegetable on the poorest soil by employing the appropriate means.

The Machinery Hall gives uniform pleasure to all its visitors ; for the giants that save time and labour are appreciated even by the dullest intellects. One pump there can raise ten million gallons of water per hour.

The "Leather" Building did not interest me much, although the riding-boots of the immortal soldier Napoleon Bonaparte were there.

The "Forestry" Building possesses a vast collection of different varieties of wood. A tree 875 years old, of fourteen feet in diameter, has been brought from California. The Axe used by the "Grand Old Man" of Mid-Lothian in felling trees is more agreeable to view in this forest, than are the trophies from ravished Hind in the Tower of London.

To show the history of man and beast there is the Anthropological

Building. The exhibitors of folklore verify the conclusions of the linguists as to the relationship of different families of the Human Race. That the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Hindus and other branches of the Aryan family, played the same games, worshipped similar deities and had similar social customs is proved most convincingly. Yet the origin of man is left in obscurity. Here Darwin's theory is supported only by the skeletons of tailless monkeys.

The quaint utensils, door-posts with emblems of animals representing the families of the owner and his wife, ornaments, arms, tools and dresses of American Indians are the most interesting articles on the main floor. Near the Anthropological Building are the ruins of Yukatan, from the structure of which, some have come to the conclusion that the inhabitants of America, prior to the settlement of the tribes that greeted Columbus on his landing, were more advanced in civilization than the tribes that are now becoming extinct.

The reproduction of the Convent de la Rabida where Columbus found his best friends, and passed most of his youth, is full of associations of the great navigator. His little fleet that worked wonders lies at anchor before the Convent in the narrow inlet of the lake.

Krupp's Gun Exhibit well repays the trouble of a visit.

In the United States Government Building we see the Postal Department which is not unworthy of the Fair. It is the general post-office of the White City. Here are exhibited various modes of conveying mails; the old-time Rocky Mountain mail coach; the horseman; the cyclist; the sledge drawn by dogs; etc. There are kept innumerable stamps and coins of different years and different value. There are samples of lamps and models of light-houses and marine signalling apparatus.

The Patent Office is replete with models of numerous inventions. In the War Department, you are shown how guns and cartridges are manufactured. There is the bronze cannon of Great Britain with inscriptions, "Made in 1759" and "Capitulation at Yorktown 19th October 1781."

To the east of the Government Building is the representation of a battleship, in which you see the storage of ammunition, the life of the crew, the manner of turning the big guns, and the rest of the equipage. You wonder how a big ship* like that could be brought in that lake which has no navigable communication with the sea!

The name of "Fisheries Building" explains itself.

Sculpture, painting, drawing, carving, engraving, are all collected in the Art Galleries to bewilder with wild admiration the hasty visitor who passes from scenes of the land to views of the sea; from rock to ruin; from woe to weal; mourning to music; morn to eve; sun to shade; spring to winter; youth to age; birth to death; from earth to heaven; and from many complex scenes to their opposite ones, which turn and twist the untutored traveller, till, "tired with all these, from these would he be gone" to find himself the same lonely man.

* This is the warship "Illinois"—really not a warship at all, for it was built up from the bottom of the lake and is fast aground. It is constructed of wood and canvas, the canvas guns and smoke stacks are so cunningly contrived and mounted, as to be indistinguishable from real man-o'-war appliances. Ed.

In the "Woman's Building" we do not see women of different sizes, colours, and form, like fishes in the Fisheries Building; but we see how far woman competes with man in manufactures and fine arts. In India woman generally shares with man the trouble and reward of any occupation consistent with her natural constitution; and in many cases the husband feels it degrading to his manliness to allow the wife to work out of doors. We look upon woman as part of man; because the wife is called *ardhāṅganā* (half-bodied) of the husband and every girl of age is a wife. The union of man and wife is not broken before the death of either. Woman's interests are so closely interwoven with man's, that the rise or fall of one is necessarily that of the other. Man must procure subsistence and provide against danger; and woman's duty is to manage the home. If anything is done by the husband it is done mostly for the welfare of the wife. However much husband and wife may be strangers to each other before marriage, they soon manage to make a world of their mystic affections in which every one else becomes an intruder. Though our women are almost illiterate, our home happiness is more enduring, more elevating and more sincere, than what is found in England. In India woman rules man not by the threat of tearing asunder the ties which are sacred spiritually and beneficial materially; but she rules man with her tender tongue, appealing eye and loving heart. It is easier for an Indian to oppose the armed legions of a tyrant, than to oppose the tyrant will of the wife who is classed among slaves by foreigners—who judge Indian life by their own limited experiences which at best, are always superficial and confined to a few monstrosities such as may be found in any civilized community. I am sure that if Mahomedan and Hindu girls are well educated they can exercise a greater check on civil commotions, such as recently disturbed the peace of many towns, than mounted artillery. This being the status of woman in India, the "Woman's Building" seemed to me a great curiosity. Then naturally the question arises, "Why is woman totally separated from man, in this Exposition?" In Europe and America there are thousands of women who *will not* marry and many more who *cannot*. Competition for husbands is as keen amongst Englishwomen, as for civil appointments amongst the educated Indians. In the poorer classes the wife marries dress and the husband "home"; in the well-to-do classes the husband marries wealth or influence or both, and the wife marries the prefix "Mrs." to show to her sisters that she has made a successful haul, of course with due regard to her position in "Society." It may be one in a hundred where heart marries heart. Marriage is a contract of sale of goods which are to be delivered by instalments for a valuable consideration to be paid from date to date. If there appears any "force, fraud, duress or undue influence," at any moment, law makes the contract void on proof of such defect and compensates the injured party so far as is practicable. The principle that "sending a defamatory letter to a wife about her husband is a *publication*" serves to show the separation of husband and wife quite clearly. In such societies, it is, of course, necessary that woman should be able to support herself and to provide for decrepitude which steals upon an old maid sooner than upon an old

bachelor. Here are, in this building, exhibits of her self-help. But these articles do not tend to prove that civilized woman can undertake works requiring great physical or mental force. Woman is an excellent nurse, lively painter, effective preacher, sweet musician, melodious singer, ingenious needle-woman, and, above all, a charming companion of man.

How natural it is to turn from the "Woman's Building" to the "Children's Building!" They have very wisely placed the child in the care of woman. Here the child learns in a small school; plays in the gymnasium; amuses itself with pretty toys and enjoys the society of his comrades.

Besides the above mentioned buildings, there are buildings of the several states of America, each of a different style; of these California and Illinois are the most important. Buildings of France, Germany, Hindustan, Ceylon, Siam, Japan, Great Britain, Canada are also interesting features of the Great Exposition. A European is in charge of the Indian building. He is revered by the Mahomedan and Hindu attendants with greater awe than they would revere their Allah and Ishwára. In this building a large number of things are piled up, one upon another, like so many Indian passengers in an unsanitary ship plying between two Indian ports.

At night the Fairy Venice presents a marvellous spectacle, more especially near the Columbian Fountain. If you stand midway between the Fountain and the Administration Building, you see towards the east showers of pearls, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, of light, dark and mixed colours, gushing forth from the two electric fountains; the search lights dancing here and there; gondolas and electric boats gliding slowly and silently over the dimpling waters of the canal whose banks are ablaze with light; towards the west, you see the dome of the Administration building whereon bright stars hold their conference in set rows. The band plays merry tunes. Turn your eyes to whatever building you please, you see hosts of suns, moons and satellites illuminating this model of an earthly heaven.

The exhibitors, guards, porters and American visitors are very polite and obliging. In India when two persons meet, they generally talk about the health of themselves and their relatives; about rain and crops; and about private matters indiscriminately. But the favourite topic of an American is his constitution. He is proud of it and almost worships its founders. It is a constitution "to which," according to Mr. Bryce, "as by a law of fate, the rest of civilized mankind are forced to move, some with swifter others with slower, but all with unresting feet." May the American never be deprived of a single atom of his present constitution! In America national feeling is so much cultivated that many other sensibilities have been paralyzed. If you tell an American that Maiman Sing was cruelly insulted by a magistrate, or that a guard outraged a woman and escaped almost scot-free, he will pity neither the former victim nor the latter. But if you tell him that the Viceroy deprived a large population of the right of trial by jury; that "the Salt-tax, now about 2000 per cent. on the cost of production, operates as an oppressive *Poll-tax*; or that nearly three hundred millions of the British subjects have no repre-

sentation in Parliament, local or Supreme, he will, first, distrust the statement : next, wonder how living and sentient beings can bear such a state of things ; and lastly, "glare like a lordly lion." Even boys of ten and twelve know that "taxation without representation" is the greatest misfortune of a nation (or country). In the Post Office department at Washington I saw tears in the eyes of a lady of about fifty, when she said "I grieve to hear of an injustice to a country." If a government educates its subjects, secures the safety of their persons and property, builds roads and public institutions for their welfare, it performs, in an American's opinion, nothing more than part of its duty towards the governed. He thinks that a government ought to give the greatest possible happiness to the community, and that a good government deserves no gratitude but praise for having done its duty.

The World's Fair is a great achievement of modern civilization. It is the mart of the world ; and the congress of all congresses. From the peaceful and contented behaviour of the various nations and States that have made, on the Fair grounds, their common abode for a time, one is led to hope that a day may come when civilized communities will enlist themselves as members of an Universal Confederacy with an international tribunal like the Supreme Court of Appeal of the United States of America ; and that nations will vie with each other, not in inventing means of wholesale murder and destruction, but, in inventing and improving means of promoting the prosperity, health, wealth and advancement of Man. This hope seems Utopian. But, if we take into consideration the generally law-abiding disposition of civilized communities ; the rapid modes of transmitting messages, men and goods ; the ease with which good sentiments supplant bad ; the vast increase of resources of human happiness that have been opened within the last few years by the increase and spread of knowledge ; the real extension of the principles of humanity under one form of religion or another ; and the willing obedience of independent nations to the decisions of impartial arbitrators as shown in the Behring Sea dispute ; the fulfilment of such a hope is by no means an absolute impossibility. Certainly it will be long before the traits of existing barbarism are extinct and when all the conditions will be favourable for the formation of the Grand Union. Till such time arrives the more World's Fairs we have the better. Before I conclude I beg to quote a few lines which will not be unsuitable with my general remarks.

"Thus she (Rome) did illustrate the truism, often repeated and nearly always forgotten, that the empire of the intellect is higher than the empire of the strong hand. Thus did she show, as she fell, what is not less worth remembering, that the acquisitions made in the course of human progress are always in jeopardy so long as there is any section of humanity cut off from the enjoyment of them" (History of Crime in England, Owen Pyke).

MULJI DEVJI VEDANT.

Elginiana.

THE THREE PLEDGES AND THE THREE ELGINS.

AFTER our last number had already been bound, a communication reached us from a trustworthy source to the effect that "the difficulty and delay in appointing a Viceroy for India *are attributed* to no nominee, hitherto, pledging himself to the suppression of the opium monopoly, the reduction of the military expenditure and the support of the National Congress." Without in the least endorsing this report, we felt that we could not withhold it from our readers. Some of our Indian contemporaries by omitting the words "are attributed" made us responsible for a statement which we avowedly had only inserted *as a report*. At the same time, we are prepared to defend its substantial accuracy as regards the general character of the negotiations with the nominees in question. Indeed, we may add that two of them, at any rate, avoided an uneasy Crown on what seem to be excuses to conceal their conscientious objections. Sir Henry Norman was in perfect health when the offer first reached him, but when it was understood that he would not break the continuity of the Frontier policy, whatever might have been years ago his own views, he received a broad hint, some say a telegram, that his withdrawal was desired. Lord Cromer, whose Frontier policy is also *not* "forward," thought that he could not afford the expense of keeping up the state and circumstance of Viceroyalty, but, although his own hospitality may have given him an exaggerated opinion of his duties as Supreme host, we can scarcely believe that, as a matter of fact, lavish entertainments have ruined any Viceroy since the days of Lord Lawrence. As regards Lord Elgin, who says little because he has little to say, he is not likely to tell us the conditions, if any, of his appointment, but he may "try not to be found out like Lord Ripon" in promoting any Radical programme that may make an Anglo-Indian Official's hair stand on end. The loyalty of the Services will, probably, not interfere with their promotion and Lord Ripon found many ready to his hand in carrying out a policy of good intentions from which India will not easily recover.

Now as to the three alleged pledges. As no new taxation can safely be imposed, THE OPIUM MONOPOLY is almost a *sine quâ non* condition of the present scale of the salaries of Indian officials and its abolition must entail the advent of those halcyon days when the members of the National Congress will take their posts on half or third their pay. Messrs. Naoroji and Wedderburn have not been with Mr. Gladstone for nothing and they all agree that "the English, above all, stand in need of discipline" which a willing Viceroy will not withhold. THE MILITARY EXPENDITURE may now be reduced in consequence of the blow that "the Forward Policy" has, fortunately, received and nobody who knows the *doctrinaire* Radicals now in power will contest that many demands of the NATIONAL CONGRESS are likely to be complied with. One of these Radicals lately rejoiced at the debauches of certain Indians in England "as inspiring them with

contempt for our civilization and encouraging them to strike for their freedom." With a Secretary of State hostile to, because unacquainted with, Caste—the basis of Indian society and peace—with cow-killing riots directed against Muhammadans but really meant as a protest to our slaughter of kine; with Indian Finances and Currency in confusion, with insidious attempts made to lower the status of Indian Princes, with a state of things that requires troops to fire into riotous crowds without much previous notice (to judge by a recent Government Resolution), it seems to us that respect for, and justice to, India required the appointment of a man of great and special qualifications, not a *pis-aller*, who has accepted what Sir H. Norman felt bound, in conscience, to refuse. Lord Elgin has in his favour the prestige of heredity that is so powerful in India, but even his father was, in no sense, a *strong* man, and although a servile semi-official press now discovers him to have been "the real Saviour of India," it is notorious that the officials who had to do with him thought little of him and that it was only on Lord Canning's assuming all responsibility that Lord Elgin diverted the China expedition to India to help to crush the Mutiny. In Hunter's "Indian Empire" there are only the two following lines about him: "His (Lord Canning's) successor, Lord Elgin only lived till November 1863. He expired at the Himalayan Station of Dharmsala. There he is buried" (page 496). Even this sentence might have been reduced to "Lord Elgin died and was buried at Dharmsala in Nov. 1863."

Mr. Keene, however, records the late Lord Elgin's speech at Agra, his just treatment of Kabul, his aversion to abnormal taxation, his regard for native chiefs and other matters which are much to his credit, and if his son will act on these lines, as he seems inclined to do from his utterances and domestic sympathies, he will show that even in a Radical Peer "*noblesse oblige*." All this, however, is no reason for supposing that Lord Elgin was not offered, or has not accepted, the three conditions of the Viceroyalty which were "attributed" to the Gladstonian negotiations, and if we had done no more than put the Indian Press and Official world on the alert by our communication of the report, we should have been justified in publishing what, on the face of it, was only too likely to be true, as borne out by other circumstances within our knowledge and the authority of our informant, though, at the time, the report did not refer to Lord Elgin at all.

As regards Lord Elgin's grandfather whose memory lives, if not in marble, at all events in the "marbles" that he sold to the British Museum for £35,000, it must be distinctly remembered that it was mainly owing to his position as Ambassador in Turkey, that he got the Firman to take away what referred only to any loose (carved) "*stones*" there might be lying about in the Acropolis (as for other relic hunters) but not to break away, or tear, the Metopes, as did his Prussian employé, and so "rive what Goth and Turk and Time had spared," as to cause the Disdár attendant to weep. On this "vandalism" the following lines of Lord Byron will ever be quoted:

"But who, of all the plunderers of yon fane
On high, where Pallas linger'd, loth to flee
The latest relic of her ancient reign;
The last, the worst, dull spoiler, who was he?"

Blush, Caledonia ! such thy son could be !
 England ! I joy no child he was of thine :
 Thy free-born men should spare what once was free ;
 Yet they could violate each saddening shrine,
 And bear these altars o'er the long-reluctant brine."*

Yet it was this "vandalism" which gave models of Greek art throughout Europe from easily accessible Greek originals and thus again :

"*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
 Intulit agresti Latio.*"

LORD ELGIN'S "LAST" AT DUNFERMLINE.

We have received the following account of the new Viceroy's "Last" or rather "First" *apologia pro vitâ suâ* by one of his perfervid Dunfermline fellow-citizens : "Speaking at a Meeting at Dunfermline on Saturday 16th Decr. 1893, when he was presented with the freedom of the City amidst the heartiest wishes of his neighbours for his success in India, the Earl of Elgin said that he had not been "SO MUCH ACCUSTOMED TO THE PARADE GROUND AS PERHAPS TO THE SECLUDED PATHS OF PUBLIC DUTY." Nothing could possibly be written which would give a better idea of his Lordship's aims since he left Balliol than this Dunfermline confession. During the past twenty winters the hounds have scoured the county and the Fife Light Horse have had their displays ; but never has our Lord Lieutenant been observed to mount a horse or follow the hounds or to join the Regiment to which our County Gentlemen aspire, though if his Lordship has had little connection with the Light Horse or with the Foxhounds, he has not been indifferent to the importance of these institutions.

Having, however, decided early to select "the secluded paths of public duty," he left the representatives of other County families to the "parade ground," preferring to work in some department or other of National or Local Government. Before he had completed his studies at Balliol he was returned as one of the Members of the Dunfermline Parish School Board in 1873. This may be said to have been his entrance into public life. He then naturally turned his attention to education, and became an authority on that subject in Scotland. As a boy, he had already appeared before the Corporation of the City of London in 1860. His father was then presented with the freedom of the City of London and as he received the gold casket containing the Burgess Certificate, he turned round and placed the casket in the hands of his son, then Lord Bruce, who occupied a seat on his right, with a view to impress the event on the youthful mind. At the ceremony of Saturday last Lord Elgin referred to this incident in his early life and electrified his audience by lifting the Dunfermline Casket and placing it in the hands of his own Son who supported him on his right. If there is anything which modest Lord Elgin hates it is striving after effect, but the repetition at Dunfermline of the London incident was intended, to quote the words of Lord Elgin, to "firmly impress the event on his son's heart, so that he will ever bear in mind the kindness of the Citizens of Dunfermline and feel it to be his duty to treasure and reciprocate

* The vessel that first bore these relics was wrecked.

the good feeling exhibited." It also was on a Decr. 16th, 47 years ago, that the late Earl of Elgin was presented with the freedom of Dunfermline on his departure to Canada as Governor-General—a striking coincidence!

"I have never met a better business man than the Earl of Elgin," said the other day one who had been associated with him on many public boards and who is entirely devoid of sentiment. The writer of this note has also had many opportunities for studying Lord Elgin's character and knows that the above compliment is in every respect deserved. Lord Elgin thoroughly believes in "Be diligent in business." Amidst his multifarious duties he has not been known to appear late at a meeting. Thoroughness has been a feature of his life and—whatever the public subject before him—he makes it a point to get up every detail of it. There is no man his Lordship has crossed swords more frequently with at the Fife Boards than a worthy old Dunfermline Magistrate who has the faculty of expressing himself rather forcibly; yet at the Meeting on the 16th December this magistrate characterised his Lordship as being "one of God's nobility." The chief pastime of his Lordship in his earlier days was cricket and more recently an occasional game of golf. While at College he was regarded as one of the smartest fielders (cover point) in England; at the rejoicings at Broomhall when he came of age cricket figured largely in the events of the day. He had played frequently for the Dunfermline Cricket Club (of which he is patron) and his lordship's feelings may be imagined when he one morning opened a Scottish daily to find a big black heading "Dunfermline with the Earl of Elgin" Versus So and So, giving the name of the professional. He has for many years taken a great interest in the Dunfermline and West Fife Agricultural Society and here again his modesty and dislike to the "parade ground" was ever apparent. At the annual exhibitions of live stock, his lordship was never to be found in the procession of carriages or amongst the horsemen who were flying at intervals round the ring. Lord Elgin was ever early on the ground—travelling from Broomhall a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles on foot—with book and pencil in hand jotting down the prize-winners as the judges gave their awards and when the "parade" time came he was always in the crowd round the ring. One of the most effective political speeches his lordship ever made was in 1889, and in view of his appointment as Viceroy of India it may be worth giving a sentence from that speech on Lord Salisbury's "black Man":

LORD ELGIN ON HOME RULE AND THE BLACK MAN.

"It is said our policy of Home Rule is sentimental. Do you suppose that you should ask us to accept a policy which depends upon the assumption that you can by any legislative change make the relations of the Irish people to ourselves friendly? I am afraid I must confess I am prepared to make that assumption. It depends a good deal upon what the sentiment is. Let me take an illustration from what has been said lately not far from here by the Prime Minister. Lord Salisbury is a great speaker—so great that he can brush away without effort any rhetorical flies like ourselves. It appears to me that in his speeches you will always find admissions or slips which would be inconvenient to smaller men. You have all heard of the "black man" episode. I would only say that it has been interesting to observe how many apologies have been started upon the celebrated phrase.

It amused me much to find what the *Times* thought worthy of being printed on this phrase. The most amusing of all the comments was the argument of a gentleman who said that Lord Salisbury could not possibly have meant any disrespect to the natives of India. This gentleman had found in his travels in certain railway stations in India that the native words meaning 'black man' were posted up with the same significance as the word "gentleman" is used in this country. This gentleman did not seem to see that the particular colour was a matter of slight moment. What really was of importance was that the expression was a feeling of contempt and race-antipathy; and that constituted an offence. There was another passage in the speech of Lord Salisbury which had not attracted so much attention as the 'black man' reference, but which is more applicable to my present purpose. Lord Salisbury was arguing the impossibility of maintaining the Imperial control and Home Rule Government in Ireland. He said: "Look at the case of Roumania. Roumania got Home Rule Government on condition of remaining under the Suzerainty of Turkey, but so soon as the Russo-Turkish War broke out, Roumania took the side of the enemy." In the first place, gentlemen, I would observe that we, the inhabitants of Great Britain, are compared with the unspeakable Turk. It is a sort of back-handed compliment which I hope will be appreciated, even although it comes from the hands of a would-be Grand Vizier."

One of the most trying duties which his lordship has had to perform was in connexion with the resignation by his brother, the Hon. R. Preston Bruce, (whose death has recently been announced) of his seat in 1889 as M.P. for West Fife. His brother's health had broken down and the task of placing the trust in the hands of the electors was so painful to his lordship that he more than once almost completely broke down. This display of affection is characteristic of Lord Elgin. He has a large family—five sons and five daughters—and nothing gives him greater pleasure than to spend an hour with the children in the nursery. These few rough notes on the new Viceroy for India might suggest that Lord Elgin is too retiring for the indispensable pomp of that high office. At the Dunfermline Meeting he indicated that he would do all he could to uphold the dignity of the Viceroyalty and despite his lordship's absence hitherto from the "parade ground" I have no doubt that the tact which he brings to bear on whatever he does, will make him as great a success in Indian demonstrations as he is sure to be in the "secluded paths of public duty."

A colliery which was founded by his grandfather is still known as the "Elgin Colliery." A story is told of the miners going to him to ask for an advance of wages. On pressing their demands his lordship, pointing to a white hat which he wore, said that the miners had more off the colliery than himself, for he had not as yet made a white hat off the coals. The tradition of James Sixth and Sir George Bruce—one of Lord Elgin's ancestors—is well known. Sir George Bruce took the King down one of his mines near Culross. The King was taken through the workings which extended a considerable distance below the shallow waters of the Firth of Forth and was drawn up a shaft on to a small island. The King was seized with panic on finding himself surrounded by water and shouted "treason."

We also quote the following passage, from a proof sent to us, which sums up "the situation" in "the Dumfermline Press," which is publishing an interesting account of "the Elgin Family."

"Viewing Lord Elgin's appointment under a national aspect, we are of opinion that no better choice could have been made, and this may be said to be the general opinion of

the country made known through the press. Though this nobleman has had comparatively less experience than he might and perhaps should have had, it does not follow that because of this he is not an able man. Lack of experience, such as being welded to certain ideas running in stereotyped grooves, does not by any means unfit a man from being an able administrator when placed in a position where he can exercise his gifts. A man outside of experience of this kind, and having an open mind, is more likely to prove the best Governor. We may by way of illustration, point to the late Lord Mayo, as the *Scotsman* newspaper has justly done, and ask what experience had he? What experience had Lord Rosebery when placed in one of the most responsible positions in the Government of this country? What about Lords Hopetoun, Aberdeen, and many others—all untried men?"

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

LORD SALISBURY AND SIAM—A REPLY BY "ONE WHO KNOWS."

WITH every deference to Lord Salisbury's evident declaration in the last "Asiatic Quarterly Review" that "no understanding of any kind was arrived at upon the question of Siam during the tenure of office of the late Government" I regret, as a Conservative, to be obliged to state from personal knowledge that the statement of the *Bombay Gazette* was well *within* the mark in attributing negotiations with France on the subject of Siam to the Conservative Government. I can, therefore, only assume, unless you receive an explanation of the following points, that you have erred in accepting his Lordship's repudiation in its ordinary sense and that it is only in a special sense that "no understanding of any kind was arrived at upon the question of Siam during the tenure of office of the late Government," namely in regard to a *treaty of partition* as asserted by the "Spectator." The points on which Anglo-Indians in general and Conservatives in particular would be happy, if they could possibly be reassured, are: (a) that there were no negotiations with the French Government in 1890 *re* Siamese boundaries, (b) that no result whatever was arrived at, (c) that Lord Rosebery had a *tabula rasa* in the matter when he came into office and stated *in limine* that Great Britain would not concern herself in the dispute between France and Siam, *re* the Mékông frontier.

ONE WHO KNOWS.

THE COLONIES AND NAVAL DEFENCE:—THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

"Should the Colonies provide their own Naval Defences?" (See last A. Q. R., page 362.)

The question that you open up is a most important one. Before long it will probably become one of the problems of practical politics: indeed I think, that as regards sharing in the cost of naval defences, some of the Australian Colonies have already done or contributed something towards protecting themselves against aggression. Twenty years ago there was a strong feeling in the Colonies that they ought *not* to be called upon to pay anything, as their only danger of attack lay in their connexion with England, and as matters then appeared there was much force in the argument.

Now all this has been changed by the scramble amongst the European powers for all desirable lands in the hands of uncivilized races ; French and German aggressions have become matters in which our Colonists feel serious interest and they would probably be much more willing to contribute towards their own and Imperial defences generally than they were then.

But if they do contribute they would probably also desire to have a voice in the distribution of the Navy so that the absolute and complete control over the movements of our ships, that we ought to have, would very likely be lost.

The subject is one that requires much consideration.

PEMBROKE.

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE AND THE COLONIES.

We have received the following pertinent suggestion from an anonymous correspondent at Balmoral with regard to a proposal made by a writer in the last "*Asiatic Quarterly Review*," that : "The Imperial Institute should be the agency for promoting the political union between the Mother Country and the self governing Colonies." "*WHY NOT THE HOUSE OF LORDS WHO WANT SOMETHING TO DO ?*"

We have also received a number of comments on the subject of "Imperial Federation," which we have consistently advocated since the establishment of this Review, though we did not share the hope that the Colonies would be as enthusiastic, as are people in this country, of spending their money on Imperial objects. We have, indeed, found a greater readiness in the Colonies to raise loans in the mother-country and to spend them on speculations under terms incorrectly applied from the Home Financial Vocabulary. They also are not devoid of "Imperial" instincts in the sense of wishing to govern others, or being most fully represented in this country on suitable salaries and by the creation of innumerable offices in Antipodean Britain ; the same time, they are reasonably averse to making over the control of their finances to any Government that may subordinate their interests to those of party-exigencies at home. We, therefore, do not believe that "the Imperial Federation League" has died from any want of proposals in carrying their excellent principles into practice, but rather that, in the conflict between its Liberal and Conservative members, it fell a victim to liberal lukewarmness on the subject.

At the present stage, even, the most practical proposals must, of course, be of a general character, to be hereafter adjusted in detail, but the articles that we have already published show that there is no dearth of suggestive proposals and no insuperable difference, much less conflict, between Colonial and Imperial interests, but, on the contrary, every advantage to both, as also to India, by their judicious and generous co-operation. We, therefore, in spite of the, hitherto, really unexplained, because perhaps unavowable, failure of "the Imperial Federation League," intend to maintain the good cause on lines that will commend themselves alike to the independence of the Colonies, their duty to defend themselves and their claims to a due share in Imperial attention and government, so far as can be done without trenching on what belongs to India, which, though still

without a voice in Imperial Administration, is perhaps even more important to our Empire than any, if not all, of the Colonies.

THE DANGER OF COW-KILLING IN INDIA.

The celebrated Abbé Dubois, Missionary in Mysore, in his Description of the People of India, written in 1806 and published by the East India Company on the recommendation of Lord William Bentinck and Sir James Mackintosh for the purpose of "aiding the servants of the Government in conducting themselves more in unison with the customs and prejudices of the natives," deals in Part ii. Chap. iv. with "the particular horror of the Hindus for the flesh of the cow."

"To kill a cow," he wrote, "is considered by the Hindus as an expiable crime, and to eat her flesh as a taint that can never be effaced." Though this horror is based at present on religion, he considers that its origin was the need of keeping up a stock of milk-giving animals, as the vegetarian diet demands "the rich and wholesome nourishment derived from the teats of the cow." A second reason is that beef is too heavy and unhealthy a meat for the hot climate of India. "To kill a cow is a crime which the Hindu laws punish with death." . . . "What has contributed to render the European name hateful to the Hindus, and indeed to sink it in their private thoughts beneath the Pariahs themselves, is the use which they undisguisedly make of the flesh of the cow to satiate their gluttony. I am not at all surprised that the first European invaders who penetrated into India should have shown so little regard for the most sacred and most universally established prejudices of that people, because they were not then aware of their origin and motive. But I am really astonished that the behaviour of the Europeans, when upon first setting their feet on the boundary of India, they began to slaughter the oxen and cows did not excite an universal insurrection, or that one single man of the sacrilegious invaders escaped the indignation which must have burned in the breasts of the Hindus, on the murder of these sacred creatures, whom they rank in the number of their principal divinities." . . . "The forbearance and patience of the Hindus, who have seen for upwards of 300 years, a handful of Europeans established among them, sacrificing every day to their voracious appetites the divinities whom they adore, will paint the gentle, the soft, the lenient character of these people more vividly than the pencil of the most eloquent historian." . . . "The feeble Hindus content themselves with silently weeping over this sacrilegious abuse and horrible violation of their most sacred customs: the trampling down of which they most bitterly deplore in secret. In those parts where idolatrous princes still reign with absolute sway, the murder of a cow would on no pretext whatever be pardoned. An act so foul and execrable in the eyes of the Hindus could never be tolerated or endured but in the provinces where Europeans or Mahometans are the rulers."

In Part iii. Ch. vi., *On Pariahs and Inferior Castes*, the Abbé explains that none but the vilest outcasts among the Hindus will take domestic service with the Europeans "because the latter make no secret of violating

the prejudices of the people among whom they live, by commanding beef to be prepared for their tables."

It appears in Campbell's Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 15, Part 2, p. 274, that 18 Englishmen were in 1670 killed by the people of Bhatkal in Kanara because a bull-dog of theirs had killed a cow. In 1816 the Chief of Bhavnagar in Kattywar had some cow-slayers, his own subjects, executed : in consequence of which that State was partially deprived of jurisdiction until the year 1866.

HISTORIAN.

GENERAL A. W. E. HUTCHINSON ON COW-KILLING.

I have read with much interest your paper in the "Asiatic Quarterly" on The Cow-killing Riots in India, and venture to give my views on the question in the hope that you may be induced to further ventilate so important a subject.

Amongst your references to authorities for the sacrifice at the I'd, I don't see Sale. In his discourse on the Koran, and with reference to the sacrifice, he says, "These victims must be either sheep, goats, kine or camels ; males, if either of the two former kinds, and females if of either of the latter."*

During my service in India, I never heard of the sacrifice of a cow at the Bakr I'd ; perhaps this was owing to my employment (Political department), in the States of Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal and Meywar. At Bhopal a camel used to be sacrificed.

After the Mutiny, of course it was necessary that our soldiers should have beef, though the killing of cows was a subject that greatly affected the Chiefs and every precaution had to be taken to avoid giving offence ; after our occupation of Gwalior in 1858 Scindia begged that cows might be spared, and offered to provide goats and sheep. This was done until his resources broke down and then there was acquiescence on his part.

There used to be frequent disturbances caused by the passage through Gwalior territory of Commissariat Cattle ; these I invariably enquired into and found that in most cases the Commissariat agents were in the wrong ; cattle belonging to villagers joined the herd but were not driven back until the villagers demanded restoration.

The "Kuka" rebellion of 1872 was a note of warning of the danger to our hold on the Sikh nation, and surely we cannot afford to give it offence by the continuance of a practice that is held in abhorrence.

I have always considered that the slaughter of oxen would not create the same indignation as that caused by killing the cow : during the Mutiny I procured beef for the Europeans at Mhow by a simple notification that bullocks were required for Government purposes and that full price would be paid for the same.

Another point in the question is the fact that cow-beef forms the staple food of the British soldier ; if returns were called for from the Commissariat showing the numbers, male and female, I think it would be found that the ox was a *rara avis* !

* This statement is made by Sale on the authority of *Reland de Relig. Mah.* page 117, which is based on a "weak" tradition.—ED.

With regard to the action of the Mahomedan leaders in these disturbances, the duty of Government is clear. An inquiry should be instituted as to the procedure throughout India in the matter of the sacrifice at the date of Her Most Gracious Majesty's proclamation in 1858, and legislation passed accordingly.

A. W. E. HUTCHINSON,
Late Resident at Gwalior.

THE SYMBOL OF THE SACRED COW.

Dr. Leitner's article on the religious riots in India has done very valuable service; shewing, clearly and conclusively, that the sacrifice of cows by Indian Mussalmans is justified neither by the example of Mahomed nor by the practice of Mussalmans in other lands; so that, in abandoning this sacrifice, so dangerous to the peace of India the Mussalmans will only act in conformity with the purer traditions of their religion and the general practice in Muhammadan countries.

It only remains to shew, from the Sanskrit Scriptures, the real meaning of the Sacred Cow; and the cause of the Hindus' fanatical devotion to this symbol.

The cause of religious fanaticism is, almost invariably, the crystallisation of faith into dogma. The first reverent intuition of religion, the first gleam of truth from the unseen world, are embodied in symbols, because they are inexpressible in common speech. As the religion grows older, as the original intuitions grow more dim, the deep veneration attached at first to truths is transferred to their symbols, their garments.

The unfathomable wells of religious awe and devotion spring up around the symbols, and clothe them with the reverence which properly belonged to the truths. Then a further stage is reached. The symbols find their expression in outward tangible objects; and to these external objects, in the last stage of religious development, the devotion and adoration of the masses is attached.

This development, or decay, of religion is illustrated by the symbol of the Sacred Cow. There was first, in the Vedas and Upanishads, the supreme spiritual intuition of the divine powers of the Universe, and the divine powers of the soul. The active and passive energies of the original formative Power were represented by symbols. The identity of this original Power with the inmost spirit of man was intuitionally perceived.

Thus we have, in one Upanishad:—"The first-born of brooding Spirit, born before the waters, standing hid in secret, made manifest through the elements," (Brahmâ the Evolver).—"And the great Mother of divinity, born of Life, standing hid in secret, made visible through the elements, (Vâch, the formative word or '*Logos*,') are the same as the Self."

In the Vedas, the formative Word, the Logos, is symbolised as the "Melodious Cow," from whom the riches of the worlds, and the sustenance of souls were milked. The Word, the Logos, is again the Goddess "*Speech*," giver of wisdom and inspiration, mother of the Vedas, teacher of mankind.

As ages passed, and the intuition of India grew dim, the reverent

adoration paid to Brahmâ the Evolver, was transferred first by anthropomorphism to the represented god, then by idolatry,—the worship of an “eidolon” or symbol—to the sacred lingam, the type of generation and evolution. And the reverence paid to Vâch, the divine Word, was transferred first to the Goddess Wisdom, under such names as Savitrî and Sarasvatî, and then to the symbol of the Sacred Cow, the living giver of sustenance and mother of wealth.

The reverent adoration of Brahmâ the Evolver,—“the necessary tendency to development,”—and of Vâch, the Word,—“the power within that makes for righteousness,”—was the highest expression of philosophic intuition or “the wisdom of the divine.”

The worship of the god Brahmâ and the goddess Vâch, was the second step,—formal religion.

The reverence paid to their symbols, or “eidola,” the lingam and the Sacred Cow, is the fanaticism which, as the last remove from the pure intuition of tremendous truths, forms the religion of the masses of Hindus.

As a deeply reverential and devotional people, the Hindus, who have little love for the present life, and little of this world’s goods to tie them to it, have gathered around these symbols and others of like meaning, all the wealth of their religious natures, all the passionate fanaticism of a people whose thoughts are in the unseen world.

This, then, is the sentiment, so pure and lofty in its inception, so full of devotion and self-forgetfulness even in its last and darkest phase, which has led to the passionate outbursts of fanaticism in the religious riots of to-day.

CHARLES JOHNSTON (B.C.S. (ret.); M.R.A.S.)

THE BOMBAY RIOTS AND THE GUZERATI SO-CALLED “SEDITIONS PAMPHLET.”

Some of the translations of an alleged seditious pamphlet in Guzerati are so glaringly false that one cannot but regard them as deliberate. Whether any expressions in it are “seditious” or not is not within my sphere to decide; because, as Bentham says, such laws as relate to treason or sedition are enacted to create offences.

The author has indeed been guilty of telling the truth. The Cow is revered and loved by us Hindus as a mother. How, then, can we bear to see her dragged away, mutilated and murdered, sometimes in a most barbarous and ostentatious manner, more especially, on our sacred days and near our sacred places? But these Bombay riots had another immediate cause. It was, as admitted by the Mahomedans themselves, because they first attacked the Hindoos. It was the inability of the police to cope with Mahomedan fanaticism that drove the docile Hindoos into resistance, in self-defence when they saw no other means of protecting their property, honour, and lives. Whoever, therefore, whether Hindoos or the Police, took a part in putting down rioters, deserves praise, and the author of the pamphlet accordingly praises both, as those but for whose efforts, the

Hindoo community, timid as it is, would have been annihilated by the infuriated Musulmans. Suppose the Liberals, becoming all Radicals and growing into Socialists and Anarchists, were to transfer their battles in Parliament to the streets, plundering and killing Conservatives, would the latter quietly sit down like so many sages of old without defending themselves, their property and wives?

The police had been previously warned of a serious affray and, in consequence, they were actually present, though not in sufficient number, when an unusually large multitude of Mahomedans, numbering 5 or 6 thousand, and armed, in many cases with sticks, had gathered, on the eventful day, for prayer in the Juma Masjid.

They had been infuriated by "inflammatory accounts from their co-religionists in Prabhas Patan," where the Musalman processionists had desecrated a Hindoo temple and killed its priests.

The prisoners made during the Bombay riots were punished, it has been said, without any partiality to their respective religions.

But it is proved by the statistics of the punishments that the percentage of the Hindoos accused, that were fined or imprisoned is greater than that of the Mahomedans. Now these statistics reveal a significant fact, namely, that those charged with murder are exclusively Hindoos; *though amongst the victims* the majority were Hindoos. On the other hand, no Mahomedan is charged with murder. The editor of a Guzerati paper accordingly not unnaturally asks whether the murders of Hindoos were committed by the Hindoos themselves or by Parsees or Christians, as no Mahomedan is implicated in them?

Though the riot was commenced by the Mahomedans, though the Mahomedans were the first to commit robbery, though the Mahomedans so enraged the Hindoos as to make them fight, yet the Government lays all the blame upon the Hindoos and their leading members.

The material for riots exists in the dissatisfaction of the people, owing to poverty. As the English, as a rule, make no secret of their contempt for what they consider as a prejudice of the Hindoos, some Mahomedans are encouraged to kill cows in such a manner as to exasperate the Hindoos. The Officers, however do not understand the Hindoo feeling in the matter, and they authorise killing of cows on the Bakr 'Id festival in contravention of the long established custom of not doing so. The Mahomedan rulers, on the other hand, were more careful and used to pass strict orders not to offend Hindoo sentiment.

It is regrettable that under the superior civilization of England, officers should not study the sympathies and even supposed prejudices of the people committed to their charge at least as much as Mahomedan Chiefs consider the feelings of their Hindoo subjects and *vice versa*.

HINDOO.

A SHIAH MUHAMMADAN VIEW.

A correspondent writes: "In Persia the name of Bakri-'Id is unknown. The 'Id-i-Kurban, or sacrifice festival, is kept up throughout the land, and the Persians think that the Indian name is derived from the animals sacri-

ficed—a very improper appellation. As for the Khojas, they never kept this festival till the arrival of H.H. the Aga and, as you say, even now many Muláís do not observe it. His Highness sacrifices sheep on that day, though in Persia camels are offered up, BUT COWS NEVER. I hear that in Hyderabad, Deccan, cows are sometimes sacrificed, but the offering is generally a goat, except where a person wishes to feed a great many and perhaps also indulge in a little ‘aside’ of ill-feeling against the Hindus.”

SHIAH.

HAIRY SAVAGES IN TIBET.

Under the above heading Mr. MacRitchie writes in the October number of the *A. Q. Review*, page 473, rejecting the opinion recorded by Mr. Rockhill and other Tibetan travellers that the Tibetan belief in hairy wild men of the mountains is only a superstitious fiction founded on bears. As Mr. MacRitchie asks for further information on the subject, I send you this note of my own experience.

When I visited the Donkya La, 18,100 feet above the sea level and one of the highest passes from Sikhim into Tibet, the Tibetans pointed out to me in the snow the tracks of these “hairy wild men” who though fearfully fierce and strong yet shun the Tibetans and lead mysterious lives among the snows. The footprints were of human size, and intersected the path and led away towards the peaks where no human habitations existed or were possible.

Of the few other Indian officers who have crossed into the territory of The Grand Lāma from the Sikhim side more than one have also seen these marks and been told the same story.

There is not the slightest doubt however but that these footprints are merely those of the great Yellow man-eating Bear. I have questioned some hundreds of Tibetans about these “hairy wild men of the mountains”; and although the men I interrogated were mostly great travellers and therefore the likeliest to have encountered such monsters none except one or two would admit having ever seen them, and only believed in their existence from hearsay reports and traditions. The one or two who alleged that they had seen them, on being closely questioned confessed that they had only seen or fancied they had once seen away up in the dim distance amongst the snows an object which might have been one of these mysterious wild men of the footprints.

This myth indeed is very suggestive of the three black crows of the fable; yet it has one advantage over some of the other alleged myths foisted on Tibet as for example the so-called “Esoteric Buddhism”; for the people themselves know of the myth of the hairy wild men and believe in it. But no one who knows the absurd credulity of the Tibetans would be surprised at finding that though the Tibetans are fairly acquainted with the appearance of bears—at a distance—they yet believe that their human-like footprints seen in such uncanny places are those of fabulous wild men. The poor Tibetan is everywhere beset by the vexatious spirits and demons which his rude fancy pictures in all his surroundings. And his belief that these stray bears are hairy wild men of the mountains is

even more reasonable than the *equally common* Tibetan belief that White Lions and White Elephants inhabit the inaccessible snowy peaks of the Himalayas and the mountains of Central Tibet, and for whose existence equal evidence (!) is forthcoming. The white Lions have green manes and roar musically like bells. I have often puzzled but never disabused the owners of these beliefs by asking them on what food the white lions and elephants and hairy men subsisted in their solitudes among the everlasting snows at elevations where animal life is scarcely possible.

This Tibetan myth of hairy wild men seems to me to owe its origin to a superstitious confusion of homonyms. The ordinary Tibetan name for this great bear is "*dre*" (the female being called *dré-mô*, which is evidently the name intended by the "*dre-mon*" of the Chinese story quoted). And exactly the same word, only spelt with a prefixed *h* which is silent and not even aspirated, is the ordinary name for a gnome or voracious devil. With bears and voracious devils named alike, the creation of a mixture of the two as "*hairy savage devils*" is very easy to a superstitious people whose devils are generally anthropomorphic and who regard even their fellow creatures outside their own faith as "*foreign devils*."

L. A. WADDELL, M.B.

CHOLERA IN ANCIENT INDIA.

With reference to Mr. Sewell's paper on "The Early History of Cholera" in the October number of the *Review* (p. 445), it is remarkable that because Cholera is not expressly named in the accounts of ancient Indian historians and travellers, modern medical writers generally assume that the disease did *not* exist in ancient India. But even nowadays in its home—the so-called "endemic area of Cholera"—in Lower Bengal it is merely known as "the Vomiting and Purging" (*ulla-utha*); and if to this title be added "Cramps" you could have no better definition of the symptoms of this disease. Now, under this very title, I find it mentioned in an old Tibetan translation of Indian Charms probably Vedic vestiges—the Tibetan translation of which, dating apparently to about the 5th or 6th century A.D., is entitled *bLa-ma-dgongs-hdus* or "the Assembly of Superiors' (priests') hearts," and an English translation of which I have just made for the Anthropological Institute, as all the charms are based on Sympathetic magic.*

This particular charm is entitled "*Charms for the disease of VOMITING, PURGING AND CRAMPS*" and states, "with the dung of a black horse and black sulphur and musk-water write the monogram (? Z A—in Nagari characters of about the 5th century) and fold up in a piece of snake-skin and wear around neck or on an exposed part of the breast immediately next the skin and never remove it."

Here the horse seems to represent the galloping course, the dung the purging, the black colour the deadly character, and the snake-skin the virulence of the disease.

L. A. WADDELL, M.B.

* Conf. also BERGAIGNE's *La Religion Védique*.

Mr. R. Casement of H.M.'s Niger Coast Protectorate, West Africa, writes to us regarding the Matabele, deploring that their "defence in this country is weaker even than that their spears and naked bodies afford them in resisting the invaders of their native land" and he urges an impartial examination of the whole question in the "Cause of Truth and Fair play;" . . . "Every voice lifted up now in that cause may yet save us from still deeper shame—inasmuch as, though Lobengula's power has been destroyed and his country scarred with the fire of Maxim guns, the treatment he himself is to receive at our hands in the final settlement must be largely influenced by the opinions now to be expressed on both sides. Whether greater wrong shall yet be done will rest with how Public opinion in England is influenced. To aid it to a right decision is a glorious task. . . ."

We hope to publish in our next number an historical sketch of the relations between Lobengula and the representatives of the British nation in South Africa, from the pen of Mr. Casement whose knowledge of the subject is only equalled by his love of justice and fair play.

Mr. Saligram Vyasji, the Secretary of His Highness Maharaja Goverdhan Lalji, the Chief of the State of Nathdwara in Udaipur territory and spiritual Head of the important and numerous Vaishnava community all over India, numbering some fifty millions, has sent us an account of the shrine of Nathdwara and of the Vaishnava religion, which we hope to publish in our next issue in connexion with an account of the case which has recently been decided on appeal in favor of his Chief by the Privy Council. Mr. Saligram is a high-caste Brahmin and a good English and Vernacular Scholar. He has earned golden opinions wherever he went in this country owing to his well-bred and unassuming manners and the intelligent interest which he took in the institutions of the country. His visit to the House of Parliament created much attention, whilst his ability in assisting the eminent lawyers who were conducting the case deserves every praise. He has just left Brindisi by the "Ballarat" under arrangements with the P. & O. Company, which will ensure the preservation of Caste on board; and it is to be hoped that the success of the measures that have been adopted will encourage other high-caste men to come to this country without fear of losing what Indian respectability prizes beyond everything.

As we are going to Press, the decision of the Government regarding Uganda and the East Africa Company generally, already so unduly postponed, is still pending, though the Ministry have been receiving, and will still more receive, the attention of M.Ps. and of the watchful Anti-Slavery Society. We shall, doubtless, hear more regarding the recent statements of Sir E. Gray regarding the Slave Trade and Slavery. Our readers will observe in the following abstracts from the official *Zanzibar Gazette* of the 22nd Nov. 1893, that the business of slave-running is apparently flourishing under the British Protectorate, as suggested in Sir C. Dilke's enquiry regarding the increase of the Slave-trade in Zanzibar since the latter became a British Protectorate :

1. A capture of a Dhow and its cargo of slaves at the south end of the Island. 43 male and 20 female slaves landed near Kizimkazi by a Dhow which had then proceeded to Zanzibar. These slaves came from various parts, 32 slaves were condemned. 2. The *Blanche*, during a commission of one year and eight months, had seized 6 Dhows freeing about 80 slaves.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *History of India*, by H. G. Keene, C.I.E., 2 vols. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893; 16s.) Mr. Keene has utilized deep study, wide experience and great knowledge to produce a comparatively short history of India "for the use of students and colleges," as previous works were either too prolix or too compendious for that purpose; and we give him only his due in saying that he gives us a very good history indeed, as far as it goes. His treatment of the British period is all that can be desired, but his chief defect, to our mind, consists in his having compressed the previous Hindu and Muhammadan periods into too small a compass. The former is treated in 25 pages and the latter in 150; but though we quite agree with Mr. Keene that there is much of the mythical in the former and more of the uninteresting and unimportant in the latter of these periods, which need not burden the pages of a history written for students, yet events occurred during those periods and works were composed which have left their mark on India; and these, though they may not have much interest for the general European reader, are still matters of importance to the scholar and the student. They require, therefore, due notice; as instances, we think that the 4 lines at pp. 37 and 38 do not suffice for the important controversy on the Samvat Era, nor the other 4 lines at 18, for the age of the Vedas. Several slips in grammar, all the more noticeable from Mr. Keene's well-known correct style of writing, show signs of hasty production, and occasionally a mistake, slight in itself yet still a defect, crops up. Ochterlony's Indianized name was "Akhtar Lony" the star of Lony, by the same process which changes *Magazine* to *Mekh-zin* and *Macintosh* to *Mukkhun-tōs*: it has no reference to the abundance of flour and butter in his days. We note with pleasure Mr. Keene's good use of materials but recently made accessible (as e.g. Appendix I.);—his fair hand holding an equitable balance between various actors, and his free pen giving blame where blame is due. When he has purged his book, as we have no doubt he will in the next edition, of its slight incidental defects, his history, amended by the aid of friendly criticism, will reflect on him the greatest credit as an author who undertook and successfully accomplished a difficult and useful task.

2. *The Auto-Biography of a Spin*, by May Edwood. (Calcutta and London: Thacker and Co., 1893; 4s. 6d.) We have met many a Spin in India, but never so outrageous a flirt as the one sketched in this well got up book. It is not a portrait, but a caricature of Indian society, while the style is ultra cynical, satiric and slangy. The Spin's adventures are certainly lively work; and among other mischief, she gets one poor fellow to commit suicide for her. She returns home, to settle in a prosy county town; but the end of the book suggests that she may not remain a Spin much longer: so mote it be!

3. *The Pearl of Asia*, by Jacob T. Child. (Chicago: Donohue Henneberry and Co.; London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1893.) The Pearl of Asia

is Siam—why, we can't find out. Mr. Child's book is an extremely pleasant but by no means a deep account of the country and people. There are several inaccuracies, showing that the author had not personally visited some of the places he describes and illustrates, probably at second-hand. But, on the whole, the book is not only readable but very interesting, especially in the author's details of Court life. There is the usual amount of American "high-falutin" style and tall talk; words are sometimes used without any definite idea of their meaning: *e.g.* the much-abused "emblazon," which Mr. Child seems to consider equivalent to "shine"; to "corruscate" in his hands becomes a very active verb. His Siamese snakes, some killing with their tails and even by their touch, are excellent; his Tuctoos cry "Tokay"; and Zenocrates "finishes his labours at Bombay." Sentences like the following abound: "Though the king does not speak English, he understands it perfectly, and could do so fluently if he so desired, but prefers to express himself in his own tongue which is then interpreted by one of the princes or the Court interpreter." (p. 88.) Apart from these peculiarities of style and diction (which may be, perhaps, graceful in American eyes) we may say that he has well used both eyes and ears during five years in Siam; and that his book, which is also well illustrated, contains most entertaining descriptions of the country and its peculiarities, the Court and its ceremonials, the people and their manners.

4. *The Early Spread of Religious Ideas especially in the Far East*, by Joseph Edkins, D.D. (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1893; 3s.) This is a little book forming Vol. xix. of the Series entitled "*By-paths of Biblical Knowledge*." In it the learned author, whose deep studies and long residence in the East have particularly fitted him for the task, examines the development of religious ideas in Babylonia, Persia, and India, and, in more detail, in China. The facts and authorities he collects show clearly that the most ancient religion known in all the countries of Asia was a pure monotheism, which, in time, became overlaid with dualism, mythology and finally polytheism. This the author rightly attributes to an early revelation made to man before the Deluge, retained down to that catastrophe, and after it, universally propagated with the gradual spread of the human race, till time, forgetfulness, neglect and corruption gradually degraded this older religion into the various systems against which revelation has been continually waging war, to our own times. The theory is as old as it is correct; but many of Dr. Edkins' proofs are new, striking and conclusive. He brings to bear on his contention a diversity and wealth of illustration most interesting to study; and even those who do not accept his theory will peruse with pleasure the varied descriptions and acute remarks of the erudite author.

5. *The Old Testament and its Contents*, by James Robertson, D.D. (London: A. and C. Black, 1893; 6d.) In a convenient and well got up little volume, forming one of the "*Guild and Bible Class Text Books*" the learned Professor of Oriental Languages at the Glasgow University gives a very useful handbook for the general reader, of which the first part deals with the Old Testament as a whole and its Canon, while the second

and larger portion treats in detail of each book. Here the author gives, briefly yet fully, the history, composition and characteristics of each book, indicates the results and difficulties of modern criticism, and shows the present position of believers and unbelievers regarding the style, authenticity and authorship of the Old Testament. While differing from his ideas and conclusions on several points of the numerous questions which he treats, we recommend his work as a good text book for the study of the Bible. It is a distinct gain for the cause of Christianity and Biblical study to bring within reach of all many facts concerning the Holy Scriptures which are unknown to most readers of the Sacred Book. The more clearly its eclectic nature and gradual transformations are brought home to them, the less danger will there be of that deification of the mere book, which, by a natural recoil, has pushed so many to unbelief by grossly exaggerating the scope, mode and extent of inspiration. Prof. Robertson's effort will, we doubt not, tend to rectify in many minds the prejudices conceived, whether by excessive credulity on the one side, or on the other, by exaggerated misstatements of the results of the higher criticism.

6. *History of the French in India*, by Col. G. B. Malleon, C.S.I. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893; 16s.) We welcome this new edition of a work which is an established authority for this particular episode of Indian History. Originally executed with great care and exactness, the learned author, in the present edition, has had none but mere verbal corrections to make. He has added an appendix, giving the proofs of his former conclusion that La Bourdonnais did accept a private bribe of Rs. 400,000 in addition to the public ransom of Rs. 1,400,000 for the restitution of Madras. Col. Malleon's thorough knowledge of Indian history, his exhaustive researches into original sources, and his fair and honourable treatment of gallant though unfortunate foes combine with his clear and vigorous style to make his work worthy the attention of both the general reader and the special student, while the romantic vicissitudes of the contest between England and France in India, the varied character and the high abilities of the leaders on both sides unite in giving to solid, exact and clear history all the brilliancy and interest of a novel.

7. *The Story of Africa and its Explorers*, by Robert Brown, F.R.G.S. (London: Cassell and Co. 1893; 7s. 6d.) This—the 2nd Vol. of an excellent publication—fully maintains the high level reached by the first, which we reviewed in our January 1893 issue. It deals, in its first 8 chapters, with Egypt, the Nile and the great African Lakes, from Herodotus to Baker. The Editor holds a very just balance between the contending claims of various explorers,—claims even now not divested of the unseemly bickerings which arose a generation ago. Chapters ix—xi are devoted to the great missionary traveller, Livingstone, and are partly from the pen of F. E. Harman. Chap. xii. continues the story of Livingstone on the Zambesi and Shiré. The expedition of Mr. Stanley, his meeting with Livingstone and the latter's death are told in chap. xiii. by Capt. Cameron, R.N.; and Dr. Felkin, in the last chapter gives Stanley's journey through the Dark Continent. The whole work is well edited, and beautifully illustrated and got up by the publishers, and is in every respect deserving of a place in all geographical libraries: a pleasure to read.

8. *Adventures in Mashonaland, by two Hospital Nurses.* (London : Macmillan and Co. 1893 ; 8s. 6d.). This book, one of the most charming to read of its kind that we have seen for a long while, details the brave undertaking of two ladies to do nursing work in the newly founded Mashonaland Anglican Mission, their plucky and persevering execution of their engagement for 2 years, and their experiences of men, manners, beasts and places. The style is as easy and familiar as it is lively and correct. Much depth was not to be expected, nor a thorough knowledge of the country and its prospects ; but the ladies give a splendid sketch of the difficulties of travel and life in a place where both are now comparatively easy. Their courage,—left practically to shift for themselves by the sudden departure and continued absence of their employer, Bishop Knight Bruce,—is above all praise, as are their good-natured determination to make the best of every occurrence and their persevering attention to their work. The state of European society and the nature of the Mashonas are both well drawn ; and there is plenty of both adventure and incident, grave, gay and ludicrous, to make the book of great interest to the general reader. When they left Africa, as late as July 1893, the mission was still nowhere.

9. *The Zambesi Basin and Nyassaland, by David J. Rankin, F.R.G.S.* (Edinburgh and London : Blackwood and Sons ; 1893 ; 10s. 6d.). In a pleasant and lively book the author conveys a great deal of information regarding Zambesia, its past, present, and future. It is a narrative of personal travel and exploration, carried on at intervals during several years ; and the sense of humour with which it abounds makes it pleasant to read. It is hardly a connected work. From the Shiré we pass to the Zambesi, thence to Mombasa and Mozambique, and back again to the Zambesi. Everything is well treated ; but nothing is exhausted, and but little is concluded. The author's chief aim seems to be to recommend the use and development of the great water-way, which, with a few breaks, extends from the mouths of the Zambesi and Shiré, through Lakes Nyassa, Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza, and by the Nile, to Alexandria ;—to show the great work awaiting the numerous African companies in the future, and to give an idea of the capabilities of Central Africa, both for colonization and for agricultural and mineralogical developments ;—and to advocate the union of all concerned in a great International Association. The author is sanguine on all these points ; but he seems to ignore the many difficulties of African rivers for navigation (such as cataracts, rapids, etc.), and the inextinguishable jealousies and conflicting interests of many nations and companies. The book deserves every attention from those concerned in the opening out of Central Africa and its trade.

10. *Estoppel by matter of record in Civil Suits in India, by L. Broughton.* (London : H. Frowde, 1893 ; 7/6d.). This is a purely technical work, suitable for lawyers and judicial officers in India. It treats of the cases and circumstances in which the previous decision of a court does or does not bar another or a further suit ; and the author, with much erudite citation of cases in point and by sound reasoning thereon, shows the actual state of law and procedure in this matter.

11. *Modern Indian Architecture, by Ishwar.* (Bombay: Education Society's Press; 1892; Rs. 15). This important architectural treatise, in small Folio, is the work of Lala Teekaram of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway Office. After a general dissertation on the merits of the Science of Architecture, in which we especially note the arguments used to show how it influences, aids and developes other arts, many of which would seem at first sight to have little connexion with it, Lala Teekaram treats of the general requirements of architectural science, and gives practical instructions regarding it. He has next a letter-press description of 32 full-sized plates—specimens of Indian Architecture, Hindu and Muhammadan. These plates, forming the better half of the work, are excellent in design and execution. Some are reproductions of well-known forms of comparatively ancient art, as the minarets of the Taj, and the corner tower of the Delhi Jama Musjid; others are of recent date, like the beautiful Ulwar Railway Station: all are good specimens of their kind, elegant, graceful and majestic. All who have lived in India will be delighted to see again these beautiful specimens of native art, and those who have not travelled in India will be charmed with having their representation in linear drawing. The author must permit us to correct a slip at p. 23. He says "In fact archwork of any kind is not found in India before the Mahomedan Epoch." General Cunningham has shown in his "Mahabodhi" (Allen and Co.) that this very frequently made assertion is not correct. He discovered a real arch in that great temple, long anterior in date to the Muhammadan conquest in India. Lala Teekaram's book can be procured in England at the Oriental University Institute, Woking.

12. *Australian Commonwealth, by Greville Tregarthen* (London: T. Fisher Unwin; 1893; 5s.) forms the latest (35th) vol. of the *Story of the Nations* Series. It is written with a full command of the subject, gives a good general view of the history of Australia, and (we can give no better praise) is worthy of a place in this series. The earlier history of Sydney is given with full detail. At pp. 121 *et seq.* a very close parallel is given to the late financial crisis—the great artificial inflation of the thirties being followed by the great smash of 1840. It is to be hoped that the next half century will not renew this twice-tried experiment. At p. 138 a glimmer of Australian Federation, as to Tariffs, appears as early as 1848, only to fade away into nothing. The other colonies of the group are also fairly well treated, though they do not receive quite the attention they merit. At pp. 292 *et seq.* a great deal of needless pity is bestowed on Western Australia; and the author hardly seems conscious of the fact that this is the only Australian Colony (excluding New Zealand) that successfully weathered the late financial storm and can boast of a surplus instead of a chronic deficit. New Zealand is included in the "Australian Commonwealth," though she persistently refuses to have anything to do with Federation with the other colonies; but although she is doubtless prudent in this determination, still the book would hardly have been complete without New Zealand. The history of each colony is brought down to the year 1893; and the last chapter details the Federation movement from its first proposal by Earl Grey in 1847 to the present, when its realization is

just as far off as ever. The book will be found most useful for reference, though it fails to supply every need.

13. *British East Africa or Ibea*, by P. L. McDermott. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1893; 6s.) Late events in Uganda have drawn so much attention to the British East Africa Co. that its assistant secretary does public service in meeting the demand for reliable information regarding its doings by compiling this book which we recommend to our readers. With access to authentic documents, and writing with the knowledge commanded by his office, Mr. McDermott tells the History of the Ibea Co. minutely, clearly and pleasantly. It goes without saying that he naturally holds a brief for the Company; yet he by no means exaggerates the efforts made, the results obtained and the obstacles overcome. The apathetic neglect of successive British governments and the unworthy treatment that has led to the present state of affairs, are plainly told—a pitiable tale. Lord Salisbury's action towards the company is no model in statescraft; and Lord Rosebery has been no better than his predecessor. The Foreign Office attitude towards the Ibea Company is but one more lamentable instance of the fact that no ministry dare go to the House of Commons for money for even the evident advantage of the British Empire abroad; and that the exigencies of party strife prevent equally the development and defence of the Empire and the strenuous upholding of its interests and honours. Many proofs are given of this fact; but though this part of this book is not pleasant reading for a British subject, it should be studied by all who desire to form a fair opinion of what the Ibea Co. have done, how they stand, and how the Government have treated them. Fresh proofs are furnished of political intriguing on the part of the French missionaries in Uganda and of the importation of arms by them. More details should perhaps have been given of this unhappy inter-Christian war, as well as of some other incidents treated with regrettable brevity; but Mr. McDermott's book provides a vast store of information regarding the Company, its actions and its officers.—

14. *Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies and Missions in Asia and Africa*, by the Rev. A. J. D. D'Orsey, B.D. (London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1893; 7s. 6d.) This rather pretentious title, which would need a small Encyclopædia to do it justice, is not borne out by the contents of this book. Of Portuguese Discoveries we are given but the most meagre sketch; of Dependencies we get barely a glimpse; and of African Missions there is nothing at all. Instead we have uncalled for chapters on the totally irrelevant points of the Roman supremacy, and the origin of the Jesuits. Nor can we say much for the Author's competency for this work. His history is so far astray that he makes Loyola (p. 94) "almost a tool in the hands of Aqua Viva" (*sic*), though Aquaviva was not even a novice when Loyola died. On Indian Ethnology he quotes Thornton's antiquated *Gazetteer* and Duncan's *Geography of India* (1868), supremely unconscious of later works, even of Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*. So in quoting Marco Polo, he takes Wright's edition of 1853, and seems to know nothing of Col. Yule. Several slips in Portuguese, French, Spanish and even Latin cannot all be printers' errors. His interpretation of "The poor have

the Gospel preached to them " is that it was a great error in the Portuguese to associate with the Pariahs. Ardent Protestants of the ultra Anti-Roman persuasion will find Mr. D'Orsey's book an excellent and well stored arsenal of abuse and accusation against the Portuguese as a people and Catholicity as a religion. The amount of underlining of passage might be envied by many a young miss fresh from school. —

15. *Travels in India a Hundred years ago*, by Thomas Twining. (London : Osgood, McIlvaine and Co. ; 1893 ; 16s.) This stout volume deserves a longer review than the pressure on our space allows. A hundred years are only a short time in the life of a nation ; but the last century has witnessed changes in India, which render this book of ancient travels as interesting to all and as new to most readers, as would be a work on some freshly discovered country, if any yet remained unknown. The author's long voyage *via* the Cape is a thing of the past, as is the India in which he travelled, from Calcutta to Delhi, and back through part of Oudh. The blind Shah Alum filled the Mogul throne ; Madhoji Scindhia, in the zenith of his power, was yet unable to suppress Gujar and Mewatti robbers ; and De Boigne still resided at Aligarh. The book takes up the period from Warren Hastings to Lord Wellesley ; and it is brought down yet later by 100 pages on a visit to the rising Republic of the West and its great President Washington. The route then slowly traversed in India in a palanquin, where now locomotives shriek past several times a day,—the cities visited,—the Grand Mogul,—Agra,—Fatehpur Sikri,—Delhi are all graphically and correctly described, as they were then, with touches of Indian life, manners and character, now, like many other things in India, changed, not for the better. These descriptions (occasionally marred by such easily remedied errors as Kuttul minar for Kuttub, which are not due to Twining himself) are fascinating to those who have known the country and the scenes in later times. To the general reader they convey a lively picture of the India of those days, with its numerous tyrants, its want of security for life and property, its continued turbulence, and underlying all, the easy contentedness if not apathy of the people. Hence these Notes and Reminiscences edited by the Traveller's descendant, will be read with pleasure by all. The volume closes with a few detached papers, among which we note one on the inevitable snake, with an apparently sure cure for snakebite, as cheap as it is declared to be efficacious, and a description of a Suttee, at which the author was present.

16. *In the Shadow of the Pagoda*, by E. D. Cuming. (London : W. H. Allen and Co. 1893 : 6s.) Mr. Cuming is one of the managers of a rice mill in Burma and deals little with politics and the 'ologies. He does better. He gives us, as he professes to do, sketches of Burman life and character ; and capital sketches they are, true to nature. Written in a free, flowing style, full of fun and humour, they reproduce vividly the careless, easy-going Burman, and introduce us to his manner of living, acting and thinking. Both his good and his bad points are shown, but with a friendly feeling and indulgence showing that the author has lived in touch with the races among whom his lines were cast. The chapter on "Some compulsory acquaintances" deals with the musquito, the crow and the Tucktoo, in a

light and airy style, prettily exhibiting all the annoyances occasioned by these pests. The doings of the Dacoits are gruesome reading; but the dacoits described are genuine dacoits—men who had taken to pillage and robbery as an easy means of livelihood,—not Burmese soldiers carrying on an irregular warfare and miscalled Dacoits for defending their country in their own simple way. There is not a dull page in Mr. Cuming's book, which we recommend to our readers, as a pleasant mode of making the acquaintance of a fine country and of a people who have a charm of their own for those who meet them in a friendly way.

17. *Chinese Nights' Entertainments*, by *Adele M. Fielde* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893; 7s. 6d.) is a beautifully got up book, illustrated from drawings by Chinese artists, and containing 45 Chinese tales, strung together, as on a thread, on a story called the *Strayed Arrow*. Mrs. Fielde is mistaken when she tells us at the outset that these tales "have not been rendered into a European tongue." The *Strayed Arrow* is beautifully told in Prof. Douglas' *Chinese Tales*, published early in 1893 by Messrs. Blackwood and reviewed by us in April; and some of the minor tales are also well known. This notwithstanding, Mrs. Fielde gives us a pleasant and readable volume, written in a correct and flowing style, and containing much matter which we hope may tend to place the Chinese in a more favourable light than her fellow-countrymen are accustomed to see them, and to remove some of the prejudices which now render them so odious in the United States, that special laws are made against their entering or residing in that "Land of the Free."—

18. *China and her Neighbours*, by *R. S. Gundry*, with maps. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1893; 9s.) For a country anxious only to be let alone, China has the misfortune of lying between the "deep sea" on its east, and the "foreign devils" on its north, west and south. To her Southwest, lies British India, with which, luckily, China not only has no cause of quarrel but is on friendly terms, with all that self-interest can dictate to develop into a mutual alliance. But on her South East lies the restless Frenchman, always eager to raise trouble for advancing his own purposes; and along all her north and west, the colossal power of Russia hems her in, while her insatiable hunger continually makes her nibble out slices from Chinese territory, as she is trying now to do in the Pamirs. By a comprehensive historical statement of their past acts, our author shows that the continual encroachments of Russia and France are the results of a definite and settled policy on their side, the two mainsprings of which are self-aggrandizement and an open enmity against the British Empire. In each case the history is brought down to date; and one cannot fail to realize, in reading it, that before long England (with India) and China must band together and fight the two restless powers,—Russia and France, in order to crush once for all the execution of their ill-concealed designs and their unreasoning hatred. This book, excellent in style, tone and matter, deserves the attention of all who are interested in the maintenance of the British Empire, and especially of the politicians and officials who are called to take an active part in its government.

19. *Fians, Fairies and Picts*, by *David MacRitchie*, with illustrations.

(London : Kegan Paul and Co. 1893 ; 5s.) With a wealth of erudition, our learned folk-lorist demonstrates that these were all one and the same people, under different names,—a small-sized, cave-dwelling and stone-using race,—which, seen through the haze of tradition, became the terrible Picts who fought the Romans, and the dear little elves and fairies whose existence was to us as an article of faith, in the days of our youth. Mr. MacRitchie with the aid of numerous plates proves not only the actual existence of many of the under-ground bee-hive shaped dwellings of these ancient dwarfs, some of them so recently occupied, that a man is still alive who was born in one of them. Mr. MacRitchie's proofs are so conclusive, that we must reluctantly bid good-bye to the hope we had still stealthily cherished, of some day seizing a Leprechaun, with his little red cap and red-heeled shoes, and compelling him to make over to us his "crock of gold" as the price of his liberty ! Thus does our utilitarian age reduce to dull reality a once splendid and beautiful fiction, which has quite an imperishable literature of its own.

20. *Thirteen years among the Wild Beasts of India*, by G. P. Sanderson. (London : W. H. Allen and Co. 1893 ; 12s.) This—the 5th Edition of a work as charming to read as it is instructive—will be welcomed equally by lovers of sport, and of Natural History. Though he met with and shot many other kinds of wild Beasts, the bulk of the volume, well written, well illustrated, and generally well got up, deals chiefly with the elephant, the tiger, the bison, the leopard, and the bear. Mr. Sanderson, with exceptional powers of observation, cultivated friendly intercourse with the natives ; and he was consequently able to utilize to the utmost the singularly favourable opportunities enjoyed by him as Director of Elephant-capturing operations in Mysore, and Chittagong. The result is a book which to graphic details of sporting adventures far surpassing the common, adds a correct natural History of the animals chiefly dealt with, and particularly the Elephant. From this real king of beasts, Mr. Sanderson carefully removes every exaggeration made both for or against him, which had been repeated, without any good foundation, by one writer after another ; he substitutes for fables a description of elephantine anatomy, size, habits, and character which may be said to sum up all that we know for certain about the animal, and nearly all that one can wish to know. We should have wished to see this edition brought up to date. It is queer decidedly to find (p. 6) the census of 1871 quoted as the *last*, and the Maharaja of Mysore still spoken of as a minor. But the book itself is more fascinating than a romance ; and we have read it, now the third time, with as great a zest as when we revelled over the perusal of the first edition.—

21. *The Story of an African Chief*, by Mrs. W. Knight Bruce, with a preface by Edna Lyall (London : Kegan Paul and Co., 1893 ; 2s.) is a desultory short life of Khama, in which he is held up as a model Christian Chief, with some details collected from various publications by one who knows little of him personally ; and it is preceded by a very useless preface by another who knows as little as, perhaps even less than the Biographer of Khama. It is written evidently in the interest of the Anglican Mission, regarding which we recommend for perusal the book noticed in our *Reviews and Notices*, No. 8, page 215.

22. *Dictionary of Quotations, by the Rev. James Wood* (London and New York: F. Warne and Co., 1893; 7/6). Double columns of small print, extending over 570 pages, give a vast collection of quotations, mottoes, proverbs and aphorisms, from ancient and modern authors of all nationalities, arranged in alphabetical order; and 88 more pages form an index of subjects. It is difficult to fix what may and what may not find a place in such a book; and we cannot more fairly state the case for and against this work, than by saying, that while instances abound like *τὸ ὁλόν*, *pari ratione*, and *coup de pied*, other trite things (like *pars magna fui*) are absent. We see a few slips in the translation and spelling of foreign words. While the names of authors are given, quotations are not precisely localized: it is little use to say *Goethe*, *Milton* or *St. Paul*, without further indication of the part of their works whence the quotation is taken. So far as it goes, however, this book is the best collection of its kind that we have yet seen.

23. *Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1891-92* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode; 1893; 1/6) is the annual Blue Book on this interesting subject. This issue, besides the usual statistics, has special comments on the course of vaccination in India and mentions that further investigations on cholera by Dr. Cunningham have furnished additional proof against the Koch theory. The remarks on leprosy are fewer and less interesting than we expected. There is the usual mass of information in these 184 pages, which can be worked up into statistics, by well-known methods, for proving or disproving any given theory.

24. *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians, by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu* (London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893; 12/6). M. Zenaïde A. Ragosin here gives us an excellent English translation, from the 3rd French edition, of an exhaustive work: two more volumes are to follow. This volume deals with 1. the Country, 2. the inhabitants, 3. the national character, 4. their History and civilization, 5. the towns and urban classes, 6. the Nobility and Tchinovniks, 7. the peasantry, 8. the *Mir* and family and village communities. The book teems with information,—much of it new; and going thoroughly into each of its many subdivisions, it enables the reader to correct many an erroneous view founded on previous authors. It gives sometimes a better and sometimes a worse conception than the common, of the real state of matters in Russia. Chap. iv. of Book III. is a valuable contribution to the study of Nihilism. Most readers will be surprised to learn the small number of the true Russian nobility and of the strange composition of the greater part of the present Russian upper ten thousand. The author enriches his descriptions with philosophical reflections; and the translator too has improved on these by numerous important and erudite notes. The village communities and *Mir* form a subject of great interest to the student of similar groups in East and West. Tersely true statements are often made among the philosophical remarks of both author and translator, which show the nature of Russia as by a lightning flash: e.g., "Russians are continually engaged so much in looking to and over their frontiers, that they do not at all see Russia itself." We look forward to seeing the

remainder of the work published speedily, and much recommend this part.

25. *The Southsea Islanders and the Queensland Labour Trade*, by W. T. Wawn (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1893.) The Kanaka Labour question has been so much discussed and sides have been taken regarding it with so much violence, that a book like this—written by a ship's captain and recording his personal experiences during many voyages, in procuring Kanaka labourers—is both a novel and a welcome addition to our sources of information. The author in plain terms states the occurrences in each voyage, where and how he got labourers, how he fared in so doing, and was persecuted for it. The tale is graphic, simple, pleasant and interesting. A cyclone is described at p. 130, and an earthquake at p. 274. As we read page after page of Capt. Wawn's very interesting book, we can easily see many points both for and against the system of hiring Kanakas for labour in Australia; but at the same time it becomes evident that while abuses undoubtedly occurred at times, a great deal of the outcry against the thing itself was both interested and exaggerated. Besides its bearing on this point, Mr. Wawn's book, which is well illustrated, contains valuable information regarding the manners and customs of the many islands which he visited: It will well repay perusal.

26. *The Memoirs and Travels of Count de Benyowsky*, edited by Captain Pasfield Oliver, R.N. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893; 5s.) is a volume of the *Adventure* series, and as such is a good continuation. Benyowsky was a born romancer, and he romanced well. His adventures—whatever they may have been in reality, and probably even in naked truth they would have been worthy of being read—are, as here told, a romance as brilliant as false: his was an age of both adventure and lying. An Hungarian prisoner to the Russians, he was sent to exile in Siberia, reached Kamchatka, escaped thence and returned to Europe, went out to Madagascar, and was there shot down as a Pirate—such were Benyowsky's vicissitudes. The present book, reprinted from the translation of W. Nicholson, F.R.S., in 1790, contains the details which the accomplished story-teller gave, in his MS., of his travels in Siberia, Kamchatka, Japan, the Liú Kiú Isles, Formosa and China. It forms a very entertaining book, though one cannot now separate the facts from the fables which Benyowsky mingled together in hopeless but pleasant confusion. Capt. Oliver's Introduction points out several passages known to be false; and they are so numerous as to leave it quite problematical what is the proportion of the kernel of truth to the husk of romancing.

27. *From the Five Rivers*, by F. A. Steel. (London: W. Heinemann, 1893; 6s.) Mrs. Steel, whose kindly sympathetic interest in the people among whom she lived enabled her to know their thoughts and to understand their ways, gives us a pleasant little volume, with eight Indian sketches, true to life, concluding her book with four popular songs translated into English verse. There is still a great need for books like this one, to make people in Europe understand the millions of India, who are generally a sealed book for Westerns. The tales are all excellent, each in its own

way. If we give the preference to the sad, sad story entitled "Shah Sujah's Mouse," it is not because the others are not as good; but because we would call attention, more prominently than Mrs. Steel does, to the systematic distortion of the head which produces such creatures, and which the authorities certainly should stop. In recommending her present volume, we hope for further works from Mrs. Steel's facile and graceful pen.

28. *Nell Asia Orientale: Ludovico Nocentini.* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1893.) This is a pretty, flowing, gossiping description of a journey from Naples (through the Suez Canal, touching at Aden, Ceylon, Singapore, Saigon and Hongkong) to Shanghai. Thence the author did China, making excursions and visiting Peking. Port Hamilton and Japan having been duly inspected, the Commendatore Nocentini returned home, safe and sound, to issue this very pleasant little book,—a perfect model of a globe-trotter's narrative.

29. *The Book of Good Counsels, by Sir E. Arnold, K.C.I.E.* (London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1893; 7s. 6d.) We welcome this new edition, prettily got up and well illustrated, of Sir Edwin's beautiful translation of a great many animal stories from the Sanskrit of the *Hitopadesa*. The elegance of Sir Edwin's style unites with the charm of these beautiful didactic stories to form a book which it is a real pleasure to read.

30. *The Story of Mashonaland, by the Rev. F. W. Macdonald.* (London: The Wesleyan Mission House; 1893; 6d.), a simply written and well illustrated pamphlet, describes the country and people, and details the beginning of the Wesleyan Mission in 1891, at the instance of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who gave land and promised £100 a year in its aid. The story is well edited from the accounts of the missionaries. Six mission farms have been established, some churches have been built, and a group of native Evangelists has been collected. The pamphlet is very interesting; but there is an absence of detailed statistics of the converts secured, which is a chronic defect in all missionary statements.—

31. *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, by L. B. Bowring, C.S.I.* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press; 1893; 2s. 6d.) The Indian proverb justly says that all the fingers of a hand are not equal; and all the volumes of a Series like *The Rulers of India* cannot be expected to attain uniform excellence. Short as is the period covered by Mr. Bowring's book, he rather sketches than depicts the career of Haidar and Tipu: as much and more regarding father and son may be found in almost any of the larger histories of India—e.g., in Mr. Keene's which we have just reviewed. At p. 49, we suddenly find Haidar fighting the English, without a word as to the cause of the war or the date of its declaration, much less as to where the blame lay for the collision. The campaigns are told in a desultory and fragmentary form, aggravated by a subdivision into ridiculously short chapters:—some of these have barely two pages, while the average of 16 chapters is 7. Haidar's statesmanship and perseverance, his projects and his success are all left vague. Mr. Bowring's vagueness extends to other matters. At p. 73 "the Maratha host . . . comprised 60,000 horse with a *due proportion* of infantry and guns." What a *due proportion* may be in any army varies very considerably: a *due proportion* for 60,000 Maratha

horse is vagueness itself. Our troops repeatedly suffer "trifling losses," even when figures are available in other histories, not to mention the India Office records. We are thankful for several tables of pedigrees; but the dates of some are given in the Hejira and others in A.D. on the same page. The two concluding chapters, one in each part, which review the characters of Haidar and Tipu, are admirable, and will doubtless be read with pleasure. They are more favourable to the chiefs than those drawn by our earlier writers.

33. *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, by Sir W. H. Sleeman, K.C.B. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co. 1893; 2 vols. 12s.) This new edition of Sleeman's well known book forms vol. v. of *Constable's Oriental Miscellany*, and is uniform in size and appearance with the previous numbers. It is edited by Mr. V. A. Smith, Ind.C.S., who has enriched it with numerous valuable notes. There is an occasional fault; as, e.g., (vol. 2, p. 113) Mr. Smith finds the *Bulwemar ward* unintelligible, but it is only the *Billi-mar mohalla* or cat-killer's ward; at p. 267, Sleeman's M. Reglioni becomes Regholini, but should be General Righellini. At p. 313, Mr. Smith's strictures on Sleeman's confidence in the native army read badly with the evidence in Forrest's Mutiny documents, which tend to prove that this army was driven into rebellion by our own stupid action. The editor has wisely omitted several chapters which dealt only with the historical narrative of the contest between Shah Jehan's sons. Sleeman's beautiful work was long in demand, and as now issued it is sure to be popular—and so it deserves to be.—

34. *The Buccaneers of America*, by John Esquemeling. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1893; 15s.) It is hard to realize, at the present day, when the ocean is everywhere traversed by fast steamers, what was the state of affairs in the 17th century on the American Seas when jealousy, avarice and revenge had armed large numbers of outlaws from many countries, against the Spaniards, and pirates flourished as an institution, with the tacit approval if not the occasional active aid of the governments inimical to Spain. Messrs. Sonnenschein in one goodly volume give us the exploits of some of these *infamous worthies*, with 7 illustrations and a map, reprinted from the edition of 1684. The translation is faithful rather than good: the Spanish *Plata* is simply silver; and it sounds strange to hear of "uncoined plate" being distributed among the pirates. The author, who had been a pirate himself, is simple, credulous, graphic, and quaint in his descriptions of places and things, of men and deeds. He has caymans 70 feet long, and describes some wonderful tricks of their young. He has noted some curious customs and superstitions of the Indians. The description of the buccaneers, spread over the whole book, gives a vivid picture of the men, and their times and deeds, which is only too horribly interesting for cruelty and rapacity. Here is one of their amusements: "My master would buy, on like occasions, a whole pipe of wine, and placing it in the street would force everyone that passed by to drink with him: threatening also to pistol them if they would not do so." The book is very interesting, especially the fourth and last part, comprising the voyage of Bartholomew Sharp, an adventurous one even in those days of bold navigation and reckless exposure.

35. *La Hongrie économique : Guillaume Vautier.* (Paris and Nancy : Berger-Levrault et Cie. 1893 ; 10 frs.). We have here a detailed description of the Kingdom of Hungary. The first part gives its physical geography, people, government, commercial policy, means of communication, finances, economic legislation and public instruction. Regarding the last, we learn that 2,027 communes out of 12,684 (nearly $\frac{1}{6}$) have no schools ; and that 466,757 children remained uneducated, out of a total of 2,524,569 of school-going age. The second part deals with the agriculture, forests, and minerals, the industries, arts and commerce of Hungary, and its commercial relation to the nations of both East and West. On the whole, there is abundant proof of progress ; and the book deserves close study.

36. *The Army Book for the British Empire, by Genl. W. H. Goodenough and Col. J. C. Dalton.* (London : H. M.'s Stationery Office, 1893 ; 5/.) Where the conscription reigns, every one makes himself conversant with whatever concerns the army, in which he himself and his male relations must put in a term ; but with us, as our army is voluntary, who tries to learn its history and composition ? Even members of its own many component parts know little of the constitution and duties of other parts than their own. This lack of knowledge went so far that we had not even the means of remedying it, without the special study of special books for each branch. The means of acquiring a complete, if not exhaustive, knowledge of the Armies of the British Empire are now supplied by this much needed work, which, with the aid of many friends, the two gallant authors have compiled with great diligence, digested with much care, and arranged with rare order and lucidity. Everything connected with the army is treated carefully ; its location and administration, its composition and duties in peace and war, its reserves and mobilization are all given ; and valuable information is furnished on the history of each arm, and on collateral military subjects, in comparison with the corresponding arrangements in various other European armies. The army in India is well dealt with. But it is erroneous to say (p. 456) that till a recent ruling "scarcely a single regiment of either cavalry or infantry is composed of one class of men." The 23rd Punjab Pioneers were all Muzbies, and the 40th N. I. all Pathans. At p. 279, the Base Hospital is said to be "formed usually at or near the port of embarkation for England, and is called the 3rd line of assistance" ; but in reality, that is the fourth and last line. The true third line—the Base Hospital—is just within our own frontiers, and not too far from the field of operations : the base hospital of the Black Mountain campaign was at Campbellpore, not Bombay. No mention, too, is made of elephants or oxen as motive powers in connexion with artillery in India. There is an important dissertation on the colonial forces, which almost everywhere except Canada form a case of *lucus a non lucendo*. We regret to find the authors opposed to a local European army for India : it must eventually be formed, and will, we hope, renew the glories of the olden one—instance the Bengal Horse Artillery. We congratulate the gallant authors on the production of an excellent and much needed book, which is not only sure of becoming a favourite in the Service itself, but which appeals to all readers and which we recommend to

ours, as a work of peculiar and deep interest to all who glory in being British subjects.

37. *The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana*, by W. Webb, M.B., Ind. Med. Staff. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1893.) In the East, the right of coining money has always been generally considered as one of the privileges of sovereignty; but though theoretically every independent chief in India may claim the right to coin, the practical inconvenience to the people, caused by the multiplication of currencies, renders it not only expedient but even necessary that India, in its present circumstances, should have a coinage, uniform in size, shape, weight and purity. In this sense, Dr. Webb gives us an exhaustive account of the various coins current in Hindu Rajputana. They are very numerous, and their variety must seriously hamper inland trade. Except Udaipur, coining by Rajput princes began only in the last quarter of the 18th century, when the Mogul Empire was all but dead. Yet, nearly all the earlier coins of these nints bear the names of the Mogul Emperors. Dr. Webb, who has studied the subject deeply, gives good historical details regarding the coinage of 21 States, with valuable notes and well executed illustrations of the chief coins current.

38. *Helen Treveryan*, by Sir Mortimer Durand, K.C.I.E. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 3/6) is a pretty novel, with well drawn and interesting characters, descriptive of the European race in India. It gives a true account of both the good and the evil, instead of the grossly exaggerated libels that pass for portraits of Indian life. The incidents are well grouped and the story is diversified and well designed. From snipe-shooting to a tiger hunt,—from an inane dinner party to a war in Afghanistan, we have all the variety of scene and occupation, of incident and character peculiar to India. Sir Henry tells his tale well; and the first climax is reached with rare artistic suddenness. He is occasionally prolix. Col. Russell is very prosy; Lady Langley very strangely continues “Lady Mary” all through the book; we have “blazing mince pies”; and though a cricket-stump is “grazed,” yet the batter goes on scoring threes and fours by hits to leg. Still the novel is an excellent one, in which Anglo-Indians will delight to meet the men and women they have known, and the general reader will enjoy a true insight into Indian life and manners.

39. *Through the Sikh War*, by G. A. Henty. (London: Blackie and Son; 1894; 6s.) Mr Henty is favourably known for a long series of historical stories, most of them illustrating episodes of British valour and patriotism: this volume gives the story of the conquest of the Punjab. It has 12 good illustrations; it is full of adventure; and it is all the more interesting for bringing prominently before our young men the great advantages for those who contemplate an Indian career, of learning, betimes and thoroughly, some of the Indian languages.

40. *Matabeleland*, by A. R. Colquhoun. (London: The Leadenhall Press; 1893.) A preliminary history of South Africa is followed by descriptions of various —lands: Matabele—, Bechuana—, Manika—, Mashona—. The British South Africa Company, the present war and its origin, the progress in the output of gold and diamonds in S. Africa are all

well told ; and five important documents are given as appendices. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this small book, written by one who has a thorough knowledge of the country, and full of information not easily accessible elsewhere in compact form.

41. *Chinese Central Asia*, by *H. Lansdell, D.D.*, 2 vols. (London : Sampson Low and Co., 1893 ; 36s.) The author—no new hand at Central Asian travel—does here for Chinese Central Asia what he had already done for other portions of those immense tracts and for Siberia. He travelled *viâ* Russia : Moscow to the Caspian, Merv, Bokhara, Samarkand, Tashkend, Issik-Kul, Vierny, to the Chinese frontier. Chapter xii. deals with Manchuria, Mongolia and Sungaria. Kuldja, Aksu and Kashgar were visited, with an excursion to Khotan. Then through the Karakoram Pass, the author, who was bravely accompanied by his wife, went to Leh and through Srinagar into India. After being at Khatmandu he wandered back home, seemingly at random, going to more places than we have space to specify. Dr. Lansdell, who tells us in his dedication to the Chinese Emperor, that the main object of his journey was religion, naturally has much to say on this important subject. As a matter of course, he is not fair to religions other than his own ; and his historical sketches of them are by no means unerring. Still on this, as on other matters—political, geographical, scientific—he pleasantly gives us plentiful information. The book is well illustrated and has three good maps. But, to convert nations, a great deal more is required than such indiscriminate sale or donation of portions of Scripture, as Dr. Lansdell indulged in ; for with a rather unreasoning liberality he distributed them impartially to Catholic missionaries who have at least as good versions of their own, and to Nepalese Coolies perfectly innocent of reading or writing. While the bulk of his book is not only interesting but excellent reading, his concluding chapter, in which his missionary zeal fairly boils over in uncalled-for condemnation of others, requires a harder rap than the mild advice with which we conclude : Don't interfere with other missionaries ; Leave other Christians alone ; and Look at home first and propagate there the kingdom of God.

42. *The Pamirs*, by the *Earl of Dunmore, F.R.G.S.*, 2 vols. (London : J. Murray ; 1893 ; 24s.) Wisely eschewing politics and political prognostications, Lord Dunmore simply gives us the Diary of his long travels from Rawul Pindi to Yarkand, thence through the Pamirs to Russian Turkestan, and back to England, *viâ* Constantinople. As a diary it is excellent ; giving in a simple and pleasant style, the incidents of his long and remarkable journey, and interesting details of the country and people that he went through. He does not fail to give us historical notices of the chief places : his compendium of the doings of Russia in Central Asia is valuable. As a rule, one does not expect deep and learned research in a traveller who traverses remote countries and converses through an interpreter. But our author gives excellent descriptions of the country with its difficulties, of the scenery with its glories and desolation, of the people with their manners and customs, and of animals and their ways. There are sporting adventures of course, but nothing "loud." He is enthusiastic in his praise of the Russian officers he met, and they deserve it for their kindly hospi-

tality ; and he is sharp in his condemnation of Chinese officials of inferior rank, who seem to merit well the occasional raps he deals out. Of the Kirghiz he speaks with kindly feeling, and tells us much of their honesty, hospitality and general goodness. His suggestion that the Oxus source is the Aksu river, is deserving of consideration, and as we write is being discussed. In recording his long journey, Lord Dunmore has made a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the country he traversed and the people he met ; he gives us good maps and excellent illustrations ; and he writes always in good taste and pleasantly. We recommend the book to our readers.

43. *A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahomey, by Captain Sir Richard Burton, K.C.M.G., etc.* (London : Tylston and Edwards ; 1893 ; 2 vols. ; 12s.). This work forms the 3rd and 4th vols. of the "Memorial Edition" of this great traveller's writings, edited by his widow, Lady Burton. It contains a detailed account of a very remarkable country and its court, and describes, with perhaps too great minuteness, the rituals of Dahomeyan "customs," of which, before Capt'n. Burton's visit, tales had been spread mixed with wild exaggerations. Written in Burton's lively style, it shows his powers of observation and description, as well as his cynical disposition and too frequent indelicacy of expression. The ethnology and philology of the country are carefully treated, and there is an important chapter on the "Negro's real place in nature," in which Burton does not go into ecstasies on the future of the true African race. An Appendix gives the catalogue of the Dahomeyan Kings since 1625, with a condensed history of their deeds. Capt'n. Burton clearly foretold the gradual but sure deterioration of Dahomey, consequent on the "custom" of periodical slaughter and of an Amazonian soldiery, which by limiting reproduction caused both weakness in the country and degeneracy in its inhabitants. The continuance of these causes, during the 30 years since Burton visited Dahomey, has led to the easy breaking up of the Kingdom by the French. Burton's work was well done ; and the publishers of this edition have reproduced it in excellent style. The editing leaves something to be desired : for instance, one might reasonably have expected at least that the brief history of Dahomey would have been brought down to date, and King Behanzin mentioned ; but it ends precisely where Burton left it—at 15th March, 1864.

44. *The Mysore Census of 1891, by V. N. Narasimmayengar.* (Bangalore : The Govt. Central Press, 1893). In a volume slightly larger than that of the Imperial Census Report, we have here the special Report of the Mysore official who superintended the census operations in this, which we may call, we hope without invidious heartburnings, the model native state of India. The general results are given also in the Imperial Census report ; but here are the special details, elaborated with the greatest care ; and the work reflects the highest credit on the Mysore Government and on Mr. Narasimmayengar, the Superintendent of its census operations.

45. *Report of the 8th Indian National Congress (1892)* (Allahabad : The Indian Press, 1893) gives verbatim reports of the speeches and describes the 625 men who professed to represent Indian public opinion, which they neither represent nor even know. Educated on the European

model and elected (—all who know India know what that means—) at special town-meetings, they represent only a part of the town population of various parts of India. The Indian people are mostly rural—nearly 90 per cent. This congress, therefore, represents only a microscopical fraction,—a section by no means the most loyal, the best, the most warlike or the most important. Their self-appointed task is to pick holes in all that is. They clamour for Representative Government, which is at present an impossibility in India; and for an increase in the number of native *employés*: practically for their own nomination in both cases. Such however as it is, the body met at Allahabad, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th December, 1892, and passed 22 resolutions. These included the reform of the Legislative Councils (the last act regarding which, does not, of course, content them),—the reconstitution of the Indian Civil Service (about which a petition is to be presented to Parliament)—the separation of the judicial from the executive administration (a most desirable thing, could the finances of India bear it),—the currency question (on which they counsel inaction!),—the Jury question,—the expenditure on military and educational purposes,—“grievous distress” (in a Dadabhaian sense) among the Indian people,—the Forest laws,—a Legislative Council for the Punjab. All the 22 resolutions were “carried unanimously,” which with 625 members present, speaks volumes for independence of thought and speech. Rajputana was unrepresented, and only 4 of the 19 who hailed from the Punjab were Punjabis. The Punjab Legislative Council was proposed and seconded by two pleaders neither of whom had much to say for it or was himself a Punjabi. The seconder said (p. 109): “If I had dared to give utterance to such feelings in regard to honourable members, and if I had been a native from some native State (*sic*), then perhaps you would have found my head off my shoulders.” Just so: it is a great pity that most of the members and fautors of this pretended National Congress are not “natives of some native State.” Justice for India and the utmost consideration for the real voice and feelings of its people, we always advocate; but this Congress is quite another thing. Noisy, turbulent, dissatisfied and self-seeking, it certainly is not a representative of India and has no claim to speak in the name of India: we hope its loud talk will be treated with the contempt it deserves. Govern India with justice, be kind to the people, redress every wrong, and educate them to govern themselves—that is all that India really wants just now. Let us not mistake this sham National Congress for the Indian people.—V.

46. *A Year Amongst the Persians*, by Edward G. Browne. (London: A. and C. Black; 1893; 21s.) Mr. Browne, Lecturer in Persian at Cambridge, is well known by his writings on the Bábi movement, and anything concerning Persia, that issues from his pen, is welcome. The main interest of this book lies in its portraiture of Persian society—chiefly of the Bohemian type. His personal adventures on the journey are of no special interest to any except those contemplating a like undertaking. Indeed, as the volume is somewhat bulky, we wish that these lengthy notes of travel might have been curtailed. Not so his wonderfully vivid reproductions of discussions with Persians on metaphysics and religion. These conversational portions of his work form, as it were, a hand-book to

advanced modern Persian thought. What renders this work additionally attractive are the delightful quotations from the Persian poets, which it contains. It was at Kirman that while suffering from an attack of ophthalmia, he was induced to try the soothing effects of Opium; and it is the description of the levées he held while under the influence of the poppy, his cheerful gatherings with other Ifyûnis (or opium smokers) that form the most entertaining portion of the book. In his garden he used to meet men of every sect; and subjects of every variety, from the Indivisible Atom to Wine-bibbing, came under discussion. The book also contains amusing stories and exciting adventures, related to the author by his Persian acquaintances. Sheykh Ibrahim's narrative of how he narrowly escaped being strangled, while in prison with others of "the sect," is admirably reproduced. Of a lighter character is the story told of the mad Dervish, who with various accusations destroyed in succession four out of five little clay figures, calling them respectively "Omai, Abû Bekr, Alî, Mohammed and Allah, and was about to destroy this last when a poor man who had hidden himself in the tree under the shade of which all this had taken place, being overcome at this blasphemy, called out to the Dervish to desist, and this latter, thunderstruck at hearing this voice apparently from the clouds, fell down dead. Almost incredible is the story of the Babi courier who was detained in prison, prior to his examination, and finding no means of destroying or hiding the letters he was bearing, ate them in order to escape detection. What Mr. Browne tells us concerning the Zoroastrians is most interesting: and we are shown how liable to misapprehension is the term *fire worshipper*. Though these people are not subject to as much persecution as formerly, certain very ignominious duties with regard to Mohammedans are still incumbent upon them. They must, for example, always dismount, when they meet a Mohammedan of whatever rank or age, on the road: and all are compelled to wear the distinctive dull yellow outer garment. For the first few months of his year in Persia Mr. Browne met with no success in his search for Bábis. He unexpectedly met with the first genuine one, in the person of a pedlar, and from that time on he seems to have had but little difficulty in finding adherents to the new doctrine. What Mr. Browne tells us in this volume concerning the Báb and his followers he has for the most part already given to the world in other works; still many will read this "book of travel," and be interested to learn about the movement, who will perhaps never have heard of Mr. Browne's other more professedly learned and specialist books. A book which introduces us to the inner life of a highly imaginative nation is no mean contribution to literature and we heartily congratulate Mr. Browne on the admirable manner in which he has fulfilled his task.

47. *A Journey through the Yemen, by Walter B. Harris, F.R.G.S.* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons; 1893; 16s.) Much of the matter contained in this book has already appeared, together with many of the excellent illustrations, in the *Illustrated London News*. Mr. Harris set out with the intention of learning more than had hitherto been known about the Yemen in general and its ancient capital, Sanaa, in particular. He was, however, prevented from carrying out his task by one of the periodical revolts of the Arabs against their Turkish masters. From

his account of the Yemen rebellion we learn that though the Arabs of that province still retain a strong feeling of national independence, they are but little prepared to offer serious opposition to the high-handed Turk, who seems skilled in the art of crushing sedition. Mr. Harris's descriptions of the country are from a geographical point of view, exceedingly interesting. He shows us that the Yemen is composed of two distinct systems of country; the one waste desert plains where but little rain falls during the year, and the other a country of hills, valleys and plateaux, well watered and "enjoying a climate that for salubrity may be said to equal any in the tropics." The time of rebellion is not the most suitable for travelling in a country, and it is surprising that the author contrived to gather so much information as he did. For in spite of his passports some of his time was spent in prison as a supposed spy. His ultimate release was due to attacks of fever which led the Governor to fear that he might possibly soon have to account for a European corpse.

48. *الفرائد الدريّة* (The flashing unique pearls). This is a new edition of the *Arabic-French* Vocabulary issued by the well-known Catholic press at Beyrout and compiled by Father J. B. Belot S.J. (Price 10 francs.) The volume contains a mass of information, consisting as it does, of 994 pages royal 8vo in small print. As the work is intended for the constant, practical use of students of Arabic, it is difficult to see why so little attention should have been paid to a proper arrangement of roots and derivations by which reference might be rapid and easy, and, secondly, why the Arabic type chosen should, with the exception of that used on the title page, be so very hideous and small. In studying such a very difficult language as Arabic the object surely is to gain access to the vast ocean of Arabic literature. That literature is intimately connected with the Muhaminadan religion and Muhammadan thought and civilization; in fact, true classical Arabic—the only Arabic worth studying—may almost be called a product of Islām. Yet, in spite of this incontrovertible circumstance, the learned Jesuit father leaves out as much as possible the Moslem ingredient of the language, thus depriving his work of most of its value. As an instance of what we mean, we may cite the words *شريف* (Sherif) and *سيد* (Sayyad) the correct or usual meaning of which is not even indicated; on the other hand *سيدة* (Sayyadat) a term applicable to the Virgin Mary, figures conspicuously—but *cui bono* to the real student?

49. *The Moslem Present* (Bombay: 'Abdul 'Ali Faizullābhāi Moochālā and Co.; London: Williams and Norgate). Under this heading it is, we gather, intended to issue as a series an Anthology of Arabic Poems bearing on the faith of Islām. Part I. which is before us is the celebrated قصيدة البردة "The Poem of the Scarf" by *Sharfuddīn Abu 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin Sa'eed al Misree*, more usually known by his surname of *Būsaree*. The text is edited by *Shaikh Faizullāh Bhai* and to it is added a very good translation into English, as well as a commentary of some merit. A few of the explanations in the latter, however, do not increase the reader's knowledge of the text in the least and nothing warrants their having been printed. Thus, on the first page, the note to the line "Or is it because the wind has blown from the direction of Kāzimah," points out

that *Kázimah* is the "name of a place," and in the line "Or is it because lightning has flashed . . . from the mount of Izam," Izam is explained to be the "name of a mountain"! Absurdities such as these tend to detract from a work which, otherwise, all Arabists must hail with pleasure.

50. *An Essay on the Pre-Islamitic Arabic Poetry* is by the learned editor and translator of the preceding work and is issued by the same publishers. There is much of interest in the author's sketch especially in the portion devoted to the consideration of the famous "Suspended Poems."

51. *Elementary Arabic Text and Glossary* by F. Du Pré Thornton. (London: W. H. Allen and Co.) This is a useful book for beginners of Arabic,—not by itself, but in conjunction with other works of a more comprehensive and systematic scope. It reminds us of the notes a diligent student might make for himself, during one term's study of Arabic; such notes are no doubt helpful, but they are rarely published. Mr. Thornton is to be congratulated for his correct appreciation of the value of classical Arabic. Flügel's "Concordantiae" are very well known to scholars, and as the work was not issued yesterday by some promising young German Arabist, it is silly to refer to the author as "Herr Gustav Flügel." Mr. Thornton would exclude the greater portion of valuable Arab literature, by recognising that portion only as classical, that antedates the downfall of the Benu 'Omayya. The great literary life of the Arabs may, on the contrary, be said to have only commenced with the last years of the 'Omayyides and the accession to power of the descendant of 'Abbās.

52. A book bearing a superficial resemblance to Mr. Thornton's "Elementary Arabic Text" but, unlike the former, capable of being placed by itself, into the hands of beginners of Arabic and thoroughly adapted to the requirements of a systematic elementary course, is *M. J. Harfouch's* "Le Premier Livre de l'Arabisant" issued by the Imprimerie Catholique of Beyrout. Some of the transliterations are startling to English eyes; thus *Sinn*, a tooth, is given (in the nominative) as *Sinnon*.

53. *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, by Prof. Victor Chauvin (Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne). A carefully compiled and scholarly bibliography of Arabic works, or works bearing on the Arabs, published in Europe during the period 1810 to 1885.

54. *Ghazels from the Divan of Hafiz* done into English by Justin Huntly McCarthy (David Nutt; 7s. 6d.). It is difficult to criticise this book; its exterior appearance and contents are alike charming and as the author does not pretend to have either given a literal translation or to have made any contribution to Oriental scholarship, it is idle to dwell on verbal mistranslations or on occasional constructions that are only very loosely connected with the original Persian text. The author inclines neither to a mystical nor to an essentially materialistic translation of Hâfiz, but he takes the verses as he finds them and interprets them according to the ordinary Persian vocabulary, as best he can. For the general reader, alive to the charms of Oriental thought and mental imagery, this will prove a delightful volume and there is no doubt that, apart from isolated passages, the author certainly conveys the general meaning of the poet deducible from the Persian text in its exoteric garb.

55. We have to record with much gratification the issue of two works

from the *Cambridge University Press* that will be welcome to Orientalists in widely different fields of study. One is the *Tarikh-i-Jadid*, "The New History" referring to the Bâb and the Bâbi movement from the standpoint of the Bâbi sect of Behâis. It is translated from the Persian by Mr. E. G. Browne of Cambridge, well known for his great attainments as a Persian scholar and as an authority on the Bâbis—witness his "Traveller's Narrative of the Bâb" published about a year ago. Another excellent work by this same author on Persia is discussed in our present issue. The *Tarikh-i-Jadid* is introduced by a portrait of Subh-I-Ezel the *de jure* successor of the Bâb, round whom, however, only a few of the faithful still gather, by far the greater number having been carried away by the more practical genius of Behâullah. Mr. Brown's Introduction is by no means the least interesting or instructive part of the book, which to some extent covers the same ground as the "Traveller's Narrative," with the difference that it is more condensed, and also "edited," with the view of glorifying Behâ at the expense of the Bâb.

A really impartial and trustworthy history would be a desideratum, and it is singularly unfortunate that through the force of circumstances the genuine original history should still be untranslated, whilst its two later developments have received publicity in English.

Whilst confidently predicting, therefore, a still further contribution to the Bâb question, on similar lines, from the pen of Mr. Browne, we can in the meanwhile recommend the *Tarikh-i-Jadid* to the perusal of those who are either interested in the matter itself, or in Persian literature, or in philosophical enquiries and questions of religious development and ideals.

56. The other volume of the Cambridge Press, entitled "The Mummy," is by Mr. E. A. W. Budge, the Assistant-Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum. It is a work showing considerable erudition; around the Mummy and Egyptian Funeral Archaeology a mass of information is grouped, embracing almost all the main results of Egyptology and our knowledge of that marvellous people of long past ages. The history and methods of the decipherment of Hieroglyphics are very ably dealt with, the merits of Akerblad, Young and Champollion, as original discoverers, are discussed, and even the failures of other investigators are noted; above all, such a large collection of cartouches and hieroglyphic inscriptions with their transliterations and renderings is given, that the work, in spite of its somewhat unsystematic arrangement, is quite indispensable alike to learners and the learned in Egyptology. We regret that the space at our disposal has only allowed us to refer to the main features of Mr. Budge's excellent and most interesting volume.

57. *Romance of the Insect World*, by L. N. Badenoch, with illustrations by Margaret Badenoch (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893; 6s.). This is a charming volume profusely and artistically illustrated, written in an easy and entertaining manner and at the same time, scientifically accurate. It gives the reader a glimpse into the mysteries of the insect world and will fascinate both young and old and interest alike the unscientific and specialist. The book concludes with a very full and accurate glossary of scientific terms and a carefully compiled index.

58. *The Rival Powers in Central Asia*, by Josef Popowski. Translated by A. B. Brabant and edited by C. E. D. Black. (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster, 1893, 8vo.) This is a very remarkable work which should be in the hands of every statesman and politician interested, as who is not, in "the Eastern Question" in the wide sense which begins with Turkey and ends with India and China. The author rather disentangles than dissects that Gordian knot, but his conclusions, like the various endings of a game of chess, all result in the "checkmate" of England unless she joins the Triple Alliance. Step by step, this unimpassioned Austrian, who regrets what he foresees but cannot avoid, shows a number of possible combinations which all end in the common disaster, unless Russia is attacked in the Caucasus and what is now Circassia, without the Circassians, is wrenched from her. This book should be read, so far as the invasion of India by Russia is concerned, side by side with Sir Charles McGregor's "Defence of India" which it confirms or corrects in many particulars. The Map which accompanies the work showing the Panir region and part of Afghanistan in connection with the N.W. Frontier of India, is simply invaluable at the present conjuncture of affairs, and shows the importance of Mr. C. E. D. Black's co-operation, though we do not agree in all of his conclusions and consider his spelling of Oriental names, such as Miyan for Miyûn, incorrect as also a part of his version of Gilgit-Chitrâl affairs which appears to be based on official documents. Amidst the mass of accounts of Central Asia and of Russian designs, this book stands out as *the one par excellence* which combines accurate knowledge with the calmest of judgments.

59. We hear that Messrs. W. H. Allen, whose revived energies, as attested by many recent publications, are worthy of the great traditions of that Firm, intend to bring out, among other works on Oriental Literature, a second Edition of the most valuable "DICTIONARY OF ISLAM" by the Rev. T. P. Hughes, B.D., for many years a Church Missionary at Peshawar, without which no Student of Muhammadanism should be. If we, however, might venture "to paint the lily," we would suggest the omission of the Chapter on the "SIKHS" who are, in no sense, adherents of that faith, and whose *raison d'être*, on the contrary, is opposition to its followers and special tenets. This Chapter has been contributed by one who was never in India. It may be hypercriticism to object to an addition to the Mussulman treasury to which Mr. Hughes' Dictionary is the key; but it is, nevertheless, an incongruity which disfigures an authoritative work of reference. We would also suggest some modifications under the head of what sacrifices are required at the I'd festival, although Mr. Hughes' view supports the contention of this Review on the "cow-killing" question. Finally, we would recommend an alteration in the treatment of the question of the Khalifa, as the legitimate successor of the Prophet in Sunni acceptance. It is a "Shiah" notion to require him to be of Koreish descent; the Sunnis reject the hereditary principle and elect their Chief, though they accept the Sultan of Turkey as Khalifa by the *consent of the faithful*. If he also had not the power to enforce his orders by an army, he could not remain the Khalifa, for the Grand Sherif of Mecca is of the purest Koreish descent and yet

is not the Khalifa. To sum up—there are two kinds of Khalifas as “Defenders of the Faith”: “the perfect” and “the imperfect.” The former unites all the qualifications of descent, intellect and moral conduct, which a Khalifa *should* have; the latter is what “a Defender of the Faith” may happen to be as a matter of fact, the mere *secular* Head, lending his power to the support of his faith, but ceasing to be “a Defender,” should he cease to be a Monarch. Let Mr. Hughes, therefore, modify his statement as to what constitutes a legitimate Khalifa.

INDEX TO REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

W. H. Allen and Co., Nos. 1, 6, 14, 16, 20, 29, 51 and 59.

Berger-Levrault, No. 35. *A. and C. Black*, 5 and 46. *Blackie and Son*, 39.

Blackwood and Sons, Nos. 9 and 47. (See also p. i of advertisements.)

Chapman and Hall, Nos. 13 and 18. *Cassell and Co.*, 7.

A. Constable and Co., 33, 37 and 58.

The Cambridge University Press, Nos. 55 and 56. (See also p. iii of advertisements.)

The Clarendon Press (H. Frowde), Nos. 10 and 31, and *special* reviews on pp. 148-153. (See also advertisement on outside cover.)

Eyre and Spottiswoode, No. 23. *Fisher Unwin*, 12 and 26. *W. Heine-
mann*, 27.

Kegan Paul and Co., Nos. 3, 19 and 21. *Leadenhall Press*, 40. *Le Monnier*, 28.

Macmillan and Co., Nos. 8, 38 and 57. *John Murray*, 42. *D. Nutt*, 54.

Osgood, McIlwaine and Co., Nos. 15 and 38. *G. P. Putnam's Sons*, 17 and 24.

Religious Tract Society, No. 4. *Sampson Low and Co.*, 41. *Swan
Sonnenschein and Co.*, 25 and 34.

H.M.'s Stationery Office, No. 36. *Thacker and Co.*, 2.

Tylston and Edwards, No. 43. (See also p. iv of advertisements.)

Vaillant-Carmanne, No. 53. *F. Warne and Co.*, 22. *Williams and
Norgate*, 49 and 50. *Wesleyan Mission House*, 30.

Allahabad Indian Press, 45. *Bangalore Govt. Press*, 44.

Bombay Education Society's Press, 11. *Beirut Catholic Press*, 48 and 52.

In pursuance of the intention announced in our last issue of reviewing, or specially noticing, all available publications, so far as we can ascertain them, in Oriental Languages and Literature, whether new or old, we have much pleasure in drawing attention to the last Catalogue of the eminent Antiquarian and Publisher, Mr. Bernard Quaritch, of 15, Piccadilly, which is inserted at the end of this Review, and in which Scholars and Students of various Oriental specialities will find treasures within their reach.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE have just received W. and A. Keith Johnston's *Atlas of India* (7s. 6d.), containing 15 maps with letter-press explanations and an Index: on a preliminary examination we find it excellent. We have received also, too late for review in this number, 1. *Words on Existing Religions*, by the Hon. A. S. G. Canning. (London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1893; 3s. 6d.)

2. *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, by Stanley Lane-Poole. (Westminster : A. Constable and Co. 1894.) 3. *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLI. : *The Satapatha Brahmana*, by J. Eggeling. (Oxford : The Clarendon Press ; 1894.) The great pressure on our space compels us to postpone notices of 4. *Alexanarian and Carthaginian Theology contrasted*, by the Rev. J. B. Heard (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1893), and 5. *Christianity and the Ideal of Humanity*, by Prof. Blackie. (Edinburgh : D. Douglas ; 1893.) 6. *The Caricature of German in English Schools*, by Curt Abel-Musgrave. (London : W. Rice), a pamphlet showing the defects of the German grammars in use in English schools. 7. *Report on the Bombay Presidency Local Boards, for 1891-92* : the annual Blue-book on this subject, full of statistical and other information. 8. *A Maori Dictionary*, by Bishop W. Williams, D.C.L. (Auckland : Upton and Co., London : Williams and Norgate ; 1892.) 9. *The Burman Empire*, by Father San Germano, edited by the Hon. J. Jardine. (Westminster : A Constable and Co. 1893.)

The Government of Burma has favoured the Oriental University Institute with the following books which we propose to review, as also other works of a Government that is doing much for the promotion of the Oriental Learning of Burmah and adjacent countries : 10. *A Mission to Mandalay in 1867*, by Col. A. Fytche. 11. *Notes on Buddhist Laws*, by J. Jardine. 12. *An Essay on the Sources and development of Burman Laws*, by the late E. Forchhammer, Ph.D. 13. *King Wagaru's Manu Dhammasatcham*, by Dr. E. Forchhammer. 14. *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, by Dr. E. Forchhammer. 15. *Essay on the Languages of the Southern Chins*, by Bernard Houghton, C.S. 16. *Maung Fet Pyo's Customary Laws of the Chins, with a preface by J. Jardine*. 17. *The Gazetteer of Burma* ; Vols. I. and II. 18. *Paramatthasurupa bhedani*. 19. *Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language*, by the Rev. J. M. Haswell.

We have likewise to acknowledge, with thanks :—1. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisbon* (12 series, Nos. 1 and 2), in which we note a journey by C. J. Alford from Durban to Beira in 1892 ;—2. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (October, 1893), where Mr. J. Burgess gives a good paper on Hindu Astronomy, and Major Conder on Hittite Writing ;—3. *Annual Report of the National Indian Association for 1892* (Constable and Co.) ;—4. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, in which is a profusely illustrated paper of "Studien zur germanischen Volkskunde," by Prof. Dr. R. Meangir ;—5. *Transactions of the Japanese Society*, Vol. I., giving, besides a list of Members, the Proceedings for 1892 and for April 1893, and containing many beautiful illustrations and valuable papers on Japanese art ;—6. *Journal of the East India Association*, 1893, containing a paper by Mr. Pennington refuting Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's oft-repeated assertions of Indian poverty ;—7. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III., No. 2, in which the progress of this science in India is noted by Mr. H. H. Risley ;—8. *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Madrid* (Madrid : Fortanet and Co., 1893), full, as usual, of valuable geographical information ;—9. *La Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome : A. Boffani, the well-known leading Catholic Continental periodical ;—

10. *Biblia*, an American monthly magazine of Oriental research (Meriden : Conn., U.S.A.);—11. *La Revue Générale* (Bruxelles : Soc. Belge de Librairie);—12. *The Review of Reviews*, by W. T. Stead;—13. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—14. *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, U.S.A.);—15. *The Tropical Agriculturist* (Colombo : A. and J. Ferguson), a useful monthly, full of technical information;—16. *The Monthly Literary Register*, from the same place and publishers;—17. *The Contemporary Review* (London : Isbister and Co.);—18. *The National Review* (London : W. H. Allen and Co.);—19. *La Minerva* (Roma : Società Laziale), a good spicilegium from English and other Reviews;—20. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris : Rue St. Simon);—21. *The Strand Magazine*, and 22. *The Picture Magazine*—both maintaining their usual excellence;—23. *The Religious Review of Reviews*;—24. *The Missionary Review* (New York : Funk and Wagnalls);—25. *Tung-Pao*, a bi-monthly Chinese Magazine of Professors G. Schlegel and H. Cordier (Leyden : E. J. Brill);—26. *Comptes Rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—27. *Lucifer* (London);—28. *The Royal Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine* (Edinburgh);—29. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—30. *Marine et Colonies* (Paris);—31. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York);—32. *Public Opinion* (London);—33. *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart);—34. *Journal of the Society of Arts* (London);—35. *The Moslem World* (New York);—36. *India* (London);—37. *Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris);—38. *La Revue d'Orient* (Buda-Pest);—39. Major A. H. H. Mercer and the Duke of Cambridge (Blackheath : C. North, 1893);—40. *The Illustrated English Magazine*. Want of space prevents our noticing many others in detail.

We have just seen, and hope to review in our next issue, the fairly edited two volumes of the Transactions of the Oriental Congress that met in London in 1892 and arrogated to itself the name and title of the Congress held in the previous year, which it dropped under a threat of legal proceedings and reassumed when the time for them had passed. The meeting of 1892 was a failure and the publication of both the valuable and the waste papers that were read, or not read, before it, will still further show this, though such publication will not be permitted under the usurped name of the "9th International Congress of Orientalists" which took place under the Statutes with such éclat the previous year, to which Her Majesty sent a message, at which 37 Governments and nations were represented and where 192 papers were read which form a Library of Reference not only on all subjects of Oriental research, but also on their practical application in education, politics and commerce. The Tenth Congress of the legitimate series has long ago issued its publications from Lisbon and the Eleventh will take place at Paris in 1895 on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the famous Paris Oriental School, *l'École des langues orientales vivantes*. There may, however, be a successor of the pseudo-Ninth of 1892, by a pseudo-Tenth of Geneva to be held this year, if the authorities and learned bodies of that city are misled into holding a second Tenth, which would be an affront to the King and people of Portugal and a stultification of their own action in sending a representative of the University of Geneva to the legitimate "Ninth" of 1891.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The office of Viceroy, after much delay, has at last been accepted by the Rt. Honble. Victor Alexander Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine. His Lordship, who starts for India early in January, will be the 10th Viceroy and 25th Governor General : we sincerely wish him a prosperous and useful career, in the unknown regions which will soon be under his sway. It is an open secret that the continual interference of secretaries of state and parliamentary busybodies renders leading men at home disinclined to assume what is the greatest and used to be one of the most coveted of appointments in the gift of a Ministry. Lord Lansdowne has been spending the concluding months of his Indian career in a tour through the country. After seeing Agra, he proceeded to Burma, visited Rangoon, Mandalay, Bhamo and Prome, and returned to Calcutta. Unfortunately some deaths from cholera occurred among the Chin chiefs who had come to visit him, which may lead to renewed trouble among those ignorant tribes, who are sure to attribute the deaths to the disapproval of their submission by the Nats, if not to poison. The Commander in Chief's tour includes the Punjab, N. W. Provinces and a visit to Nepal. The Hon. M. Mehta of Bombay and the Hon. Mir Humayon Jah Bahadur of Madras have been appointed additional members of the Governor General's Council ; and Mr. James Westland, C.S.I., succeeds Sir D. Barbour as Financial Member. We hope he will be a greater success than his predecessor ; and recommend him to study the effects of buying his own gold in India and ending, once for all, the evils to Indian finance of the sale in London of Indian Council Bills. The exchange during the quarter touched $1.3\frac{8}{32}$,—fell back to 1.3 , rose again to $1.3\frac{7}{32}$, and as we write has once more fallen to $1.3\frac{2}{32}$. The repeal of the Sherman Bill in America has exercised no appreciable influence on the Indian market, showing conclusively that its fluctuations were not solely due to the fall in the price of silver. A Bill has been passed authorizing a Loan of £10,000,000, to meet the Home Charges, and this, stopping the sale of Councils Bills, will leave the settlement of exchange solely as a commercial transaction. The principle is right ; but the borrowing in England simply adds to the charges which India will eventually have to pay and aggravates the evil of their continual increase. The gold required could easily be purchased in India and sent to England without further borrowing. The " Member for India " was absent from the discussion on this Bill, having gone to preside over the IXth Session of the so-called National Congress, at Lahore. The import of silver, lately on the decline, is again increasing.

The chief event in India has been the successful mission of Sir H. Mortimer Durand to Kabul. Going as the Amir's guests, the mission was everywhere received with great honour and hospitality ; and the negotiations, so far as is known at present, were completely successful. All through, the Amir was kindness itself and cordiality. Chitral, Bajaur, Swat and the neighbouring states in the Indo-Kohistan are declared under British influence, the Amir retaining Asmar, north of Jelalabad. The

Kurram valley remains as already settled. The Waziris, including Wana, pass under British influence, thus securing the Gomal route, and rounding off the Zhob valley. The Amir withdraws from Chareh in Beluchistan; and New Chaman is secured. The Amir's annual subsidy is raised from 12 to 18 *lakhs*; and the restrictions imposed a year ago on the importation of arms and stores to Afghanistan are removed. We congratulate Sir Henry Durand on his success; his action in Afghanistan has been a model for courtesy and business-like ability.

The report of Dr. Voelcker, who in 1889-90 investigated the state of agriculture in India, has induced the Indian Government to hold a conference of the Directors of the Agricultural Departments of the various local Governments of India, under the presidency of Sir E. Buck: much technical matter has been proposed, discussed and adopted. The Telegraph Department reports a good dividend, and an increase in private traffic of Rs. 350,000. There was a loss of Rs. 150,000 consequent on the reduced charges for Australia: 179 new offices and 2,415 more miles were opened, at a cost of Rs. 1,750,000. The telegraph is working between Srinagar and Astor. The Indo-European Telegraph Dept. showed a nett profit of Rs. 437,668, against Rs. 162,034 in 1891.

A railway conference was held at Simla. Government have resolved to encourage private enterprise in railways by granting the free use of land, by providing rolling stock, and maintaining and working new lines by their main line administrations at favourable rates, by making surveys at the expense of the State, by conveying stores and *materiel* over State lines on easy terms, by granting limited rebates from main line earnings towards ensuring $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ on capital; each project, however, will be considered on its own merits, for the concession of some or all of these favours. The Government are also prepared to have lines carried out for capitalists, by their Public Works Department. The Railway returns for the half year ending 30th September showed 15,694 miles, and an increase of Rs. 150,000 over that of the previous year. The Great Indian Peninsular, the East Indian, the Rajputana-Malwa, and the Burma State lines showed a loss; all the other lines had improved. An accident at Karaimada in Coimbatore resulted in 39 killed and 45 wounded: it was due to a flood. The Indian Govt. despatch on simultaneous Civil Service examinations was sent to England in November.

The scandalous Mymensingh case has been compromised. Mr. Phillips has apologised for his blunders, and Raja Surja Kanth Acharya has withdrawn his suit for Rs. 60,000 damages for malicious prosecution. This matter requires further attention. The Government of Bengal has successfully organized the sale at the Post Offices, of quinine in 5 grain doses for 1 pice (= 1.5 farthing); in September 120,000 doses were sold. In 1892, private individuals in Bengal spent Rs. 441,407, of which $\frac{3}{4}$ were for tanks.

The mischievous Opium Commission is now conducting its labours in India and Burma; and, as in England, is receiving flatly contradictory evidence. To help its decisions, the Government has ordered the careful compilation of opium statistics, especially in the native Army, where its consumers are continually under careful European supervision, both

medical and military. This, Sir J. Pease, with characteristic unfairness, calls "straining every nerve" in favour of Opium. Had the Government not acted as they have, he would equally have blamed them for obstructing the commission. Meanwhile we note that the statistics of the Oriental Life Insurance Co. have proved that, during 20 years of their operations, not one death has been recorded due to opium, and that its use is so well known not to produce the mighty evils alleged against it, that they actually have no extra premium for opium-takers. We have to record another evil result of this continued interference about opium: under the pressure of the Home Government, 21 opium "dens" were closed in Bombay, on the 31st July;—the "dens" had a regular hour for closing, were under police supervision, and their owners had to maintain order and to eject bad characters. Within four months, 60 known Opium "clubs" have been formed, besides secret ones. Both are private, and can be used without interference from the police; for when their managers were promptly prosecuted, the courts declared that no law was violated, and that they must be allowed to continue their work. So, rash interference actually is aggravating the very thing which these agitators abuse.

More rioting and ill feeling, connected with religious celebrations is reported from various places,—among others from Nassick, Bhopal, and Esakheyl in the Bunnu district. We are glad to see that local committees have been formed, of both Hindu and Muhammadan gentlemen, to cultivate a spirit of conciliation and goodwill, between the two bodies. We wish them and the Government every success in this good work. In this connection, the Indian papers call attention to the fact that a spirit of sedition and ill-feeling is on the increase, and state that the recent fire at Peshawur, in the Commissariat Transport Stores, resulting in a loss of Rs.500,000, was almost certainly the work of an incendiary. Some of the European papers speak of a feeling of unrest, disquiet and dissatisfaction among the natives, which is not reassuring for quiet and peace in the future. We trust, however, that they will prove false prophets. India will be loyal unless her interests are unjustly sacrificed to English party politics and fanatical busybodies; and whatever unrest may exist is due to the fact that, in many cases of late, there have been indications that such a sacrifice is not impossible. The muddle about exchange and currency, the opium-commission, and similar acts of neglect on the one side and interference on the other, are not conducive to the tranquillity of the country. The Behar Zemindars are memorializing the Secretary of State against the Cadastral Survey.

Among signs of increasing mercantile activity in India we note, that a fortnightly line of steamers is projected between Bombay and China and Japan; that two match factories have been established in Calcutta; that the tea crop was estimated at 126,750,000 lb. (of which 117,750,000 lb. were for Great Britain), and a new industry was started in tea-seed oil, as a preservative for timber; that the output of paper (manufactured in 9 mills) has risen from 7,250,000 lb. in 1892 to 26,500,000 lb. last year; that the Indigo crop in the North West Provinces was 57,000 factory maunds, or 8 per cent. over the average of the last 12 years; that 38,000,000 gallons

of petroleum were imported from Russia and 26,000,000 from America—the Russian trade having doubled in 3 years while the American is continually falling off; the output of Indian coal was 2,537,696 tons, an increase of 200,000 tons over that of 1891. The price of Indian coal was Rs. 3.29 per ton, against Rs. 17.61 for foreign coal. The number of emigrants from India was 12,318—chiefly to Demerara, Natal, Trinidad, Dutch Guiana and Fiji—the highest number yet reached having been 20,000 in 1891. The foreign trade of India, (April—September, 1893) exceeds that in 1891 by $3\frac{3}{4}$ *crores*, the railway improved 66 lakhs.

In the quarter ending June, 1893, no less than 454 books were registered in the Punjab alone, an unusually large proportion reaching a fairly high standard. It is announced that Professor Bühler, with the co-operation of several Oriental scholars, will publish an Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan subjects, on a systematic plan, in 6 sections, (1) the History of Indo-European research, (2) the Indo-Aryan Languages, (3) Literature, (4) History, (5) Religions, and (6) Secular sciences and arts.

In 1892, there were recorded 2,963 deaths from wild beasts, and 19,025 from snake-bite; 81,000 cattle perished from these causes, and 85,000 snakes were destroyed: all the figures show an improvement over 1891.

Heavy floods are reported from the Punjab, where Gurdaspore and Pathankote were almost destroyed, with much loss of life. Peshawur has suffered from a severe earthquake in addition to the fire recorded elsewhere. Several destructive fires occurred in Bombay, accompanied with loss of life and much property, and in one case rendering 500 persons houseless. A strike of over 1,000 hands took place at the Star of India mills, Bombay, owing to the introduction of changes disadvantageous to the labourers: other hands, however, were easily secured. Some dissatisfaction has been caused in military circles from the nomination to the Meerut command of a distinguished officer whose many excellent qualities do not include the practical military experience and training necessary for the successful manipulation of troops.

The new Royal Exchange Buildings have been opened at Calcutta—a magnificent pile. Rs. 30,000 have been sanctioned for quarters for the European subordinates of the Ordnance Dept. in the Allahabad Fort; Rs. 90,000 for Officers' Quarters at Gharial, near Murree; Rs. 100,000 for the enlargement of the cordite factories at Dumdum and Dukhinsore; and Rs. 25,000 for permanent huts at Khajuri Kach. A total of Rs. 2,054,000 have been sanctioned for expenditure on military works for 1894-5. Eighteen miles of a metre-gauge Railway have been opened from Deesa to Palampur. Seth Lachman Das of Muttra has given a donation of Rs. 4,000 to the Dufferin Fund, which has also benefited to the amount of Rs. 20,000 from Lal Kumal Narayan Singh of Khairagarh and other benefactors. Mr. J. Cowasji Jehangir made a gift of Rs. 200,000 (£12,700) to the Imperial Institute in London, on condition that it should be used exclusively for the benefit of Indian students. The Institute authorities have applied it for the erection of a Hall for lectures; and as this can in no sense be said to fulfil the condition imposed, there seems, at first sight, a misuse of this generous gift.

From the NATIVE STATES, we hear that the Maharaja of Bhaunagar has given £200 to the University of Cambridge for a prize which the Senate have decided to give annually to the candidate for the Indian Civil Service who shall have passed best in honours in the University. The Begum of Bhopal, after a visit to the Viceroy at Simla returned to her capital, *viâ* Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi and Agra. She gave large sums to the Golden Temple, and to various schools and institutes, and Rs. 1,000 towards the Roberts Statue in Calcutta. The Udaipur State is constructing a local railway, 60 miles in length. A daughter of the Maharao Rana has been espoused to the minor Raja of Jeypur, Vizianagram district. The Gaekwar of Baroda, who has returned home from another visit to England, has introduced compulsory elementary education in his state: all children must attend,—boys from 7 to 12 and girls from 7 to 10 years of age. The Maharaja Holkar of Indore, continuing his personal investigations into the affairs of his state, has discovered a defalcation of Rs. 900,000; he is now carefully examining the case, which is of a very complicated nature. The Maharaja of Kapurthala also has returned home, after a tour through Europe, where, among other places, he visited Vienna. The Maharaja of Dinajpur has received the thanks of the Bengal Government for his gift of Rs. 1,000 towards the hospital building, at Dinajpur, and of Rs. 2,700, the entire expenses of the lady doctor for its women's ward. At Hyderabad, where Sir Asman Jah has taken leave of absence for six months, the Vikar ul Umrah has succeeded as Prime Minister. The Nizam has imposed a duty of 5 per cent. on silver. In the Mysore State, the Representative Assembly met as usual, and the report made to it showed a most flourishing condition. The revenue had increased Rs. 2,150,000 since 1891-92, and Rs. 6,200,000 since 1880-81; it amounted to 1 *crore* and 66 *lakhs*. The land revenue showed an increase of Rs. 1,650,000, excise Rs. 350,000, stamps 100,000, the royalty on gold mines Rs. 72,000. The Kolar gold mine alone had produced 163,138 oz. of gold—an increase of 37,757 oz. on the previous year. There was a surplus of Rs. 850,000, the total credit in hand being Rs. 9,400,000, deducting railway capital and expenditure. An Infants' Marriage Prevention Bill was introduced and one for Game Preservation. The admirable condition of this State reflects the highest credit on the Maharaja, on the Dewan Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, and on their excellent staff of officers.

His Excellency Sir Clement Thomas, Governor General of the French Indies has returned to France, and pending the nomination of his successor, his place is taken by M. Deloncle, the Directeur de l'Intérieur.

The revenue of Portuguese India, for 1892-3 was Rs. 1,981,514; the expenditure, Rs. 2,311,052: deficit Rs. 329,538.

The supplies for this winter to Chilas have been sent *via* the Babusar Pass, which route General Lockhart has recently inspected. The 23rd Punjab Pioneer have been repairing the fort at Nilt, having finished the road over the Babusar Pass, along which four Block-houses have been built to shelter post-runners and other travellers in bad weather. Coal has been discovered at Sharigh, (Khost) and Gundak, in Beluchistan, and petroleum borings continued at Sukkar. There has been a successful

Horse show at Quettah which is expected to conduce to an improvement in horse breeding. It has been finally decided that the permanent British garrison in the Mekran shall be withdrawn; but the political officer, during his annual tour of inspection, which usually lasts several months, will be attended by a strong escort of all three arms. This, it is hoped, will suffice to preserve British prestige and influence. The new Khan, Mir Mahmud Khan, has been installed at Khelat. The Waziris attacked a caravan at Dubra in the Gomal pass, slew four men and carried off 60 camels with their loads. Our post at Khajuri Kach, only 9 miles off, did not get the news till the following afternoon: this speaks well for our vigilance on the frontiers.

IN AFGHANISTAN a survey has been made for a steam Tramway outside the city; and our mission reports the Amir's factories to be in excellent order, and turning out good work. In the Pamirs, Col. Vannofsky, son of the Russian minister for war, tried to march across Afghan territory from Murghabi to Derwaz. The Amir's officers refused permission, and on his persisting in his attempt, fired on the party and drove it off. They eventually reached their destination by the route they should first have taken, through their own territory. The news is confirmed that the Russian troops at Murghabi have really been increased. For the rest however, all has been quiet in the Pamirs.

CEYLON has had a bad N.E. monsoon, the rainfall having been only a quarter of the average. The cocoanut export for 1892 amounted to Rs. 11,524,755: the number of nuts exported whole was 275,306,858. The total imports of 1892 were £4,417,968, against exports £3,891,997. The Railway report for 1892, gives the number of miles open at just under 200 on which the receipts greatly exceed those of the previous year, and give a dividend of 6 per cent. on capital. A new Post and Telegraph office at Colombo has cost Rs. 270,000; and the northern arm of the breakwater has been sanctioned. Two select elephants have been shipped for Africa, to help in the capture and training of elephants there.

Lord Ripon's circular offering a change of terms to members of the Colonial Civil service has not met a favourable reception. In the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, 125 refused it, 40 accepted it, and 50 gave no reply.

IN BURMA, the report on the Mergui Coal fields estimates the available output at 1,000,000 tons; but the district is remote from commercial centres and labour is costly. The revenue has increased 10 *lakhs* in Upper and 11 *lakhs* in Lower Burma. Upper Burma, rev. Rs. 7,200,000 against Rs. 6,300,000; Lower Burma, Rs. 15,900,000 against Rs. 14,700,000—total 23,100,000 against 21,000,000. The area of rice cultivation in the 10 principal districts has increased from 4,613,477 acres to 4,693,918 acres. Mr. Aubrey Paton has succeeded Col. Conway Gordon in charge of the Ruby mines. The Jade mines' licence was put up at Mandalay and fetched only Rs. 52,000 for 3 years, against Rs. 35,000 for one year, last year. The Mergui pearl fishery is increasing in value. The mercantile community of Rangoon have memorialized the Viceroy in Council for making Burma a Lieutenant Governorship, for a High Court and a Representative Legislative Council. Two Chinese officers were sent by the Prefect

of Yunnan to visit, with the English officers, the places on the frontier which are in dispute. Matters seem approaching a satisfactory termination.

SIAM has carried out her share of the "agreement" forced upon her by France; and England has acquiesced in the unjust arrangement, by agreeing with France to create a "Buffer State" on the upper Mekong, which we hope (but do not expect) may prove a source of less anxiety and expense than the corresponding one on the west. The terms of the convention were, briefly: (1) Sovereign rights of Cambodia and Annam over the right bank of the Mekong; (2) exclusion of Siamese forces, naval or military, from the great Lake of Mekong; (3) prohibition of Siamese fortified posts along the Mekong, within 25 kilometres of the right bank; (4) this zone to be open to French subjects with the requisite passes; and Siamese subjects in that zone to have similar rights on the French side; (5) this zone to be duty free for imports and exports; (6) the French to have consulates at Muongnam and Korat; (7) restricts the number of Siamese police at the great Lake and in the 25 kilometre zone to those absolutely necessary for order; (8) in case of dispute the French wording of the treaty is to be followed; and (9) it must be ratified within 4 months of its signature. Two Siamese Princes, the brother and the eldest son of the King, are travelling in Europe. The King has promised £100 a year for 12 years towards the expenses of Prof. Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East Series. The French have compelled the Laos at Tung Chien to unpaid *corvée* labour and on their refusing to work, shot them down. The entire Hill country of Tonquin is said to be in full revolt; the French forces confined to their posts; the native troops demoralized; and the railway and all other works abandoned. Capt. Jones, the British Agent at Bangkok, has come to England, and has been succeeded by M. J. G. Scott, C.I.E.

In JAPAN the famous temple of Hongwanji was totally destroyed by fire; and another fire in the Awata-no-goten palace at Kioto has resulted in great loss to the artistic world. Many priceless works of art perished—especially painted doors and sliding screens between the apartments, and folding screens, heavy with gold work, by Ganku, Moriyoshi, Hokusai and other great artists. The loss is estimated at 3,000,000 yens; and it is said that at least 5,000 yen of gold and silver are recoverable amid the cinders. Heavy floods also have done great damage in several districts accompanied with much loss of life. The question of horsing the artillery and cavalry is engaging the attention of the government, and breeding operations are commenced with the view of producing a more suitable class of animals than the present ponies. At the first reassembling of Parliament, a vote of censure was passed on the Premier; but that has not led to his resignation, as the office is held of the Emperor and not of the House. Emigration continues active to Australia, Fiji, Hawaii and New Caledonia. The 60,000 yen paid as an indemnity to Japan by COREA, were extracted, as a fine, from the Ex-Governor, whose order prohibiting the export of beans had led to a demand by Japan for compensation.

CHINA has again sent her Ambassador from Berlin to St. Petersburg to continue the negotiations regarding the Pamirs. Chinese troops have

been sent to Mongolia to drill the local levies, there and on the Pamirs and at Rung Kul. The French have obtained satisfaction for the attack on their Mission in North Hu-pe. Some of the chief criminals have been decapitated and others imprisoned for life ; and large indemnities have been paid to native Christians. Many questions between the French and the Governor of Canton, some dating from 1884, are reported as progressing to a settlement. China pays \$40,000 to the relatives of the two Swedish missionaries murdered last July at Sung-pu.

From Vladivostock 24 miles of Railway are open, and the preliminary works are complete up to the Amoor, which is to be crossed by a bridge 1 mile 5 furlongs in length. Three Russian vessels from Dumbarton have delivered a cargo of rails at Golts-chicha on the Yennissee. The Russians are forming local corps in Caucasia, Trans-Caspia and Turkistan.

The Sultan of TURKEY has commemorated the 17th year of his reign by instituting an order to be called the *Khanedan al Othman*. It is to rank above all others in Turkey, and the decoration is to be a massive piece of jeweled gold, with the motto "Divine Providence is my support," and the Sultan's monogram with the words Sovereign of the Ottoman Empire, dated 1311 Heg : = A.D. 1893. It will be reserved to reward distinguished, signal and exceptional services, and for particularly friendly crowned heads. A second class is for special services rendered to the Sultan personally. A scheme is on foot for amalgamating all the Turkish Railways under one management. Duly qualified women are now allowed freely to practise as Doctors. An affray between some Christians in the church at Bethlehem resulted in the death of a Latin Monk ; the Turkish soldiers interfered to prevent further mischief. Severe scarcity is reported from Erzeroum, Bitlis and Van. The Sultan has given frcs. 700,000 (£28,000) for a hospital on the Hedjaz, capable of accommodating 6,000 poor pilgrims of all races ; the food, shelter and medical treatment required for them will be furnished at his cost. Sir Philip Currie, G.C.B., Permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, succeeds Sir Clare Ford as Ambassador at Constantinople.

In PERSIA severe earthquakes have occurred in several places, Kasan being nearly destroyed. Meshad (with Samarkand) has also suffered. A Russo-Persian delimitation, with an exchange of territories, is in progress south of the Tekke Turcoman district.

In EGYPT the Budget for 1894 shows a surplus of £530,000 : land taxes will be reduced by £E90,000. Egypt has to contribute £54,000 towards the expenses of the increase in the army necessitated by the events of January 1893. A steam tramway has been opened from Ismailia to Port Said—the 50 miles being done in 3 hours. Three Egyptian Govt. pupils have been placed in the offices of the Midland Railway Co. Derby, to learn the mysteries of Railway administration. Another Dervish raid at Murkat Wells was defeated, but Saleh Bey who commanded the Egyptians was killed. The camel corps arrived too late to take part in the action. Some innovations by Maher Pasha, the Minister for War, caused uneasiness which was allayed by his reverting to the previous system. The renewal of the quinquennial term for the Mixed Tribunals has shown the usual divergence

of opinion among the Powers : out of 14, twelve delayed their reply, only Germany and England agreeing, and they too objecting to clause 4, suspension of the Mansourah Court. This the Egyptian Govt. seem willing to yield. Riaz Pasha protests a complete harmony between Lord Cromer and the Khedive and himself. But it is evident that considerable friction occasionally occurs, and that all Egyptians do not look with favour on our occupation. The situation needs all Lord Cromer's tact and ability, especially as there are not wanting friendly nations to blow upon the fire. The Khedive has proceeded to Cairo ; and during the winter will go up the Nile to the extreme frontier, two steamers having been sent on before, during the flood season, to await his arrival at the points of difficult transit. At MALTA, a mine with 100 lb. of powder was discovered in a covered way near Fort Pembroke. At GIBRALTAR Sir Robert Biddulph, R.A., G.C.M.G. ; C.B. has succeeded the late Sir Lothian Nicholson as Governor and Commander in Chief. By increasing their own forces to a division, in TUNIS, the French have compelled the Turks to do the same, thus causing needless additional expense. The Melilla incident with MOROCCO we treat at length elsewhere. At Fez, the feast of the Moulud (Muhammad's birthday) ended in a riot. An American Dragoman and a French artist, thrusting themselves into a suburb, where they had no business to go, were assaulted ; and the government arrested and punished the rioters. Hmam, the leader of the late Anghera rebellion, has effected his escape from prison. On the WEST COAST, Capt'n. Walsh rescued from a position of danger 30 Senegalese troops of the French protectorate of the Assinee river. King Behanzin sent envoys to France to treat for peace ; but with their usual injustice and arrogance the French refused to receive them. He has still a large force ; but Genl. Dodds is at a village 30 miles beyond Abomey, and the neighbouring chiefs have submitted, protesting that they will not allow Behanzin to press further.

A Franco-German delimitation is in progress in the CAMEROONS. Germany and England have concluded their delimitation in West Africa. Yola city and Kuka are secured to British influence and south part of Lake Tchad to Germany. The German explorer, Baron Uech has had a friendly meeting with the Emir of Yola (who complained of Lieut. Mizon) and was proceeding to the South West. At the Cameroons there is a deficit of 18,000 mks. and in German South Africa one of 290,000 mks. Rubak, formerly a slave of Zobeir, having rebelled against the Sultan of Wadai has seized some territory South of Lake Tchad, where fighting is expected. Capt. Dhanis, who has been created a Baron, was reported dangerously ill, from his privations during the expedition in which he defeated the Arabs. The Franco-Congo delimitation is in abeyance. Capt'n. Ponthier had exterminated the Arabs at Stanley Falls, and seized all their Eastern territory : he intended effecting a junction with Baron Dhanis at Ribariba.

A large diamond (133 carats) is reported from the Cape, the Superintendent who found it receiving a bonus of £100. In NATAL the first responsible parliament was opened in October. Mr. Walter Pierce, C.M.G., who, for 14 years, has represented Natal in London, is appointed Agent General

under the new Constitution. The Hon. T. K. Murray and D. Hunter in a conference with President Kruger have successfully negotiated the railway extension between Charleston and Pretoria. The Vryburgh-Mafeking Railway is progressing—10 miles were open, 6 more ballasted and on 52 more the earth-works were complete. Mr. Rietz was re-elected President of the Orange Free State, by a large majority. The Emperor of Germany has conferred on President Kruger of the TRANSVAAL the first class of the Red Eagle, and the second class on the Vice-president, the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-Chief: the last, General Joubert, has since resigned his office, owing to difference of opinion with Pres. Kruger. The SWAZI-LAND treaty has been concluded, and its Articles are (1) the Convention of 1890 ceases, after the 30th June 1894, (2) the President of the Transvaal can treat with the Swazi Queen-Regent and Council for a protectorate under his jurisdiction and administration, provided that the other party are made clearly to understand its nature, and what they do; and with just provisions to the natives to manage their internal affairs according to their own laws (especially for inheritance and succession) when not contrary to civilized usage, (3) the convention must be approved by the British Government, when the following Articles will become binding, (4) British subjects shall be treated in all respects the same as Burghers of the republic, (5) all white males are to have on application the vote and other privileges of Burghers, with right to their sons to the same, (6) the Dutch and English languages shall have equal rights in all Swazi Courts, (7) Customs' duties shall not be higher than those at present ruling in the S. African Republic or the S. African Customs' Union (whichever is the higher), and no exemptions or privileges are allowed in these duties, (8) the sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited, (9) no railways shall be made beyond the east boundary of Swaziland, except under further concessions subject to approval by the British Government, (10) no treaties shall be made beyond the north and north-west boundaries of the Republic, (11) the Republic will help the S. Africa Co. when necessary, with its influence, and the "Little Free State" is to be comprised in the terms of the S. African Republic, (12) Swazis and British subjects shall be under the protection of the British diplomatic officers, if necessary. Mr. R. M. W. Swan has been exploring between the Limpopo and Matabeleland, and reports more ruins, similar to those of Zimbabwe. He considers them of Semitic origin. They comprise forts and temples. In a tumulus at Sewaloli, composed of wood-ashes, stones and soil, he found quantities of bones and pottery, *terra cotta* images, pottery-ware in curious shapes, one vessel with curious ornaments on its concave side, a jar with a curious nozzle and a fragment of an ivory bracelet. The tumulus lies exactly on the prolongation of the principal axis of a temple, and Mr. Swan thinks it was a crematorium. The Portuguese are occupying some territory at the confluence of the Limpopo and Elephant Rivers, and King Gungahana has protested against their act. Of the Beira railway, 74 miles were open.

Lo Bengula's *impis* having got out of hand, provoked reprisals which led to open war with the South Africa Company, ending in a victory for the latter, unfortunately attended by heavy loss of life. Lo Bengula's

capital has been taken, and his armies put to flight ; but one of our parties is still missing, and Lo Bengula has not yet submitted. When he does, his future and that of MATABELELAND will be decided by the Government and not left to the South Africa Company.

Sultan Meli at Kilma Njaro has submitted to the German authorities.

A British war vessel has been successfully conveyed to and launched on Lake Nyassa, by Lieut. C. Hope Robertson, R.N., commanding H.M.S. *Herald*, who suggests that another could easily be placed on Lake Tanganyika with great advantage.

Sir Gerald Portal has returned from Uganda, and with Mr. Rennell Rodd is engaged with the Government on the final decision about the future of that much vexed land ; it is expected that it will be included in the Zanzibar Protectorate. Four carefully selected officers acquainted with the Arabic language have been sent to command the Soudanese Troops who had been taken on by Sir Gerald. In Witu, the British and Zanzibar forces captured and destroyed Pungwani, reducing the rebels to subjection.

The MAURITIUS has at length become connected with the telegraphic systems of the world, *via* Zanzibar. The Consular Court of RÉUNION has acquitted the Captain and crew of the Dhow flying a French flag which had been captured with slaves on board : a gross miscarriage of justice due solely to French perversity. An insurrection is reported from MADAGASCAR.

AUSTRALIA shipped many horses for Calcutta. New South Wales and Queensland have subsidized the new Pacific Telegraph Cable, *via* New Caledonia, though they objected to join the new Eastern Extension Co.'s Cable. Lord Ripon pointed out the inconveniences of this unpatriotic action ; and that it was contrary to the resolution of the Colonial Conference of 1887. But the Colonies justly urge the inconsistency of objecting against what they can get, when Great Britain will do nothing for direct telegraph communication exclusively under British control. The line runs from Bundsburg in Queensland through New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoa, Honolulu, Fanning Island to Vancouver. The subsidy of N. S. Wales and Queensland is £12,000 per annum to be paid to the Société Française des Télégraphes Soumarines.

The deficit in NEW SOUTH WALES of the last 2 years amounts now to £1,500,000. The revenue for 1894 is estimated at £9,971,000, and the expenditure at £9,854,000 ; surplus £117,000. Another instalment of £500,000 of the £2,000,000 loan at 4 % is raised. In the discussion of the Naval Defence Act and the employment of the *Katoomba* at Samoa, the ministry were censured ; but the vote was subsequently rescinded, Sir G. Dibbs declaring that the best interests of the Colony would be served by its strict observance in general, and by its occasional violation in urgent cases. The government were also censured because some of its members had taken a brief against the Railway commissioners. The Sydney corporation have presented an address to the Earl of Jersey, their late governor, sending it in a gold-mounted onyx box. The Governor, Sir R. Duff, has visited Adelaide, and been cordially received.

The Earl of Kintore, Governor of SOUTH AUSTRALIA, has consented to

remain another year in office ; but he has taken 6 months' leave on half-pay, the Hon. Chief Justice, S. J. Way, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony, officiating for him. There was a discussion as to the salary, and the advantages of an elective governor, but the Premier declared that it had its disadvantages too, and at present was simply impracticable.

VICTORIA is raising £1,250,000 by Treasury Bills. The September customs yielded £172,581, an increase of £15,281 on the previous year. A fine turquoise has been discovered. The Premier has recorded his objection to the Agent General of the Colony joining the Committee of the Customs' Union of the Empire. There have been disastrous floods.

QUEENSLAND is raising £620,000 by Treasury Bills. The revenue for September was £1,042,712, a decrease of £63,855 on last year. Sir T. MacIlwraith resigned the Premiership, and has been replaced by the Hon. Hugh Muir Nelson. The sugar crop is estimated at 80,000 tons.

In TASMANIA, the Legislative Council rejected the Income Tax ; the Probate Duties Bill was passed by the casting vote of the President. The total deficit is now £380,000, and it is proposed to borrow £400,000 to pay off the accumulated deficit—the debt itself to be paid off gradually. The general elections have gone against the ministry ; but there are several members whose votes are doubtful. The revenue for September was £55,580, a decrease of £2,543 ; decrease in 9 months = £70,000.

NEW ZEALAND continues to flourish, the customs for the half-year exceeding the estimate by £22,000. The thriving state of the butter export is shown by the arrival in England of 150,000 packages in last November.

In CANADA, the following have been appointed as Lieut. Governors : Senator John Boyd, and since his death, Judge Fraser, of the Supreme Court, to New Brunswick ; Mr. W. B. Scarth, ex-M.P. for Winnipeg, to Manitoba ; Mr. C. H. Mackintosh, M.P. for Ottawa, to the North-West territory. A gold reef has been discovered at Alberni on the W. coast of Vancouver. Of seals 53 Canadian vessels have brought in 66,733, of which 25,342 were caught in Japanese and Russian waters, and 25,120 off the British Columbian coast. The total catch is estimated to be 16,700 over that of the previous year. The war department of the United States, with the consent and assistance of the Canadian Govt. is surveying the R. St. Lawrence, which will be an advantage to both parties. The Hon. Mackenzie Boswell who visited Australia, advocating a commercial union, obtained a favourable hearing, and a conference is to meet in June in Canada this year to consider details. The steamer *Miowera* of Messrs. Huddart and Co. went aground on entering Honolulu, and her passengers and mails had to be transhipped to California. We hope this mischance will not injure the future of this enterprising and promising line. As the naval court acquitted the captain of all blame, the fault naturally rests on the pilot ; and it is by no means impossible that this misfortune so early in its career may by no means have been a mere accident.

In NEWFOUNDLAND the general election has resulted in the retaining of office, by a good majority, of Sir William Whiteway.

In the WEST INDIES, the Hon. James Macdonald, Chief Justice of Nova

Scotia, is investigating in Jamaica the serious charges brought against the Justiciary ; and Sir Robert Hamilton, late Governor of Tasmania, is investigating the late troubles in the Leeward Islands.

Obituary.—During the quarter the deaths have occurred of Genl. Sir A. A. Nelson, K.C.B. (1st Afghan war, Scindh, Maharajpur and Jamaica); —Mr. Matthias Mull for 30 years connected with the Indian Press ;—Mr. A. Stuart, Bo. Uncov. C. S. the great tiger-killer ;—Dr. W. H. Smith, of the many Dictionaries ;—H. H. the Raja of Atgarh ;—Sir John Abbott, Premier of Canada ;—Maharaja Dhuleep Singh ;—Genl. Reginald G. Ouseley, (Mutiny) ;—Lady Crosssthaite ;—Genl. J. Sargent, C.B. (Crimea and China) ; H. H. the Eliya Raja of Attingal ;—H. H. the junior Rani of Travancore ;—H. H. Anina Begum, widow of the late ex-King of Oudh ;—Fafir Sayad Zahur ud din of Lahore ;—the great Tamil scholar Pundit Sri Perumbhudur Ramanjali Nayakar ;—John Lyons McLeod, R.N. who served as consul in many parts of Africa, and wrote a book on Madagascar ;—Amar Saloom, ex-tribal King of the Trarzas Moors, slain in battle ;—Komiogi Saburo, Secretary of the Japanese Legation at Paris, member of the Japanese Bar and Judicial Department, who had sat in the first Diet ;—Ali Pasha Moubarek, of Egypt ;—Genl. G. C. Vials, C.B. (Mutiny) ;—T. C. Bain, Govt. Surveyor and Geologist in Ceylon ;—Dr. W. Walker, Inspector General first of Indian Jails and then of Civil Hospitals ;—Henry Fowler, Colonial Secretary of Trinidad, whose long and valuable service was on the point of being rewarded with a Governorship ;—the Hon. John Boyd, Lieut. Governor of New Brunswick ;—M. Alphonse Lippman, Directeur de l'Intérieur of the French Congo, and for nearly 20 years in office at Pondi cherry ;—H. H. the Maharaja of Punna ;—Khan Bahadur Inayet Ullah Khan, an old Gwalior warrior, and Subah first of Neemuch and then of Bhandair ;—Sir John Drummond Hay, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., for more than 40 years British Agent at Tangier ;—Mr. William Courtney, whose service in India extended from 1829-1855 ;—Genl. Sir Alexander A. Cunningham, R.E., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., the distinguished archæologist and writer, whose meritorious services in the Public Works Department and in War are generally lost in the glory of his archæological and other scientific works ;—The Hon. Robert Spankie, for many years judge of the Allahabad High Court ;—Genl. W. A. Stratton (Mutiny) ;—Professor von der Gabelentz, professor of Eastern languages in the university, first of Leipzig, and then of Berlin ;—Edward Thornton, C.B., who served with distinction in India from 1830 to 1860 ;—The Hon. Samuel Mansfield, C.S.I., late of the Bombay Council and brother of the first Lord Sandhurst ;—General the Hon. Sir Henry Ramsay, K.C.S.I., C.B., commonly called the “King of Kamaon,” where he had put in 44 out of nearly 50 years’ service in India ;—Genl. W. Welby, C.B.) Crimea, Mutiny and Abyssinian campaigns ;—and H. H. the Maharaja of Bhurtpur, K.C.S.I.—V.

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INDIAN FINANCE TROUBLES.

BY SIR HENRY STEWART CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E.

HE would, indeed, be a more than ordinarily rash prophet, who would venture, at the present moment, either to predict the future of Indian finance, or to prescribe a panacea for the grave evils which beset it. The only facts about which certainty seems possible, are that those evils are extremely grave, and that the authorities, to whom in such a case, the outside public would naturally look for a safe and effectual remedy, are fundamentally opposed to one another. The patient, all admit, is seriously ill; the symptoms of his malady grow hourly more acute; the physicians who have been summoned to his aid, mutually condemn each other's recommendations as dangerous errors or pernicious quackery, calculated only to intensify the invalid's misfortunes, if not to ensure eventual collapse—"Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt" is the motto which, to the effacement of every other, is, just now, written in broad characters across the financial administration of England's greatest dependency. All that the wise man can do, at such a crisis, is to wait and watch, and to attempt to form a sober opinion amid the chaos of conflicting recommendations—the utterances of counsellors whose confidence would sometimes seem in inverse proportion to their insight into the real character of the situation.

The proverbial intolerance of uncertainty, which plays so leading a part in every controversy, has seldom been more conspicuous than in recent currency discussions. The one thing which, apparently, a disputant cannot, and will not do is to doubt. Each rival propounder of a theory enforces it with a vehemence of tone and language more worthy of an angry theologian than of men of business, gravely concerned to discover the right solution of an obscure but all-important problem, on which the future interests of mankind in no small degree depend. The distinguished English protagonist of monometallism, for instance, and the leading financial journals have, unfortunately, adopted the line of denouncing bimetallism as an intellectual craze, disgraceful to an educated community and undeserving the compliment of serious discussion. When we turn to see who are the people guilty of this monstrous imbecility we find a party, the leaders of which cannot,—even in the blindness of partizanship—be regarded as moonstruck fanatics. At its head stands the ablest of the rising generation of Statesmen, who has not been ashamed or afraid to make his profession of faith to a City audience in the very stronghold of monometallism. Lord Salisbury's sympathy with his brilliant nephew's views, cannot, after his recent utterance on the subject in the House of Lords, be questioned. Mr. Goschen, though not an avowed bimetallist, was among the first to direct attention to the consequences of silver demonetization, and has formulated many of the propositions on which bimetallists mainly rely. Mr. Courtenay is a late, reluctant and accordingly most valuable convert. Outside the political world almost every economist who has dealt with the subject of currency from a historical or scientific point of view, has ranged himself unhesitatingly on the side of the bimetallists. The Royal Commission, who devoted many months to the subject and collected a vast volume of evidence upon it, were unanimous in findings, which if not absolutely bimetallist, asserted roundly most of the leading bimetallist doctrines, while half their number, and

since Mr. Courtenay's conversion, a majority pronounced distinctly in favour of international bimetallism as the only effectual remedy for the evils into which they were inquiring. The Government of India, which for years past has had grave reason to consider the subject with attention, makes the same profession of faith, while the American Legislature, in its most recent currency enactment, has formally recorded that an international agreement on a ratio between gold and silver remains the policy of the United States Government. Bimetallism may be a delusion, but if so, it is a delusion countenanced by so much ability, research and experience, so much scientific acumen, so much official prestige, that it is vain to affect to despise it. The only effective course with doctrines so held is not to denounce but to refute them.

The same observation applies to the controversy of which so much has been heard of late with respect to the currency difficulties of the Indian Government. Considering the extreme difficulty of the questions in dispute, the novelty of the situation and the world-wide interests involved, some hesitation in judgment, some moderation in argument, some caution in language might reasonably have been looked for. But a striking characteristic of the discussion has been that most of the combatants have spoken and acted as if the possibility of a reasonable or honest doubt on the subject had never occurred to them. The condemnation has been absolute, the advocacy unhesitating, the assent unqualified. The principal journals of finance have, from the outset, condemned the closing of the Mints, last June, as a disastrous blunder for which the Indian Government will speedily have to do penance amid the ruins of a bankrupt Exchequer. It may be so: the measure, it is well known, was disapproved by many well-informed and serious thinkers. But those, who feel called to denounce it, would do well to remember that it was deliberately recommended by the Government of India, and its financial Minister, an

official of great experience and ability, as the only available means of escape from imminent catastrophe; that it was anxiously considered for many months by Lord Herschell and his colleagues—as strong a Committee as it was possible to get together—in the light of all available evidence on the subject—and that Lord Herschell, Lord Farrer, Mr. Courtenay, General Strachey and Sir Reginald Welby are not mere ignorant or inexperienced enthusiasts ready to clutch at the first plausible means of escape from a perplexing position. They may have been wrong; the Cabinet and the Treasury may have erred in sanctioning their recommendations; but meanwhile their combined opinion, arrived at after mature deliberation and under every condition conducive to the discovery of the truth, is a fact in the case which no reasonable man would be disposed to set aside as irrelevant or unimportant. The verdict of such a jury carries a strong presumption in favour of its soundness. Nor has this courageous mood been confined to the negative process of criticizing and denouncing the doctrines of an opponent. The air has been thick with suggestions.

To take strong and immediate action—to leave matters to take their course—to close the Mints—to reopen them—to tax the import of silver—to prohibit it—to force exchange to 1s. 4d. and to refuse to sell bills except at a prescribed minimum—each course has been urged with the unhesitating vehemence of men untroubled with a single misgiving, and unsoubered by the failures, disappointments and surprises, which have befallen alike themselves and their opponents. Other advisers have suggested that relief must be sought in reduction of expenditure and increase of taxation, as if for years past the Government of India had ever had this topic from its thoughts, and as if the most strenuous efforts had not been made to discover how either of these remedies might be rendered available. “It is nonsense,” one of these irresponsible counsellors exclaims, “to tell us that an expenditure of 53 millions” (91 millions happening to be the real amount) “cannot be curtailed. . . .

In our own minds we have not the slightest doubt that outlay could be cut down in many quarters. As for Taxation, we are equally confident that Taxation could be considerably increased. The fiscal system of India is antiquated. If there had been a Sir Robert Peel or a Mr. Gladstone in charge of Indian finance in the past, that system would have been completely overhauled and remodelled, and it would now be yielding a much larger income than it actually does." It is not too late, we are told, to take the work in hand, but time is not to be lost if the credit of India is to be maintained.

From such premises the inference is easy that reform of the Viceroy's Council is necessary and, especially, that the position of the Financial Minister should be strengthened so as to render it impossible for him to be over-ruled by the Viceroy or his colleagues. "An eminent English expert ought to be appointed to the post, who, bound by none of the traditions of the Civil Service, and acting as the delegate of the whole British Empire to carry out special missions," would have sufficient authority and prestige to enforce his views against the rest of the Council. India would thus be preserved from the ineptitude of the Civil Service which "though in everything administrative it could hardly be bettered, has no knowledge of finance ; the blunders it has made would be ludicrous if they were not so disastrous."

In India the tension of public feeling naturally resulted in still bolder suggestions and still less measured language. A leading Association recently, amongst other recommendations, gravely suggested to the Secretary of State to divest himself of the duty of selling the Council bills and to entrust it to a nominee of the Indian Government. The abandonment of the prescribed minimum for Council Bills, which the India Office had attempted in vain to maintain, and which everybody now condemns, was denounced as a "betrayal of the Government of India," and to justify the complaint that from the outset India had been placed at the mercy of Lombard Street. "Men are beginning to realize,"

observes another of these outspoken critics, "to what extremities loyal people can be goaded by crass ignorance and folly on the part of their rulers beyond the seas." Hard words break no bones, but they help to darken counsel: and they serve to divert men's minds from that sober and laborious investigation of facts, and patient weighing of conflicting arguments, from which alone any useful result can be hoped in any branch of experimental science, not least, certainly, in so delicate and intricate a department as that of currency reform.

At such a moment it may be, perhaps, not unprofitable if one, who has no pretension to speak as an expert, should perform the humble task of recording distinctly some of the results, which the investigations of highly qualified inquirers and the experience of the last few months appear to have placed on a footing of reasonable certainty. If no positive theory is proclaimed, it may be well for the student to recognize that there are occasions when the necessary material for positiveness is not within his reach, and when certainty is only another term for inadequate information, imperfect data or insufficient appreciation of arguments, which ought, in the interests of truth, to be seriously considered. The topics, to which I venture in the ensuing pages to call attention are, no doubt, familiar to those who have studied the subject in dispute; but they may be of use to those who have no such intimate knowledge of the controversy but are anxious to lay the basis of a reasonable opinion with regard to its merits.

There is, in the first place, the circumstance—somewhat thrown into the shade by the admitted inability of the Indian Government to meet the enormous obligation which a further fall in silver would entail—that, apart from this imminent obligation, the position of the Indian Exchequer is one of exceptional strength. It is so usual with English writers to talk of Indian finance as badly managed and of Civilian financiers as blundering amateurs that it is worth while to point out that there is no branch of the administra-

tion whose efficiency has been more remarkable, and in which the results of that efficiency have contributed more materially to the prosperity of the Empire. Lord Farrer and Sir Reginald Welby in their note appended to the Currency Committee's Report emphasized the fact that, notwithstanding the heavy loss by exchange and other causes of exceptional expenditure, the general condition of the country presented all the indicia of a prosperous and progressive community. They thus summarize the situation :

"Between 1881 and 1891 the whole number of the Army had been raised from 170,000 to 220,000, and the number of British soldiers in it from 60,000 to 71,000, or, including reserves, volunteers, etc., to very much more. Many large and costly defensive works had been constructed both on the North-West frontier, and on the coasts. In recent years almost all public buildings have been reconstructed on a large scale. Railways, both military and commercial, have been very greatly extended.

Notwithstanding these extraordinary expenses, there were, during the 25 years which followed 1862, 14 years of surplus and 11 years of deficit, yielding a net surplus of Rx. 4,000,000. In 1889 the public debt of India, exclusive of capital invested in railways, showed a reduction since the mutiny period of Rx. 26,000,000. The rate at which India can borrow has been reduced from 4 or 5 per cent. to a little over 3 per cent. The revenue of India, exclusive of railways and municipal funds, has grown between 1856-57 and 1886-87 from Rx. 33,378,000 to Rx. 62,859,000, and in 1891 it had increased to Rx. 64,000,000, or including railways and irrigation receipts to Rx. 85,750,000, and this increase is due to the growth of old revenue rather than to new taxation. Further, whilst the rent or land tax paid by the people has increased by one-third, the produce of their fields has more than doubled, in consequence partly of higher prices and partly of increase in cultivation. Further, in 1891 there were nearly 18,000 miles of railway open, carrying 121,000,000 of passengers and 26,000,000 tons of goods, and adding a benefit to the people of India, calculated, as far back as 1886, at Rx. 60,000,000. Further, the Indian exports and imports at sea, which, in 1858, were about Rx. 40,000,000, amounted in 1891 to about Rx. 200,000,000, and the produce thus exported has increased in quality and variety no less than in amount."

The figures of the Budget of 1893-4 fully bear out this favourable view of the resources of the country, and, apart from its gold obligations, of the strength of the Indian Exchequer. Notwithstanding the extraordinary calls on the Treasury owing to the fall in exchange and enhanced military expenditure, the four years ending in 1891-2 resulted in a surplus of nearly 7 millions Rx. If we take into account the four years preceding this period, which were less prosperous, the aggregate surplus is still $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions Rx., with which balance in its favor the Indian Exchequer entered in 1892-3 on its period of deficit—a remarkable achievement, remembering that the fall in Exchange had added more than 4 millions Rx. to the expenditure of the

two last years of the series. Even when the deficit for 1892-3,—now ascertained to be Rx. 833,000—is taken into account, the balance for the 9 years, in favour of the Indian Treasury, falls not very far short of Rx. 1,000,000. When we examine the details of the expenditure we find that during the period 1889-1892 the Government devoted no less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions Rx. to what is known as “Famine Insurance,” *i.e.*, to the construction of Protective Railways and Irrigation works and to the reduction of debt; the Budget of 1893-94 provided for a similar expenditure. If it has been found possible to realize this estimate, the Government will in the course of 5 years have laid by no less than 8 millions against an evil day. It is well that it should have done so. The yearly provision of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions against future famines is an extremely prudent measure: it is a misfortune that the Government should be driven in the present year to abandon it, but the misfortune is not unprecedented or worse than many others which exceptional pressure involves on every Government. A surplus income of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions is a financial luxury which it may be necessary in hard times to forego.

Again the Government has been since 1886-87 engaged on a system of special Defence works, necessary for putting the frontier defences on an adequately strong footing. The expenditure was estimated at Rx. 5 millions; the whole of this, with the exception of less than half a million, was to have been expended by the close of 1893-94 and has been provided out of income. This is, of course, a wholly exceptional outlay, and will, it may be hoped, contribute to economy in military expenditure for the years to come. The English Government, it may be observed, has in much the same period, incurred a floating debt of 7 millions sterling for the Imperial and Naval Defence Funds. A more severely virtuous course has been pursued in India. Another severe strain on the Indian Exchequer, of late years, has been the growth in military expenditure, which has increased from less than 17 millions in 1884-5 to 23 millions in 1893-4. The main cause of

this much-to-be-regretted increase is the addition which the near approach of Russia to the Indian frontier has rendered necessary. It has been made none too soon, and only when every military authority had for years declared the North Western frontier to be, as matters stood, practically at the mercy of an invading army. This strain upon the Indian revenues has come at an unfortunate moment, but it was none the less unavoidable.

On the other hand there is a normal automatic growth of revenue, the outcome of increased prosperity, averaging more than half a million per annum. Under this heading it is especially satisfactory to find that land revenue shows a continuous progress, indicating the larger area of culture, the development of canals, better cultivation and more valuable crops. In the year just closed, 1893-4, the return from Land-revenue exceeded, by half a million, any hitherto recorded. Amongst other economies we may notice that the charge for interest—other than the interest due on sums invested in reproductive works—shows a continuous and steady diminution. It has sunk from Rx. 4,859,000 in 1881-2 to Rx. 4,000,000 in 1893-4, a satisfactory proof of improved credit and careful administration.

The general position is conveniently summarized in the statement of Assets and Liabilities, which the Secretary of State submits annually to Parliament. That for March, 1893 was as follows :

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES, 31ST MARCH, 1893.

<i>Assets.</i>			<i>Liabilities.</i>		
	Rx.	£.		Rx.	£.
Railways constructed by the State -	76,569,000	—	Debt -	102,937,000	106,684,000
Purchased railways -	—	59,236,000	Other Obligations -	17,384,000	—
Advances to Railway Companies -	—	4,601,000			
Irrigation Works -	28,952,000	—			
Loans to Municipalities, etc. -	11,846,000	—			
Cash Balances -	15,204,000	2,603,000			
Total Assets -	132,571,000	66,440,000			
Liabilities uncovered -	12,250,000	40,244,000			
	120,321,000	106,684,000	Total Liabilities	120,321,000	106,684,000

From the above figures it will be apparent that the Rupee liabilities are less by $12\frac{1}{4}$ million Rx. than the Rupee assets. Of the gold debt $40\frac{1}{4}$ millions are uncovered : the combined result being that the uncovered liability is somewhat more than half a year's net income. Thus for the whole of its debt, except an insignificant fraction, the Government of India has tangible assets to show, mostly of a highly productive order, already realizing excellent profits and certain, in the future, to become a vast source of national wealth. No account, it will be observed, is taken of the magnificent array of public buildings, fortresses, first class roads and other public works, with which India has been supplied during the last 30 years, and which, though not directly productive of income, are none the less valuable national possessions, contributing on a vast scale to the wealth and prosperity of the nation. What European Government can give so satisfactory an account of its national debt ?

I have given these figures at, I fear, tedious length because it is well to clear away at once the misconception that Indian finances have been unskillfully managed, and that relief from the present troubles of the Indian Exchequer is to be found either in improved machinery or a more expert personnel. No relief is I believe to be found in this direction. It is easy to say, after the event, that no gold debt should have been incurred. The policy of incurring it was not, however, that of the Financial Department, but of the Government, the Secretary of State and Parliament, by whom the gold expenditure has been deliberately sanctioned. The question was whether India was to be left practically in a state of barbarism, with her resources undeveloped, her frontiers undefended, and her population exposed to the horrors of periodical famine. Money had to be found, and it certainly could not have been found in India. The gold debt has, owing to the appreciation of gold, become a tremendous difficulty; but it is a difficulty which besets not India alone, but the entire civilized world, and for which her

financial advisers cannot be held personally responsible. The question is now as to the remedy. As for the confident belief that the remedy is to be found in increased taxation or severer economy, the answer, unfortunately, must be that no such confidence is felt by those who have most knowledge of the subject. On the contrary Lord Herschell's committee summed up what is incontestably the general opinion of experts, that it is impossible to discover any quarter in which material economies could be effected without seriously impairing the efficiency of the administration, and equally impossible to discover fresh sources of revenue which should not involve grave political danger or social distress. The main items alike of revenue and expenditure are, to a large extent, beyond the control of the Government. The land revenue, where it has not been permanently settled, has been, after prolonged scrutiny and consideration, fixed for long terms, and could not be altered without an absolute breach of faith. The profits of opium depend on causes wholly beyond the Government's control. In 1893-4, for instance, the opium revenue was lower by Rs. 1,185,000 than any recorded in recent years. Salt has been enhanced to a point at which further enhancement might cease to be profitable and would certainly weigh severely on the classes, who can least endure additional pressure.

There is a normal growth in the revenue, some Rs. 640,000 *per annum*, from the general improvement of the population, but beyond this those who know the country best acknowledge that they can suggest nothing against which the gravest objection cannot be urged. The existing export duties on rice can be defended only on the ground of paramount necessity, and a large portion of the revenue from Stamps, being levied at high rates on litigation, is a tax which every economist would condemn. New customs duties can be imposed only at the cost of the abandonment of a much-considered and well-established policy, and they involve, as we are now seeing, conflicts of interests, with

powerful bodies in England, which it is on every ground expedient to avoid. The present proposal to levy a 5 per cent. import duty on all articles, not already taxed, save those in which Lancashire is interested, is open to numerous and weighty objections and will, it is already obvious, rouse public feeling, and supply the race of agitators with a topic of complaint, the consequences of which must be serious and may easily become deplorable.

On the other hand it is difficult to see in what manner Expenditure can be curtailed. Towards the close of his reign Lord Dufferin appointed a committee for the express purpose of inquiring whether and in what directions any such curtailment was possible. Its President was the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, an official of the rigidly conscientious order with no tendency certainly to deal sparingly with an abuse or to take too generous a view of the requirements of a department. One of his colleagues was the present Financial member of Council, whose intimate acquaintance with every detail of Indian finance and of the mechanism of the whole official structure rendered him a most dangerous critic. He was aided by colleagues whose varied experience was likely to be of use. A Revenue expert, a High Court Judge, a District officer, a great authority in Railway finance, a Calcutta banker, a native gentleman well versed in the views and wishes of his countrymen. It would be difficult to contrive a machine better qualified for effecting economies. The Committee, it is known, performed its duties with zeal and with no sparing hand; but though the result was to make a considerable portion of the Local Government economies available for imperial purposes, its report amounted practically to the admission that previous reformers had swept the ground too bare to make any further economies possible, that in every direction a good return in work and labour done was rendered for pay received, and that further retrenchment could be effected only at the cost of slackening the rate of progress, in abandoning useful projects,

or in postponing repairs which required immediate attention.

The retrenchments suggested by the Committee were forthwith carried out, and I do not know how further economy can be effected except by a curtailment of the already dangerously small proportion of European officials.

The two points to which the advocates of retrenchment mainly direct attention are the Army and the Home charges. As to the former, the addition to the forces made in Lord Dufferin's time, was adopted after the most careful investigation of the circumstances of the country and its frontier, on the combined testimony of a series of military experts, who showed to demonstration that the existing army was inadequate for the task of preserving order and resisting foreign aggression. No military expert has, I believe, ventured to contest this opinion, and the Government of India would certainly have been wanting in its duty if it had failed to make the augmentation so authoritatively declared to be indispensable. It was to the wanton neglect of Lord Dalhousie's warnings as to the necessary European force to be maintained in the country that the Mutiny of 1856 owed, if not its origin, at any rate its dangerous development, its painful struggles and awful risks and disasters. Such a risk, with Russian outposts within gunshot of Herat, it would be mere madness to incur again.

The Home Charges, it has been again and again demonstrated, admit of no substantial reduction. Of the 16½ millions sterling which in 1892 the Indian Government had to put down in London, much the larger portion—the interest for debt, the guaranteed interest of the Railways, the Military outlay, the charges for furlough and pensions, civil and military,—are wholly beyond the control of the present managers of the Indian Exchequer. The pension and furlough charges are merely a portion of the pay of the European branches of the service, and this is certainly none too high if Englishmen of character and ability are

to be tempted to an Indian career. The existing system of the purchase of stores has been adopted, after long inquiry and many experiments, as the cheapest and best. The system of purchasing all stores in India and in silver, would merely shift the loss by exchange from one set of shoulders to another, and would certainly be more costly to the Government. Some small economies might possibly be effected at the India Office, but reform has already been pushed far, and any conceivable saving would be infinitesimal as compared with the general expenditure of the Empire. Nor are the other remedial suggestions, which have been of late urged on public attention, found, on examination, to be of a more satisfactory character. One proposal is that the Indian customs duties, its railway revenues, and possibly other of its great sources of income should be collected at gold rates, which should vary from day to day with the gold price of silver. This is a simple way of cutting the knot, but the objections to it are unanswerable. The great object in India is to tax in such a manner as to avoid notice, personal harassment, and the possible oppression of officials. What form of tax could be more calculated to defeat this object than one which varied from week to week, which involved ever fresh calculations, absolutely beyond the comprehension of the average taxpayer, and which could be enforced only by the personal interference of a large subordinate agency? The result would be to throw the burthen of the task in a very distinct manner, on particular classes, who would profoundly resent the fact of their selection for the purpose. The whole internal trade of the country would be thrown into disorder: commerce would be impracticable when the rate of custom duty or the charge for locomotion could not be anticipated with certainty. As regards railways, all Indian experience shows that it is to the lowest possible scale of rates that we must look for development. Even at the present rates a labourer may often find it cheaper to walk. A sudden

addition to the charge—worst of all a varying addition—would strike a death-blow at the prosperity of lines, which are year by year, winning their way in popular favour, and would, in all probability, result in a diminished income.

Another proposal has been that the English Government should guarantee the Indian Gold debt, and so lighten the burthen by the lesser interest which might in that case be payable. The idea is a very old one and has been frequently discussed. But it has never survived discussion. He would be a bold Minister who would venture to propose to Parliament so serious an addition to the national liabilities. Nor could anything be of worse example for India than to be encouraged in the belief that, when things came to the worst, she could look for assistance to the resources of the English nation. Indian finance, as Sir John Strachey, years ago, declared, must, as a first condition of sound and rational economy, stand on its own bottom, and be independent of the extraneous aid of another Exchequer. England can and ought to help India in many ways: the worst possible way would be to imperil her financial independence.

If the foregoing argument is sound, the embarrassments of India are attributable neither to the management of her finances, which has been as able as the standard of human ability renders possible, nor to failure of her resources, which are enormous and rapidly developing. Hitherto she has succeeded in paying her way: but she is now threatened with insolvency in the immediate future. To what is her unfortunate predicament owing? Has there been any great economical change in the country itself, which would involve disturbance and loss? We look in vain for any such disturbance. In the interesting tables, recently laid before the Society of Arts, Mr. Barr Robertson has shown that the purchasing power of silver as against commodities has remained, up to a recent date, practically unaltered. The statistics of Calcutta and Bombay indicate that, for most years since 1873, the purchasing power of silver has been

slightly enhanced and, that it is only since 1890-1 that the large amounts tendered for coinage at the Mints produced a slight depreciation. In neither case has there been any such variation as would either derange commerce, interfere with industrial profits, or occasion distress. Nor has there been, till last year, any serious diminution in the purchasing power of silver as against commodities in London. If the Index numbers of the Economist and Mr. Sauerbeck may be trusted, there was for many years an actual increase in the purchasing power of silver, and it is only since 1892 that any serious diminution in silver values with relation to commodities has taken place. Up to the closing of the Mints, last June, the equilibrium between silver and commodities had been maintained. The troubles of the Indian Exchequer arise not from any disturbance in the relation of her currency to commodities at home or abroad, but from the appreciation of gold with regard alike to silver and commodities, all the world over. India is under the obligation of laying down 16 to 19 millions sterling annually in London, and she can do this only by exporting produce to this amount. With every rise in the value of gold, the amount of produce necessary for this purpose augments. It threatens now to transcend the utmost endeavours of the Indian Exchequer. The evil is one which affects not India alone, nor the silver countries alone, but the entire commercial world. How far is it probable that any internal manipulation of Indian currency will prove effectual, in the long run, in counter-acting the operation of so universal and so far-reaching a cause? The closing of the Mints, it has to be remembered, was a measure which none of the authorities responsible for it professed to regard with confidence or cordial approval. The Indian Government only suggested it, as a means of staving off immediately impending insolvency, in default of the remedy, on which it had been, for many years, insisting. The Herschell Committee, after hesitation abnormally prolonged, got no further than to say that it could not, in the

absence of any other feasible suggestion, take the responsibility of advising the rejection of the Indian Government's proposal. In the House of Commons Mr. Goschen, while admitting that the proposal was a most startling one, treated it as an experiment, to which, as an heroic remedy was indispensable and no alternative was discoverable, it was, possibly, expedient to give a fair trial. "Even its most sanguine defenders," he said, "could scarcely think that it was anything but a makeshift, a temporary solution of a very great difficulty." The late Secretary of State in his reply to the Lancashire Deputation, a few weeks ago, took the same modest view, consoling himself and his hearers with the reflection that, with the abandonment of the unsuccessful attempt to force exchange above its natural rate, "we are returning to a more normal state of things," and with "the hope, not by any means that we have got safely out of the great difficulty but that we are on the right tack."

A measure, whose authors feel for it so languid an enthusiasm, has but a poor chance of commending itself ultimately to general acceptance. The misunderstandings, surprises and disappointments which attended its inauguration diminished its chances of acceptability. It was a superfluous misfortune that the Secretary of State's view of the new policy should have differed materially from that of the Viceroy and his Council, and that the latter, against the opinion, as it now appears, of the Financial Member and the Secretary of State, should have succeeded in forcing on the ill-considered attempt to maintain Council Bills at a rate not justified by the market. That policy is now openly condemned by the late Financial Minister, as absurd and impossible, and is no longer operating to disturb the Eastern trade; but its effect has been seriously to aggravate the difficulties of the situation and to lessen the chances of a favourable result. Stripped of this adventitious mischief the measure itself is fraught with consequences of tremendous import to the world. Its critics from the first observed that it was, *primâ facie*, calculated to aggravate

the very evils for which it was invoked. The low gold price of silver being the active cause of the trouble, the first result of closing the Mints was to send it down 8d. per oz. Gold, having had an undue burthen thrown on it by the general demonetization of silver by the nations of the West, the necessary effect of further demonetization was to enhance that burthen and its consequential mischief. All Europe having been groaning, for two decades, under the effects of an appreciating gold currency, the result of contracting the Indian currency, if achieved, would be to expose the impoverished agricultural classes of India to like misfortunes, and to imperil the trade and manufactures of the country by the paralyzing influence of falling prices, from which they had hitherto been exempt. Contrary to all expectation the flow of silver to India went on in increased volume ; the balance of trade in favour of India was completely lost ; the Indian Government found its treasuries piled high with useless Rupees, while the India Office, with empty coffers, and unable to sell a bill, could meet its obligations only by loans which merely enhanced the difficulty by postponing it. We have now reached the period when, if ever, the experiment is bound to work—the months of Indian export. The Secretary of State is selling his bills in large amounts and at rates which, however disappointing to some too sanguine hopes, will, if they only last, render it possible for the Indian Government to pay its way. The Mints, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has announced, are not, for the present at least, to be reopened. The import of silver is not to be prohibited, or taxed otherwise than other commodities. The experiment of artificially enhancing the value of the Rupee is to be allowed a thorough trial. Its consequences have been grave and far-reaching. The silver markets of the world have received a tremendous shock. The whole commercial conditions of India have been convulsed. Her exchanges with the Far East are disastrously deranged ; her manufacturing interests are imperilled ; her balance of trade has been reversed ; and it

has been shown that circumstances may easily arrest the demand for Council Bills. In the meanwhile the Indian Exchequer is $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions to the bad for the year just closed and has to deal with a prospective deficit of nearly three millions in the present year. A million of this is provided by the regrettable expedient of abandoning the Famine Insurance Surplus; the new import duties,—cotton always excluded—will produce Rx. 1,140,000; the Provincial Governments will contribute half a million from their savings. A final deficit of Rx. 302,000 is left, in the hope, probably, that the Lancashire vote may not be allowed to prevail against an obvious necessity, or that some unforeseen piece of good luck may help Mr. Westland out of his scrape. The success of the experiment, hitherto, is not conspicuous or assured. What its next phase will be, the wisest are unable to conjecture. The best that can be said of it is that a breathing-time, as Mr. Goschen expressed it, has been secured during which India and England may elaborate the means for a permanent and satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

What is that solution to be? While the palliation is applied, the essential cause of mischief—the appreciation of gold—continually intensifies. Year by year, as one nation after another, since 1873, has demonetized silver, the burthen, formerly borne by the two metals jointly, has fallen disproportionately upon gold, and the temptation to other great communities to adopt a gold standard has become more overwhelming. As each has yielded, the evil has been rendered acuter for the rest. The debtor classes, the industrial classes, the commercial classes are everywhere feeling the pinch. India has now joined the gold-standard nations: America has abandoned its bootless efforts: the two greatest markets for silver in the world are closed, and the fall in its value has been abysmal. Special causes, little foreseen and still less understood, have stimulated and are stimulating a flow of silver to India, and huge amounts have, it is to be feared, passed into the hands of the population

at rates above their real present value and still more above the prices which they are likely hereafter to realize. Those who have, for many years past, recommended and still recommend the policy of leaving things alone in the hope that they will eventually right themselves, are now confronted with the awkward fact that no tendency to rectification reveals itself, but that, on the contrary, wholesale catastrophe threatens in the immediate future, while the evils of the present moment are continually becoming more unendurable. It is a policy of drift, while rocks and shallows are apparent on every side, and the roar of Niagara is growing momentarily louder in our ears. Such a policy is for the desperate or the mad. To the sane man, to the statesman responsible for the well-being of a community and its future interests, it is impossible. No school of economists but one ventures to suggest a practical way of escape from the calamities which are weighing year by year more heavily on the industry and commerce of the world. The Bimetallists have, at any rate, a theory which professes to explain the malady and to indicate an effectual remedy. Their case rests on grounds scientific and historical. Historically, they appeal to the past—to the history of our own currency, and to the first three quarters of the present century, during which the evils, now so acutely experienced, were obviated by arrangements identical with those to which they would have us now resort. The scientific economists, almost to a man, support these views. Great communities, great Governments, are ready to adopt them. Those who persist in rejecting them, and who encourage the British Government in its refusal to consider them, will, it may be believed, be hereafter called to stricter account, as the suffering becomes more acute and as one suffering class after another discovers that its troubles are too acute for endurance, and may not, after all, be irremediable. They must be prepared with arguments more cogent than the sneers and denunciation which have hitherto formed so large a portion of the monometallist armoury.

“THE INDIAN MONETARY PROBLEM.”

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Late Accountant General, Madras.

ON the 26th June, 1893, in consequence of the recommendations of a Committee presided over by the Lord Chancellor of England, an Act was passed at Simla closing the Indian mints against the free coinage of silver. One of the most important changes ever made in the monetary system of a great country was thus commenced. It is not proposed here to discuss the wisdom of the policy then inaugurated; or to examine the relative merits of silver, of gold, and of the two metals together, as a standard of valuation. It is desired rather to draw attention to the objects aimed at by Lord Herschell's Committee; to explain the measures taken in the furtherance of those objects; and to see the results which have followed.

The change was recommended by the Committee, and adopted by the Government, with the object of eventually putting the money of India on a gold basis. This was not only admitted by the Committee in saying “we cannot advise your Lordship to overrule the proposals for the closing of the mints and the adoption of a gold standard,” but it was also expressly stated by Lord Lansdowne, during the discussion on the Bill, that “we intend to introduce a gold standard.” And indeed otherwise the closure of the mints, which became necessary directly it was determined to change the standard of valuation, would have been quite unjustifiable. When therefore “the Indian Currency experiment” is talked of, it should be remembered that the closure of the mints was hardly an experimental act. It was the necessary sequence of a deliberate decision to forsake a silver, and to adopt a gold standard of valuation. Experiment was to decide how the gold standard was to be engrafted on to the money circulation and obligations of the country, and how it was to be maintained.

It is necessary to explain what a gold standard of valua-

tion is. Unfortunately no authoritative definition can be given. An American writer of eminence indeed once gave nine different meanings as attached to the word "standard" when used in monetary discussions. But no one of these meanings is comprehensive enough to indicate the sense in which the word is used in the report of the Committee and the speech of Lord Lansdowne. It may, however, be safely said, that the standard of valuation of a country is the commodity in terms of which, by law and custom, all other commodities are expressed when their money values are stated; and that the commodity selected is only effective as the standard of valuation when it can be changed freely into the current money of the country, and when the current money of the country can be changed freely into it, at the established rate. Thus before the 26th of June, silver was the standard of India;—not because Rupees, and their fractional copper representatives, constituted the currency of the country, but because whoever chose could turn his silver into the currency of the country, and could equally turn the currency of the country into silver.* So that in effect it was not how many Rupees or Pice were given, but how much silver was given, for particular commodities. And a gold standard cannot be attained until gold occupies a similar position. Not until gold can always be turned at a fixed rate into Rupees, or their fractional representatives, or into whatever may be the currency of the country, and not until the currency of the country can be exchanged into gold at the same rate, will the monetary transactions of India really be measured by gold, and will a gold standard be established in that country. The particular way in which a gold standard was to be set up in India was not set forth in the recommendation of the Committee. Indeed the members were not unanimous on some important matters connected with it. Some appar-

* The seigniorage of two per cent. is left out of consideration. Theoretically it interferes with the exactness of the standard; but practically it is not important.

ently thought that it might be possible to maintain a gold standard without gold being provided by the Government. Others, rightly as it seems to me, considered that the Government of India should "accumulate a sufficient reserve of gold." The rate too at which the Rupee should stand in the gold valuation was not settled, the Committee generally, while proposing a major limit of 16 pence for the present, said that "it would not, of course, be essential to the plan that the ratio should never be fixed above 1s. 4d. ; circumstances might arise, rendering it proper, and even necessary, to raise the ratio."* And one member of the Committee clearly indicated his view that a return to the old Latin Union rate of something like 1s. 10½d. the Rupee, might eventually be possible.

But in regard to "the closing of the mints against the free coinage of silver" there was no uncertain sound ; and this momentous preliminary step was in due course taken ; and silver ceased to be standard of the country. Prices in India, being no longer determined by the value of the commodity silver, became dependent on the limited quantity of Rupees in circulation. It was expected that, this quantity remaining unaltered, the level of Rupee prices at the time of the closure of the mints would also remain unaltered, and that the value of the Rupee having (owing to its coinage being stopped) been made greater than the value of the silver contained in it, its value in gold at the date of the stoppage would at least be maintained, and would gradually be enhanced. But many of those who approved of the closure of the mints were not confident that these expectations would be realised. It was felt that the quantity of Rupees in circulation might be increased notwithstanding the closure of the mints, and that prices expressed in the monopoly Rupees of all commodities, including gold, might consequently rise. And so far as

* What was probably in the mind of the Committee was the possibility of a rise in the gold value of silver (owing to a bimetallic union or other causes) bringing the ratio of silver to gold lower than 21'9 to 1, the ratio corresponding to one and fourpence the Rupee.

can be seen this is precisely what has happened,* though probably the increased quantity of Rupees in circulation has partly arisen from a cause which was not foreseen. A ceaseless stream of Rupees has been pouring into India, which, but for a ceaseless outlet into hoards and ornaments, would have unduly flooded the country.† This stream had been running with unusual volume during the last two or three years, and new Rupees must have continued to flow over the country for a long time after the mints were closed. But the outlets were practically closed directly the value of silver was divorced from the Rupee, thus causing the volume of circulation in the country to increase and, not only hindering any enhancement in the gold value of the coin, but preventing the arrest which the Committee expected would take place in its fall. .

And the difficulty has been aggravated by the action of the Home Government to which attention will now be drawn. The Committee recommended that, with the object of preventing any sudden rise in the gold value of Rupees, they should be issued in exchange for gold at the rate of sixteen pence. This arrangement, though unquestionably wise in itself, gave rise to some misunderstanding. Nowhere in the report of the Committee is any expectation held out that this rate would soon be attained. But the public assumed it would not have been named unless there had been confidence that the Rupee, which stood at 16d., in February 1892, would soon, with the closure of the mints, rise again to that figure. And, immediately it was known that the mints were to be closed with a major limit of 16d., speculation occurred in Rupee paper, which had the effect of working up the exchange

* It is not unreasonable to suppose too that the fall in the price of silver, which was bound to follow the closure of the mints, has been to some extent arrested in India by the increased quantity of Rupees in circulation.

† It has been established by the careful researches of Mr. F. C. Harrison and Professor Edgeworth (see *Economic Journal*, 1891, 1892, 1893) that till lately the volume of Rupee *circulation* has remained practically constant.

rate from about 14½d. to 16d. ; and the favourable views were thus confirmed. One eminent English political economist* asked in seriousness whether the Government would “ not attempt now to exercise the power which they appear to have contemplated employing, and move the rate of exchange to the position it held till 1872 in which year the average rate obtained for Indian Council Bills was 1s. 11·125d. ? ” Even the Government of India were misled into thinking that a rate of 16d. could be maintained, and urged the Secretary of State not to sell his Council Bills at a lower figure. The Secretary of State yielded to the clamour of Calcutta ; and, though he subsequently reduced the *minimum* to 1s. 3¼d., it was not until the end of January, nearly seven months after the mints were closed, that he was forced to admit that the gold price of Rupees in India was independent of his *fiat*. Meanwhile Council Bills had not been sold.† The export trade of India, which leans so much on them, and which (as the successful introduction of a gold standard depended entirely on the excess of exports over imports being maintained) needed special encouragement at the time, was disorganised ; the debt owing to England by India was accumulating ; and money was being borrowed in London while funds were lying idle in Calcutta and Bombay. Imports of silver, no longer wanted for money in India, and of which indeed there was a redundancy in the currency and in the Government Treasure Chests, were encouraged,—thus giving a stimulus to the price of the metal, not likely to be maintained when things had settled down. Imports of other goods into India were encouraged by the competition of Council Bills being practically withdrawn ;—imports which, however desirable in themselves, were of not such primary importance to the Empire of India as that the State liabilities to England should not be increased.

* Mr. Inglis Palgrave, *Times*, July 6th, 1893.

† In the last six months of 1893 only 114 lakhs of bills were sold, compared with 1134 lakhs in the corresponding period of the previous year.

Before the close of January it was announced that a *minimum* for the Council Bills would no longer be maintained, and it was soon seen that the market price was considerably below $14\frac{5}{8}$ d.,—the price ruling when the mints were closed. Even at the reduced rates the full amounts offered were not at first taken up;* but allowance must be made for the disorganisation which has occurred in consequence of the usual channels of remittance having been altered, and for that mistrust which a vacillating Government policy must always cause.

It is impossible to say at what rate exchange will settle down. There are some who still prophesy that the gold value of the Rupee will fall to the intrinsic gold value of the silver contained in it. Experience, up to the present time, indicates that they are wrong. Exchange has to some extent fallen with silver, and this must be so while shipments of silver to India continue. But the large margin between the exchange gold value of the Rupee and its intrinsic gold value has varied very little since January, when the Secretary of State began to sell his Bills without a minimum.† The rate of exchange must, of course, be subject to much greater fluctuations than if the Rupee were on an effective gold basis. It will mainly depend on the Rupee prices of commodities in India, and on the gold prices of commodities in places with which she trades; but, as has already been stated, the most important factor in determining Rupee prices will be the quantity of Rupee currency. If there be no disturbing causes, any redundancy of currency in India will, in process of time, be worked off; prices will gradually fall; and the gold value of the Rupee will gradually rise, till it reaches the point at which it will be profitable to import gold. But this result will not be attained if India, on balance of trade, do not

* The present rate (March 8) is 14d. Since Jan. 24, 340 lakhs of rupees have been sold at an average of nearly 14d.

† On the 31st of January the melting value of the Rupee in London was $11\frac{3}{8}$ d. against $14\frac{3}{8}$ d. the price obtained for Council Bills. On the 7th of March, it was $10\frac{5}{16}$ d. against 14d.

pay what she may owe, whether it be in the shape of obligations incurred in England or for goods which she imports. If she become a debtor, instead of, as she has been in the past, a creditor* country, the exchange value of the Rupee must fall, until it eventually reaches the silver bullion price. It was this point which was apparently lost sight of when the Secretary of State ruinously affected the export trade by declining to sell his Bills at their market value.

Again, the transfer of capital from India to England would also unfavourably affect the position of the former country; while the transfer of capital from England to India would tend in the opposite direction. In this view it is of the highest importance that the capitalist of the West, as well as the people of India, should have confidence in the future of Indian money. The value of an inconvertible paper currency depends to a material extent on the prospects of its ultimate redemption; and a similar remark applies to the value of the inconvertible Rupee. If a definite and attainable scheme be set forward for the ultimate security of the Rupee on a gold basis, it will tend to confidence in it, and to an increase in its gold value: and the flow of capital to India will be encouraged.

The first point in this connection is to fix the rate in gold at which the Rupee is eventually to stand. It goes without saying that the lower this is fixed the sooner, and with the greater ease, will the gold point be reached. People interested in India are apt to forget that, though, in respect to its gold obligations, a high rate of exchange is for the advantage of the State and therefore of its subjects, the trade of the country is just as well served by a low as by a high rate, provided there be stability. It will probably be admitted that nothing above a 16d. Rupee can now be thought of. A 15d. Rupee, however,

* The exports of India have, in the past, been sufficient to pay for its imports and the value of the Council Bills, and still to leave her creditor for a large amount which has been adjusted by specie remittances.

would certainly be much easier, and it would put earlier the date on which India might be expected to join in the scramble for gold. If the probable scruples of Lombard Street could be overcome this would certainly seem to be the better rate of the two.

The next point to be settled is how the gold is to be secured. The object is not to supplant the Rupee currency, but merely to put it on a gold basis. All that is needed is, that while, on the one hand, currency shall be given in exchange for gold, on the other hand gold, not necessarily gold coin but (what Ricardo pointed out, when the resumption of specie payments was under discussion in England in 1816, would be equally effectual) gold in any form, shall be given in exchange for currency. The Paper Currency Department in India affords an excellent medium for the gradual acquisition of gold in exchange for its silver reserves.* Whether any, and if so what, attempt should be made to acquire gold before it comes in obedience to trade demands, need not now be discussed. But until the exchange value of the Rupee has for some time remained constant at the rate determined, no attempt should be made to free any gold which may have accumulated. If, by a stroke of a magician's wand, the (say) twenty crores of Rupees now held by the Paper Currency Department were changed into £13,333,333, the difficulty would not necessarily be solved. If the Rupee remained at its present price, or even at say 15d., while the Paper Currency Department offered to redeem its Rupee notes in gold at 16d., the gold would all be replaced by silver in the course of a few days. But if the Rupee gradually worked itself up to 16d., and if then, in obedience to trade requirements, gold came to India, and the reserves of the Currency Department gradually changed from silver to gold, it would indicate a very different result.

There has been enough of experiment. Owing to the

* As to the detailed way in which this can be carried out, see *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*, January, 1893.

way in which it has been conducted, the object aimed at by Lord Herschell's Committee seems almost as far off as ever ; and judging from the telegrams which have recently come from India insisting on the Secretary of State's ability to fix his own price for his Bills, much profit has not been derived from the bitter experience. But the advisers of the India Office seem at last to be realizing the position ; and if, as apparently was the case, it needed this costly lesson to teach them wisdom, it will not have been entirely thrown away. But let the Government hesitate no longer. Let the announcement already made, as to the introduction of a gold standard into India, be emphatically repeated. Let the manner in which the measure is to be carried out ; the gold rate to be adopted ; the gold security to be obtained ; be definitely determined. Let a pledge be given that this policy shall be carried out without wavering. Let it be remembered that there is not always a royal smooth road to success, but that the path which leads thereto is often difficult. Let it not be expected that the results will certainly be attained in a few weeks or months ;—but let the Government look forward with patience to the gradual establishment, it may be after the lapse of years, of a perfect system under which all the monetary transactions of India shall be measured in gold. As Sir David Barbour has pointed out, it is wrong to think "that the establishment of a gold standard would be a source of endless wealth to the Government of India." But it is believed that it will relieve that Government from the harassing fluctuations of the past, and that it will, when established on a satisfactory footing, contribute largely to the trade prosperity of our magnificent Empire, and promote the general welfare of our Indian fellow-subjects.

AN INDIAN BANKER ON EXCHANGE.

IT is clear that the Secretary of State, urged by Lombard Street, disregarded the position of the market in India, and broke the minimum rate of 1s. $3\frac{1}{4}$ d. at a time when it was on the eve of being obtained. All the Banks in India admit that if he had held on for another fortnight, certainly until the end of April, he would have secured 1s. $3\frac{1}{4}$ d. The effect has been to disorganise trade, as with each decline in the rupee the sterling value of all produce recedes; and the result is that no business can be carried through. Exports are stopped, and though money is as tight as possible, payment of the large imports of silver and piece-goods have enabled the Banks to live from hand to mouth.

The effect will be to destroy the credit of everything Indian; and it would not surprise me to see a great fall in all Indian investments in London; for if the Government Securities are discredited, vide a fall from £70 on 30th June to £57 to-day, say £1,300 on one lac, equal to Rs. 22,000—what confidence can the European public have in anything Indian? An agitation is being promoted by Europeans to get the natives to bestir themselves; and while it is clear to me that this is the only way to get Indian interests properly cared for at home, it will lead to the loss of British prestige in India.

Europeans in India, while loyal to the core, are not blind to the fact that the Indian Council, urged by Lombard Street, has not worked the question to the benefit of India.

I regard the whole position with the utmost concern.

The matter will, no doubt, adjust itself in time; because all imports will be much curtailed and exports increased, and the only means for remittance being "Councils," exchange must rise.

Everything seems to have worked against exchange, and the last feature is absence of freight with unusually heavy crops on the Bombay side to ship.

What Government ought to have done, short of an International agreement for the two metals which will yet be forced on England, was to have stopped the importation of silver on private account altogether, put a duty on all imports, taxed raw jute exported, and fixed an exchange that would not have killed their trade with silver-using countries; then things would have been all right. I have come to the conclusion that the present action, though it will be late in its satisfactory effects and may bring ruin in its operation on many, will ultimately put up exchange.

The heavy imports of silver were probably due to the following causes :

1. Possibility of reopening the Mints.

2. Possibility of a duty on silver.

3. Enormous profit; for instance with exchange at 1s. 3d., say 16 rupees to the £ and silver at 30d. per ounce, Rs. 16 bought 8 ounces of silver roughly. Now, however, with exchange at 1s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. 8 ounces will cost nearly 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, the importer having no hope of a duty to improve his purchase on arrival nor of the reopening of the Mints to get it into rupees, and he will not be able to offer such good terms to the ryot who has hoarded his rupees by exchanging it for silver. Thus, we may look upon the silver import as dead. Next we come to all imports. During 1893 very large imports were made; people returned their money in goods instead of Councils. With the low exchange prices will rise; so that all stocks will be consumed before being replenished, and the result will be that, with diminished Imports and contracted Currency, and the impetus that exports will get from the low exchange, Councils will be taken and Exchange will rise until the maximum rate is reached and the demand arises for imports. I look to a rise in exchange and not to a continued fall. Rupee Paper will be worth buying, when we see the turn in exchange.

There is a very serious question beyond all this and that is that England will lose much of its foreign trade. The jute-spinning trade will go, and we shall make our own

cloths in India. The Government will be compelled to put a duty on all imports, and this will further help matters. They must declare that the unsold "Councils" are to be funded, as the fear of this not being done helped our market down.

In conclusion, I can only repeat that the ill-advised action of the Secretary of State, supported as it is by certain interested persons, is making the Rupee hourly of less value and will not only discredit India in all capitalists' eyes, but also lead to serious trouble and, probably, to political dangers. India sadly needs a representative at home to inform the country that the bankruptcy of India is being wilfully urged on by private and selfish motives that have not even the narrowest patriotism for their excuse, and to show to the miners and working-classes interested in the manufactured exports, that their trade is being taken out of their hands by the action of Lombard Street. Within the last month the P. and O. Company have made a contract with local coal companies to take Bengal coal for their steamers; so the trade in coal also from England to the East is doomed. The outcry of the impoverished trader and workman will be joined by the despoiled capitalist, whether European or native, for it is becoming difficult to support a Government that, strong alone in fads, is ever weak when it is asked to sacrifice the most vital interests of India to the smallest convenience of English party.



THE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN AND GREAT BRITAIN.

BY DR. G. W. LEITNER.

WHATEVER may have been the effect of the mission of Sir Mortimer Durand in strengthening the friendship between the Amir of Afghanistan and Great Britain, it is certain that it only made assurance doubly sure. It was Lord Lytton who first conceived the brilliant idea of attaching Sirdar Abdurrahman to Great Britain when a telegram of Reuter informed the world of the present Amir's arrival at Balkh. Though "loosed upon us by the Russians, I think we can help or hurt him more easily than Russia" wrote the Viceroy in January 1880 to one of his Lieutenant-Governors when suggesting "this moment for very advantageous negotiations with Abdul Rahman." Among the reasons for sending Mr. (now Sir) Lepel Griffin to Kabul was the necessity for securing a master-mind to carry out a master-stroke of policy, should the opportunity for it arrive in his opinion. It is well-known with what success this experienced political officer carried out his delicate task, how he cleared by his negotiations with the tribal Chiefs the road for General Roberts from

Kabul to Kandahar which Sir Donald Stewart had previously cleared with his sword and how they closed our last Afghan campaign with the proclamation of the installation of an independent Amir on the "God-given" Throne of Afghanistan whom *they* had made a friend of Great Britain.



I can testify to the depth and sincerity of a friendship, suggested by Lord Lytton and so happily formed by the action of Sir Lepel Griffin and Sir Donald Stewart. It was at Rawulpindi in March 1885 that I heard and saw the Amir Abdurrahman proffer his sword in public Durbar to fight any enemy of Great Britain. Great was the consternation of politicals and greater the opportunity then lost in leaving Panjdeh unredressed and in checking

Russia's progress towards India for ever. Lord Dufferin, who succeeded Lord Lytton in India as he has succeeded him in France, reconciled the "poor Amir" to the loss of prestige and Panjdeh, then, as now, relying on the promises of Russia and on his diplomatic relations with her Czar and statesmen. But it is idle to ignore that this most charming companion to those whom it is to his interest to attach, cemented, if possible, the already existing friendship of the Amir even where he cooled its ardour. I, therefore, publish as an historical document a photograph which represents in a group His Highness at Rawulpindi in 1885, with Lord Dufferin on his left, the Duke of Connaught on his right, Dr. (now Sir) Mackenzie Wallace on the extreme left angle and behind Lord Dufferin, Major Talbot, the political officer; behind the Amir, Sir Thomas Gordon, the famous Pamir explorer and Persian Scholar and last (though *now* not least) Mr. (now Sir) Mortimer Durand, behind Dr. Wallace. Knowing what I do of Oriental feeling, I have little doubt that if anything at Rawulpindi could have added warmth to the sincere friendship of the Amir for this country it was the genial presence of a son of the Queen.

It is therefore historically incorrect to allege, as some papers and persons have done, that the friendship of the Amir is due to Sir Mortimer Durand or to Lord Lansdowne. Much less is it due to any European letter-carrier or workman who may claim credit for removing a hostility that never existed. The friendship of the Amir for England had never wavered for a moment, even if there were "*irae amantium*" in consequence of certain misunderstandings and encroachments and the mistaken proposal of sending Lord Roberts to explain them at the head of a force which in Afghanistan would be considered almost an army of occupation. To the military advisers of the India Office we are indebted for suggesting a "give-and-take" mission, like that of Sir M. Durand has proved to be. The Amir had the happy thought of sending a letter and

messenger direct to the Viceroy instead of continuing to be puzzled by what passes as Persian in our Foreign Department, and Lord Lansdowne had the good sense to avail himself of an opportunity to conclude his reign with some glory by the *mise-en-scène* of what could not help being a successful mission.

The Amir, and the Amir only, in this matter, as throughout his life, is the author of his fortune. A strong man in every sense of the term, endowed with an iron will and honest in speech and purpose, he threw in his lot with us in 1880 and has remained true to us ever since. To almost incredible provocations and misrepresentations in the Jingo Press of England and India, as to the mistakes or meddlesomeness of politicals, he has replied with a serenity, firmness and completeness that have converted foes into friends. At the very time when it was falsely stated in the Press and on platforms that he was hostile to us and that *therefore* a Mission to him was necessary, he wrote to me in terms which show how sincere and unruffled was his friendship for this country. I publish his letter because he asks me to thank those who have advocated his cause in the Press and because it is better that we should know, in his own words—six weeks *before* Sir M. Durand reached Kabul—what are his feelings towards Great Britain than to be informed of them at second-hand. Finally the letter, as a literary production, is very characteristic of a man whose pen is as sharp as his sword and among whose qualities is thoroughness in everything, great or small, down to finding out the titles and other particulars of correspondents. As to his possible visit to England, though I may have suggested it, there seem to be great difficulties in the way which mainly arise from dynastic and other political considerations and which also affect the sending of his sons to this country. There are also objections as to *entourage* and the exploitation generally of Oriental potentates in Europe, into which I will not enter, but which have the effect of lessening their respect

for us and our civilization and thus frustrating the very object of their visit.

As regards the delimitation of the INDO-AFGHAN frontier I am strongly of opinion that any success on our part in alienating the independent Afghan tribes from Kabul is worse than a defeat, for, in an emergency, the Amir should lead all the tribes of that origin. It is however, a significant comment on the practical results of the Durand Mission as also a powerful testimony to the loyalty and business capacity of our great ally compared with the *laissez-aller* of our Government that, according to a telegram in the *Times* of the 14th ultimo, *he* should actually urge *us* to delimitate a portion of the frontier which we claim to be within our sphere of influence. The telegram runs as follows :

"The Ameer having asked the Government of India to expedite the demarcation of the boundaries of Afghanistan under the Durand agreement, the work will be taken in hand at once on the Khyber, Kurram, and Beluchistan frontiers. It will be carried on by the local political officers. There may be some delay before the demarcation of the Waziristan and Bajaur boundaries is undertaken."

As for the RUSSO-AFGHAN frontier, it is very fortunate for the Amir that a Liberal Government happened to have laid down certain principles of demarcation in the Granville-Gortchakoff Convention of 1873 (republished further on, as it is out of print), which are regarded by another Liberal Government twenty years after, although the progress of Russian arms since 1873 might have been made the excuse for further encroachment to the detriment of Afghanistan on the East, as was the case on the West after the Panjdeh disaster of 1885. Mr. W. Simpson, who accompanied the Boundary Commission in that year, has furnished me with the following outline which may be found convenient in connexion with the study of that part of the present Russo-Afghan frontier, as now finally settled :

"The Russo-Afghan Boundary begins on the west at Zulfaqar, on the Heri-Rud,—which is about 120, or 130 miles following the line of the Heri-Rud,—from Herat. A line, as the crow flies, between Zulfaqar and Herat is about 100 miles,—the range of hills, known as the Paropamisus,

runs along a large part of this straight line. When the Boundary was being laid out, the Russians claimed to advance their line on the Kushk River, and I think it now crosses that stream 18 miles south of Chaman-i-baid. If this is so, it brings the frontier to, or close to, Kara Tapa, or about 60 miles in a direct line north from Herat. The Paropamisus Range runs at right angles across the line from Kara Tapa to Herat,—there are more than one pass over the range. From this the line of Boundary runs north east to Meruchak, on the Murghab, from which it crosses the edge of the desert to the Oxus, at Bosaga, or Kham-i-ab near Khoja Saleh.

“In giving the ground on the Kushk River to the Russians,—they in return gave up some ground on the Oxus. Khoja Saleh was the original point, but the line now ends at the Oxus either at Bosaga or Kham-i-ab, or between the two.”

There is, of course, no connexion between the Granville-Gortchakoff Convention of 1873 and the settlement of the particular frontier between Sarrakhs and the Oxus which Sir W. Ridgeway arranged after the Panjdeh affair in 1885. Under the latter arrangement, a small part of Badgheis fell to Russia, and the Amir, it is stated, was perfectly satisfied with the frontier running from Zulfiqâr *viâ* Ak-Robat, Islim and Khushk to Maruchak and from thence to Bosaga on the Oxus.

The Russo-Afghan boundary, therefore, on the West, as lately re-settled, runs E.N.E. from Zulfiqâr on the Hari Rud (where the Persian boundary is met) to Khâm-i-âb on the Oxus, passing by Maruchak on the Murghâb and the Maimena and Andikhoi (Andkui) borders.

The Oxus line of the Granville-Gortchakoff Convention separates Afghanistan on the North from Bokhara and ought not to be confounded with the line from the Hari Rud just referred to. *It is understood* that the Amir has consented to abide strictly by that Convention and that he has, accordingly, withdrawn from the posts held by him in Raushan on the north or right side of the Oxus, and in Shignân on the right bank of that river, there so tortuous in its course, which were not held by Afghanistan in 1873. In return, *it is similarly understood*, that the Bokhara State, under the advice of Russia, will surrender to Afghanistan the territory occupied by it on the south or

left side of the Oxus in Derwáz since that date. [Shignán proper lies West (a narrow strip) and East of the Oxus.*]

Wakhan will certainly remain in the hands of the Amir and thus the Baroghil Pass and with it Chitrál are as effectually protected by a Liberal Government as any Russophobe Administration could have succeeded in doing. The only unsettled question as yet refers to the boundary between Wood's Lake and China in the Pamirs, where her undoubted ancient rights have to be considered in spite of Lord Dunmore's joke regarding the fabrication of a Chinese boundary inscription. The negotiations between Russia, China and England are not yet concluded, but it is certain that the interests of Afghanistan in those regions will be safeguarded by England. In short, there is no reason to doubt that the hope contained in Her Majesty's last message to Parliament will be fulfilled, much to the advantage of the cause of peace and of the country over which His Highness the Amir rules with a wisdom and vigour unsurpassed, if they are equalled, by any European monarch:

EXTRACT FROM THE QUEEN'S SPEECH, 12TH MARCH 1894.

"The negotiations between my Government and that of the Emperor of Russia for the settlement of frontier questions in Central Asia are proceeding in a spirit of mutual confidence and good will, which gives every hope of an early and equitable adjustment."

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM THE AMIR ABDURRAHMAN TO DR. LEITNER DATED 22ND AUGUST 1893.

"God is He, whose glory be (alone) exalted."

"To the quintessence of those who have attained the highest learning and most perfect accomplishments and of those who, whilst most profound in Arts and Sciences, are also illustrious examples of kindness and friendship, Dr. G. W. Leitner, who is entitled Maulvi Abdur-rashid, LL.D ; D.O.L.

* See Dr. Leitner's Map of the Pamirs and Col. Grombcheffsky's account of independent Shignán and Raushan as also Mr. C. Johnston's paper on Derwáz and Karategin in the "Asiatic Quarterly" of January 1892.—*Ed.*

After manifesting thoughts of affection and royal favour and the desire of meeting you again, may it become evident to your affectionate disposition that this your friend has perused your letter, which, being based on the considerations of a well-wisher and a friend and giving an account of the state of health of a friend, has become the cause of great gratification and pleasure to my inmost mind.

As regards the wish that we should meet again and the getting ready of a Seat for my friendly reception in London about which you have written, I can only hope, as the affairs of the world are based on hope, that, with the Grace of God, the time of such interview may happen and become the cause of rejoicings to both our minds. Since also the resolution to do a thing is of the very essence of a deed, on this ground I have become very much pleased and accept with great gratification your intention of hospitality and the invitation which you have so cordially made. And as regards to what you wrote about the Mosque which you have established for the benefit of Muhammadans, let prayers be offered for the continuance of the life and of the possessions of the Ruler, since, according to the saying that the prayer of the absent has the speediest answer, I hope that the prayer of that absent friend will be accepted by the Throne that grants prayers.

Secondly, you have recorded that some misguided persons have said through the medium of newspapers that His Highness the Amir is not friendly to the English Government, a statement which you have refuted at various influential meetings and proved to be unfounded in different publications of which you have sent two to me, so God will, the efforts of this friend are not without effect.

As to your request for my photograph with an account of my welfare, I send you one as you wish in order that it may be a memento of our friendship.

As regards the imaginings of men who are hungry with self-interest, they are certainly men of hostile and evil disposition who are engaged night and day in sowing dissension in the hearts of friends so as to embroil the love

اما چون از جانبین دل با حق و پاک و به خدای صادق و قادر و دان

در میان بودند گنجایش ناخون زدن نه یافته اند و نخواهند یافت و بجز کوشش
دائی باطلند و کاذبانه اوشان بجز حسرت ناکامی و خجالت نادانی نخواهد شد

ازین حیثه صدق مقادیر شما که منی برخواید و ضایع دولت بهییه برطانیه و دولت خرد
افغانستان بسته لید خوش و ممنون شدیم و بعد ازین امید خیلالت خیر خوانانه و دودستانه

از شما داریم - ثالثاً در ششم از مملکت بهیج در رساله شما بحضور زرتشید و دان
عزیز جواب رفوم میفرمودیم من بعد از احوال محتمل و رونق کارها را خود نویسنده

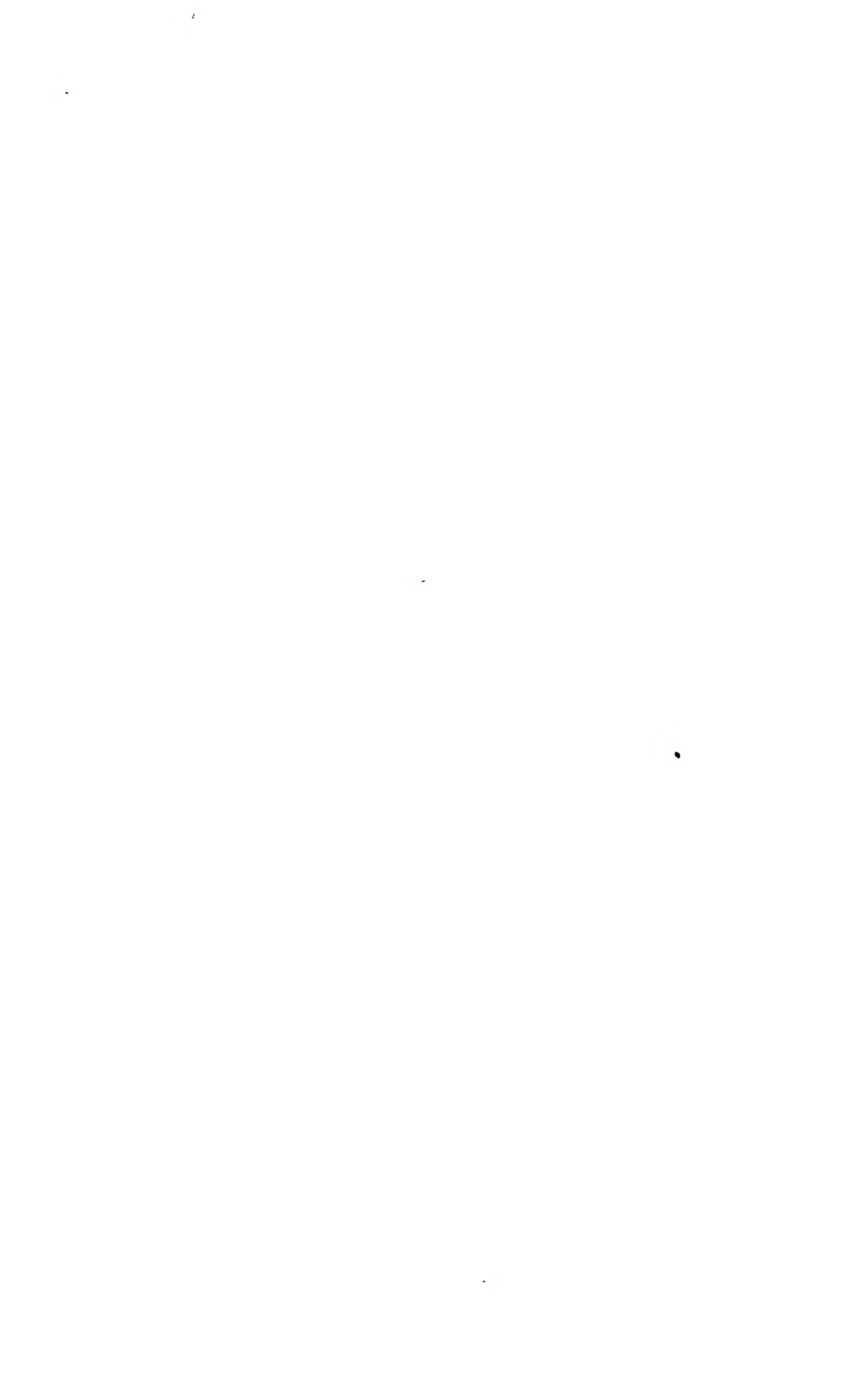
که احوال خیریت مال و دستان مدام و لید فرحت خاطر و الله شده جوابات آن
حضور ارسال فرموده خواهند شد - اختتام در رساله اند را انجیالات محبت و اندیشه

عزت و محترم آن است بعد دیگر دستان معنفان رساله خیر خوانانه در رساله مذکور
میفرمایم معط تحریر میفرمودیم صفه و لغز میفرمودیم

اسم خدا الم حسن اسم افغانستان و
که دم از دم از دوش خدای عز و جل
جوار خط دوست که ادراک



زبدۀ مایہ علوم و کلام و عدل و انصاف فزون فطانت و محبت و مودت آیات اکثر جی و بولینز و علقہ مودت و محبت
 ال - ال - دی - دی - او - ال را بعد از اظهار خیالت محبت و اشتیاق بپایه والد و اشتیاق
 واضح خاطر مودت مطهر باد آنکه مراد آن دوست از ملا خطه و اندک گذشت چون
 برخیزدت خیر خواند و دوستانه و احوال محترم دوستان بوده با اشتیاق و فرحت خاطر عطا و
 گردید و در باب اشتیاق مودت و تیار نمودن نشین دوستانه در لندن برای حضور اینجانب که
 نوشته اید چون دنیا به امید قائم است امید از خداوند داریم که بکدام وقت اتفاق ملاقات
 حاصل شد موجب خطوط خاطر جانین گردد و چون غم کاری عین کار است بدین دلیل
 قصد میمان داری و دعوت حضور والد که به دل داشتید قبول و منظور شد و خبر شد
 و فیض شدیم و آنچه نوشته اند که در نتیجه لندن که بجهت استفاده بملکان تیار کرد
 دعای دوام عمر و مملکت سرکار والد کرده مرشد چون دعاء الغیب اسرع الدجابه مشهور است
 امید داریم که دعاء غایبانه آن دوست محتاج در مملکت محبت الدعوات خواهد بود نایا مرقوم داشت
 که بعضی اشخاص به طبیعت بواسطه اخبارات میگویند که خواب امیر صاحب مخالف بود بگزار
 شده اند بدین تردید ایشان را در مجالس شرفاء و جم در تعنیفات مختلفه کرده ام که این سخن بی بنیاد
 است و در نسخه از آن کتاب مجبور شدیم و ان شاء الله کوشش این دوست خالی از اثر نیست و
 رسته عا دارم که یک قطعه تصویر خود را بخواه احوالات خیریت رحمت فرمایند حسب خواست
 یک قطعه تصویر خود را بطور یلگه دوستانه برای شما فرستادیم و در باب خیانت مردم غرض چنان
 اینکه البته مردم مخالف و به طبیعت لبر و نهادر در لفاق دل نائی دوستان و بر کم کردن
 محبت و دوستی و دشمنی اشتعاع و طعنا و طعنا مدام کوشیده اند و میگویند



and friendship between two nations (or two Governments); they are no doubt inspired by love of mischief, or by greed, or follow their nature and have ever so laboured and are so labouring; since, however, on the sides of both Governments the hearts are sincere and pure and there are between us friends, like you, righteous and competent, they have not even succeeded in inflicting a scratch, nor will they so succeed, for the fruit of such vain and mendacious efforts of theirs can only be the disappointment of failure and the shame of ignorance. Therefore your righteous words are based on, and intended for, the advantage and benefit of the illustrious British Government and of the "God-given" Government of Afghanistan.

I am exceedingly pleased and obliged to you and after this I also hope from you for the expression of further suggestions of a well-wisher and friend.

Thirdly, in 1887 no message from you whatever has reached me from Calcutta, for had it reached me, I would most certainly have sent you an answer. In future, let your letters also inform me of the state of your health and of your own brilliant labours, for the well-being of the conditions of friends being always the object of the satisfaction of my mind, answers to them will ever be sent.

The conclusion of this message is with expressions of thoughts of affection and desire for the glory and good health of yourself together with other friends who have composed well-wishing papers that have been sent to me as above-mentioned. *Finis.*

Written on the 11th Safar al Muzaffar A. H.
1311 or 22nd August 1893 A.D.

(Signed) AMIR ABDURRAHMAN
Amir of Afghanistan.

I have signed this because Dr. Leitner is my own friend and this is an answer to his friendly letter.
Finis."

The following short biography of His Highness, the Amir Abdurrahman Khan, may be appropriate in this place. He

is a Barakzai and was born in 1830, the eldest son of the late Muhammad Afzul Khan, who was the elder half-brother of Sher Ali by a Popalzai wife. Abdurrahman is thus a grandson of the famous Dost Muhammad, who ruled Afghanistan till his death in 1863, and nephew to the late Sher Ali who was expelled by the British in 1879 and soon after died in exile. Afzul was the heir to the Kabul throne, but was away as Governor of Balkh when Dost Muhammad died and Sher Ali succeeded him. The disinherited elder brother, joined by a third brother Azim Khan, then fought Sher Ali during four years. Abdurrahman, already possessed of great energy and ability and who was placed by his father in charge of Takhtapul, won several battles at Sheikhabad, Khelat-i-Ghilzai and other places, but was finally defeated by his cousin, Yakub Khan, son of Sher Ali. Some of the details of this struggle of lions were published by me in 1872 from the dictation of the Kafir, Jamshêd, a nephew of the brave General Feramorz. It may be interesting to mention that the Government of India under Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo, whilst recognizing one claimant as Amir *de jure* recognized whoever won as the *de facto* Amir, a distinction that Sher Ali told me much puzzled him, though, when finally victorious, he was acknowledged by us as the reigning Sovereign. Abdurrahman, who had married a daughter of the Amir of Bokhara, took refuge in the countries beyond the Oxus which had then not yet become Russian, but Yakub Khan compelled the Amir of Bokhara to deny him an asylum in his State and thus forced him to seek the protection of General Kaufmann, who procured him an allowance of 25,000 roubles per annum. The American, Mr. Schuyler, who visited him at Samarcand, expressed a high opinion of his character and intelligence. Abdurrahman was ever a man of business, working systematically and daily, entering into details of administration and regularly having newspapers translated and read out to him by his secretaries.

When Sher Ali died, he wanted to go to Afghanistan, but

the Russian authorities prevented him, though they allowed him to go after Yakub Khan was deposed. He first entered Badakhshan, with which he had old sympathies dating from the days of his friend, the independent Chief, Jehandar Shah, and then advancing into Turkestan, he scarcely met with any resistance. Indeed, the whole army of that province appears to have gone over to him. It is certain that Sultan Murad Khan of Kunduz and Mir Sara Beg of Kolab assisted him and he had also many adherents in other parts of Afghanistan, especially in the Kohistan. As he was, by far, the most eligible of the claimants to the Kabul Throne, a mission from the Indian Government offering him the sovereignty of the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Kabul and Turkistan, was sent early to him at Khanabad in May 1880. The Sirdár, however, wisely preferred to be a NATIONAL Ruler as the surest means of being useful to his country and dynasty as also to a British alliance. In August of that year accordingly the Amir accepted the independent possession of Kabul, when we left it, after proclaiming him as Amir. In April 1881, Kandahar was handed over to Abdurrahman, though he had to fight Ayub Khan for its possession. After defeating him and occupying Herat, he became master of the whole of Afghanistan, which he has since governed with remarkable wisdom and firmness. The more independent is a friendly Afghanistan, the stronger is our position in India against a Russian attack and I sincerely hope that a country which has so repeatedly resisted our arms may not become weakened by the too speedy assimilation of our arts. We should bear in mind that the Amir not only occupies the Throne of Kabul by right of heredity and national election, but that he is also a religious Sunni ruler, who reigns over a "God-given" country by the "*consensus fidelium*" of the "*Sunnat-wa-jemá'at*" and who yet has shown his friendliness to the Shiah denomination by presenting on the 17th ultimo the famous shrine of Imám Rizá at Meshed with a most magnificent Korán. The

less, therefore, a Christian alien power intervenes in Afghanistan, the more will it be a tower of strength to us among Muhammadans.

In appearance, Abdurrahman has a striking presence and a kind and dignified manner. The last drawing of him herewith published was made last year by Dr. J. A. Gray recently surgeon to His Highness. His health is generally good, though he often suffers from gout, "the Marz-ul-Mulûk" or "disease of kings," which appears to be hereditary in Dost Muhammad's family.



CORRESPONDENCE WITH RUSSIA RESPECTING CENTRAL ASIA.

PRESENTED TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT BY COMMAND OF
HER MAJESTY, 1873.

NO. I.—EARL GRANVILLE TO LORD A. LOFTUS.

Foreign Office, October 17, 1872.

MY LORD,

Her Majesty's Government have not yet received from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg communication of the Report which General Kaufmann was long since instructed to draw up on the countries south of the Oxus which are claimed by the Ruler of Afghanistan as his hereditary possessions.

Her Majesty's Government have awaited this communication in full confidence that impartial inquiries instituted by that distinguished officer would confirm the views they themselves take of this matter, and so enable the two Governments to come to a prompt and definitive decision on the question that has been so long in discussion between them.

But as the expected communication has not reached them, and as they consider it of importance both for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in Central Asia, and for removing all causes of misunderstanding between the Imperial Government and themselves, I will no longer delay making known through your Excellency to the Imperial Government the conclusion at which Her Majesty's Government have arrived after carefully weighing all the evidence before them.

In the opinion then of Her Majesty's Government the right of the Ameer of Cabul (Shere Ali) to the possession of the territories up to the Oxus as far down as Khoja Saleh is fully established, and they believe, and have so stated to him through the Indian Government, that he would have a right to defend these territories if invaded. On the other hand, Her Majesty's authorities in India have declared their determination to remonstrate strongly with the Ameer should he evince any disposition to overstep these limits of his kingdom.

Hitherto the Ameer has proved most amenable to the advice offered to him by the Indian Government, and has cordially accepted the peaceful policy which they have recommended him to adopt, because the Indian Government have been able to accompany their advice with an assurance that the territorial integrity of Afghanistan would in like manner be respected by those Powers beyond his frontiers which are amenable to the influence of Russia. The policy thus happily inaugurated has produced the most beneficial results in the establishment of peace in the countries where it has long been unknown.

Her Majesty's Government believe that it is now in the power of the Russian Government by an explicit recognition of the right of the Ameer of Cabul to these territories which he now claims, which Bokhara herself admits to be his, and which all evidence as yet produced shows to be in his actual and effectual possession, to assist the British Government in perpetuating, as far as it is in human power to do so, the peace and prosperity of those regions, and in removing for ever by such means all cause of uneasiness and jealousy between England and Russia in regard to their respective policies in Asia.

For your Excellency's more complete information I state the territories and boundaries which Her Majesty's Government consider as fully belonging to the Ameer of Cabul, viz. :—

(1.) Badakshan, with its dependent district of Wakhan from the Sarikal (Wood's Lake) on the east to the junction of the Kokcha River with the Oxus (or Penjah)*, forming the northern boundary of this Afghan province throughout its entire extent.

* It is alleged that, owing to the copyist's error, the sentences "*on the West; the stream of the Oxus thus*" after the word "Penjah" and before the word "forming" were omitted in the final agreement, but this has, practically, proved to be a distinction without a difference.—Ed.

(2.) Afghan Turkestan, comprising the districts of Kunduz, Khulm, and Balkh, the northern boundary of which would be the line of the Oxus from the junction of the Kokcha River to the post of the Khoja Saleh, inclusive, on the high road from Bokhara to Balkh. Nothing to be claimed by the Afghan Ameer on the left bank of the Oxus below Khoja Saleh.

(3.) The internal districts of Aksha, Seripool, Maimena, Shibbergan, and Andkoi, the latter of which would be the extreme Afghan frontier possession to the north-west, the desert beyond belonging to independent tribes of Turcomans.

(4.) The western Afghan frontier between the dependencies of Herat and those of the Persian province of Khorassan is well known and need not here be defined.

Your Excellency will give a copy of this despatch to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

NO. 2.—PRINCE GORTCHAKOW TO COUNT BRUNNOW.—(COMMUNICATED TO EARL GRANVILLE BY COUNT BRUNNOW, DECEMBER 29.)

(Translation.)

St. Petersburg, December 7, 1872.

M. LE COMTE,

Your Excellency has already received copy of Lord Granville's despatch of the 17th October, which was communicated to us by Lord A. Loftus, by order of his Government.

It refers to the affairs of Central Asia.

Before answering it, it becomes necessary for me to recapitulate the different phases of the negotiation between us and the English Cabinet upon this question.

The two Governments were equally desirous to forestall any cause of disagreement between them in that part of Asia. Both wished to establish such a state of things as would secure peace in those countries, and consolidate the relations of friendship and good understanding between the two Governments.

They had consequently come to an agreement that it was expedient to have a certain "intermediary" zone, for the purpose of preserving their respective possessions from immediate contact.

Afghanistan seemed well fitted to supply what was needed; and it was consequently agreed that the two Governments should use all their influence with their neighbouring States towards preventing any collision or encroachment on one side or the other of this "intermediary" zone.

All that remained, in order to make the agreement between the two Cabinets as complete in fact as it already was in principle, was to trace the exact limits of the zone.

It was here that a doubtful point arose.

The founder of the Afghan State, Dost Mahommed Khan, had left behind him a state of confusion which did not allow of the territorial extension which Afghanistan had acquired at certain moments of his reign, being accepted as a basis.

It was consequently agreed that no territories should be taken into account, but such as having formerly recognized the authority of Dost Mahommed were still in the actual possession of Shere Ali Khan.

It thus became necessary to ascertain, with all possible accuracy, what were the territories in his actual possession.

For this purpose it was requisite to have positive local data, which neither Government possessed, with reference to these distant and imperfectly-known countries.

It was agreed that the Governor-General of Turkestan should be instructed to take advantage of his residence in the proximity of and his relations with the neighbouring Khanates, to collect all the information necessary to throw light upon the question, and to enable the two Governments to come to a practical decision with the facts before them.

Such was the point, M. le Comte, as your Excellency will recollect, at which our negotiations with the English Cabinet had arrived.

In conformity with this decision, M. l'Aide-de-camp Général de Kaufmann had taken

every possible measure towards carrying out this preliminary investigation. Owing, moreover, to difficulties arising out of the distances involved, the excessively complicated nature of the points to be elucidated, the absence of genuine sources of information, and the impossibility of a direct inquiry, he was unable to accomplish his task as speedily as we, no less than the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, would have desired. Hence the delay pointed out in Lord Granville's despatch.

We have, however, already drawn attention to the fact that the cause of the delay is to be found in the serious attention which the Imperial Cabinet devoted to this affair. It would have been easy to rest content with hastily collected notions, which later would have given rise to misunderstandings. We preferred to study the question conscientiously, since it was one of giving a solid and durable basis to the political organization of Central Asia, and to the good and friendly relations, present as well as future, which the two Governments aimed at establishing between them on that basis.

At the beginning of last October, the Imperial Ministry was able to announce to Lord A. Loftus and to your Excellency that the Councillor of State Struve, to whom these inquiries had been intrusted, had at last just arrived at St. Petersburg, and that, as soon as the materials he had collected had been put into shape the result would be communicated to the Cabinet in London. It was whilst this work was going on that Lord Granville's despatch was communicated to us, informing us of the opinion which Her Britannic Majesty's Government has thought fit to form upon the points under discussion.

The Imperial Cabinet, having in view the spirit of the agreement arrived at in principle between the two Governments, none the less thinks it its duty to transmit to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty the particulars collected on the spot by order of the Governor-General of Turkestan, and to lay before them most frankly the conclusions which, in its opinion, are their natural consequences.

These particulars and conclusions are contained in the letter, copy of which is inclosed, which M. l'Aide-de-camp Général de Kaufmann has just addressed to me, and in the Memorandum which forms its inclosure.

I will sum them up :

The question to be settled had two sides—

1. To ascertain the real state of possession at this moment, so far as it is possible to prove it in those countries.

2. Starting from this *status quo* as a basis, to seek for a line of demarcation, to be traced, which will best answer the object of the present negotiations ; that is, to remove as far as possible all cause of conflict or mutual encroachments between the neighbouring Khanates, and consequently assure, as far as can be done, the state of peace which henceforward the two Governments should respectively use all their influence to cause to be respected.

Looking at the question from these two points of view, its study led to the following conclusions :—

1. That to the north, the Amou Daria, forms, in fact, the proper frontier of Afghanistan from its confluence with the Koukhtcha, as far as the point of Khodja Saleh.

So far our data confirm the opinion of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, and the frontier in question seems the more reasonable, that it can give rise to no disputes on the part of the inhabitants of the banks of the Amou Daria.

2. To the north-east, the data we have collected give the confluence of that river with the Konkhtcha as the limit of the districts over which Shere Ali Khan exercises actual undisputed sovereignty. Beyond that limit, and especially with regard to Badakshan and Wakhan, it has been impossible to find any traces of such a sovereignty ; on the contrary, all our information upon the subject goes to prove that these districts should be regarded as independent. In the communication from Her Britannic Majesty's Government, which was made to us in November last, it is seen that, according to the testimony of Major Montgomery, the Ameer of Cabul has "considerable authority" in Badakshan, and that the Afghans have "assisted Mahmood Shah to upset the Emir or Chief of this country, Jehandar Shah." But these facts themselves seem to point rather to the real independence of Badakshan than to its absolute subjection to the Ameer of Cabul. The information collected by M. Struve, and contained in his Memorandum, supports this conclusion. Mention is made, it is true, of interference by the Afghan Ameer in the

internal disputes of Badakshan, and of attempts on his part to get his assistance paid for by a kind of tribute ; but nowhere are the signs to be found which, in Asia, accompany the exercise of the rights of sovereignty ; for instance, the presence in the country of Afghan officers, and of officials to collect the taxes. The Chiefs of Badakshan looked upon themselves, and were looked upon by their neighbours, as independent Chiefs.

It follows that, from these facts, at the most it may be granted that the Ameer of Cabul has on various occasions attempted to bring Badakshan under his dominion, that he has several times profited by internal discord to exercise over the country considerable control, based on his position as a neighbour and superiority of his forces ; but that it is impossible to deduce from them the existence of a real and uncontested sovereign power.

As to Wakhan, that country seems to have remained up to the present moment even more outside the circle of the direct action of the Chiefs of Afghanistan.

3. We have next to inquire whether or not, in this state of things, and in view of our common object—that is, the establishment in those regions of a permanent peace guaranteed by both Governments, it is well to recognize the rights claimed by the Ameer of Cabul over Badakshan and Wakhan, and to comprise these two countries within the territorial limits of Afghanistan. Such is not the opinion of M. l'Aide-de-camp Général Kaufmann, and the Imperial Cabinet arrives at the same conclusions.

In the present state of things there is no dispute between Badakshan and her neighbours. Bokhara puts forward no claim to that country. The two States are, besides, too weak, too absorbed in their own affairs, to wish to quarrel. England and Russia would consequently have nothing to do but to maintain this state of peace as well between these Khanates as between Afghanistan and Badakshan ; and this task would not seem beyond their power. Far otherwise would it be the day that the Ameer of Cabul should extend his authority over Badakshan and Wakhan. He would find himself in immediate contact with Kashgar, Kokand, and Bokhara, from which he is now separated by those two countries. From that moment it would be far more difficult to avoid contests due either to his ambition and consciousness of power, or to the jealousy of his neighbours. This would give a most precarious basis to the peace which it is sought to establish in those countries, and compromise the two Governments who would be called upon to guarantee it. This arrangement would consequently seem to us to go directly counter to the object which they have in common. It would appear to us much more in keeping with that object to allow the present state of things to continue. Badakshan and Wakhan would thus form a barrier interposed between the Northern and Southern States of Central Asia, and this barrier, strengthened by the combined action which England and Russia are able to bring to bear upon such of those States as are accessible to their influence, would effectually prevent any dangerous contact, and would in our opinion secure, as far as anything could do so, the peace of those countries.

4. As for the boundaries to be recognised as those of Afghanistan on the North-west, starting from Khodja-Saleh, the information we have received equally throws doubts upon the *de facto* possession by the Ameer of Cabul of the towns of Aktchi, Seripool, Meimané, Chibirgan, and Andkhoi, which it is a question of comprising within the acknowledged boundaries of Afghanistan.

These districts, however, being divided from Bokhara by deserts, would not, if annexed to the Afghan territory, offer the same dangers of contact that we have pointed out on the north-east ; and their annexation would not, consequently, be open to the same objections.

If the Government of Her Britannic Majesty adheres to its opinion of the expediency of comprising these places in the limits of the Afghan territory, we will not insist upon the principle from which we started, namely, that no districts should be acknowledged as part of Afghanistan, but such as had been under the rule of Dost Mohammed Khan, and were, at this moment, in actual subjection to Shere Ali Khan. In deference to the wish of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, the Imperial Cabinet would be disposed, as far as this portion of the boundary is concerned, to accept the line laid down in Lord Granville's despatch. Such, M. le Comte, are briefly the conclusions which we think the materials in our hands justify us in forming.

Be so good as to lay them before the Chief Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty. Our intention, in communicating them to his Excellency, is not only to fulfil our promise. We believe that, in attempting the rational solution of a question which interests the two Governments equally, we are best carrying out the purpose which has animated both ever since their first friendly interchange of ideas.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

INCLOSURE I IN NO. 2.—GENERAL KAUFMANN TO PRINCE GORTCHAKOW.

(Translation.)

(Translated from the Russian.)

St. Petersburg, November 29, 1872.

I have the honour to submit to your Highness herewith a Memorandum on the question of the northern frontier of Afghanistan. This Memorandum has been compiled on the basis of such data and materials as I have succeeded in collecting in the course of the last two years, on the subject of the state of affairs on the frontier of Afghanistan and Bokhara, and the independent States on the upper course of the Amou-Daria.

I confess that these data are far from being complete.

Personal investigation and observation, exercised on the very spot, are in Central Asia the only means of obtaining enlightenment on any question whatever, political or geographical. I have not, as yet, had recourse to these means. To have sent a Russian official into these countries, even on the pretext of a scientific mission, might have created a panic in Afghanistan, and would have awakened suspicions and apprehensions on the part of the Government of India. It was my duty to avoid anything that might in any way have disturbed the satisfactory state of our relations as established by the friendly and sincere exchange of ideas which has taken place between the Imperial Government and that of Her Britannic Majesty.

I have already had the honour of communicating to your Highness my opinion as to one of the causes of the excited state of public feeling existing in the Khanates of Central Asia bordering on Russia. That is, that all our neighbours, and particularly the Afghans, are filled with the conviction that there exists between Russia and England an enmity which, sooner or later, will lead us into conflict with the English in Asia.

In conformity with the intentions and views of the Minister for Foreign Affairs I have applied myself to dispel this bugbear of an impending conflict between the two great Powers. In my relations with Kokand or Bokhara, and, above all, in my letters to Shere Ali Khan, I have always spoken of the similarity of views and of the friendship existing between ourselves and England, and I have applied myself to the task of demonstrating that these two Powers, Russia as well as England, are equally solicitous for the tranquillity of the countries and peoples which lie within the radius of their influence and protection. It is this reason which, up to the present time, has determined me not to send officers into those parts with the object of obtaining information respecting the questions put to me by the Imperial Government.

This state of things is quite as advantageous for us as for England. But it is liable to change should once the possessions of Shere Ali Khan be guaranteed to him within the boundaries proposed at the present moment by Lord Granville in his despatch to Lord A. Loftus of the 17th of October last. Such a guarantee would give him a considerable prestige, and he would immediately attempt to seize, *de facto*, the territories thus conceded to him. First of all he would turn his attention towards Badakshan and Wakhan as the easiest and most attainable booty. By the acquisition of these two territories he would prolong his line of contact with Bokhara, and would find himself side by side with Karateguina, whence Khokand is within easy reach. Finally, his north-western boundary would touch the possessions of Yakoub Bek. Here is a road which would lead him straight into collision with Russia.

If the English Government is really animated by the same wish as ourselves to maintain internal peace and tranquillity in the Khanates which separate us from the British possessions in India—if England will give credit to our sincere protestations that we are

not dreaming of any hostile enterprize whatever against her Indian possessions, common sense ought to suggest to her the necessity of recognising the independence of Badakshan and Wakhan, equally in the interests of the Ameer of Cabul and of Bokhara.

I have, &c.

INCLOSURE 2 IN NO. 2.—MEMORANDUM.

(*Translation.*)

(Translated from the Russian.)

In the strict sense of the word, the possessions of the Ameer Shere Ali Khan only extend eastward as far as the meridian of the point of junction of the river Kouktcha with the Amu-Daria. This line separates Badakshan and Wakhan from the province of Kunduz, which incontestably forms part of the dominions of Shere Ali Khan. It was annexed to Afghanistan about twenty years ago by Mohammed Afzal Khan, son of Dost Mohammed, who was at that time Governor of Balkh. Afzal Khan, as we learn from an English communication, made a fruitless attempt to seize Badakshan, the consequence of which, however, was that the Meer of Badakshan, in order to secure the safety of his dominions, engaged to pay to Dost Mohammed Khan an annual tribute of two rupees for every house, and to deliver up to him the mines of rubies and lapis-lazuli, situated in his territory. This engagement, however, was not fulfilled; the death of Dost Mohammed Khan suggested to the chiefs of Badakshan, who little wished to become subservient to Cabul, the idea of seeking the protection of Bokhara. But the Ameer Seid Mouzaffar totally declined to interfere in the affairs of Badakshan, not because he looked upon this country as a dependency of Afghanistan, but because at that time he was anxiously watching the progress of our arms in Central Asia and was preparing to march against Kokand.

Djandar Shah, who was then ruler of Badakshan, was an entirely independent Sovereign, and recognized as such by all his neighbors. He had entered into friendly relations with Mohammed Afzal Khan and his son Abdourrahman Khan, to whom he paid no tribute. When Shere Ali Khan, having defeated Abdourrahman Khan, had occupied Cabul and Balkh, and made himself master of all Afghanistan, he sent an Embassy to Djandar Shah, calling upon him to fulfil the engagements which he had formerly contracted. Djandar Shah answered by a refusal. Thereupon Mohammed Shah his nephew, supported by the Afghan troops, overthrew his uncle and made himself master of Faizabad, the capital of Badakshan, whilst his younger brother Mizrab Shah seized Tchaiah, the chief town of the province of Roustakh. The two brothers now pay to Shere Ali Khan, in recognition of the co-operation which he granted them, an annual tribute of 15,000 rupees (9,000 roubles). With the exception, however, of a very small number of Afghan adventurers, one meets in Badakshan with neither officials nor troops of the Ameer of Cabul, and his people themselves detest the Afghans.

This intelligence, furnished by Abdonrrahman Khan, and gathered partly from the lips of envoys of the Serdar of Balkh, who came to Tashkend, is confirmed by the statement of Alif Bek, ex-Governor of Sarikoul (a province of Kashgar bordering on Wakhan), who presented himself at Tashkend in the month of August of the present year. He added that Djandar Shah, the legitimate ruler of Badakshan, who first of all fled to Bokhara, had afterwards returned, by Samarkand and Kokand to Chougnan.

Such a state of things existing in Badakshan clearly shows that Shere Ali Khan could have no pretension to the possession of Badakshan as an inheritance bequeathed to him by Dost Mohammed Khan, and that his authority is not yet established in Badakshan; Mohammed Shah and Mizoul Shah, the actual Rulers of Badakshan, do not consider themselves as Beks of the Ameer of Cabul, and, if they pay him tribute, it is only in the interest of their own security and in order to shelter themselves from the sudden attacks of the brigands of Kunduz. Moreover, they have still to fear their uncle, Djandar Shah. There is nothing to favour the belief that the state of affairs in Badakshan is likely to change soon in favour of Shere Ali Khan, and it is certain that the present state of things in that country is in accordance, or nearly so, with the objects we have in view in Central Asia in common, and after a previous and voluntary understanding, with England. Nor does anything point to the possibility of a collision between Afghanistan and Bokhara on

the side of Badakshan : the Emeer Seid Mouzaffar has put forward no pretension to the possession of that country. In the same way Shere Ali Khan, who with difficulty keeps up a show of authority at Badakshan, is not in a position at this moment to exercise any influence over Kouliab and Hissar, the towns of Bokhara which lie nearest to Badakshan. The official recognition by Russia and England of the rights of Shere Ali Khan over this country would at once lead that sovereign to make every effort to establish himself at Faizabad and in the district of Roustakh, and, should he once succeed, a collision between Bokhara and Afghanistan would become inevitable. In support of this view it will suffice to state that the former Bek of Hissar, who in 1870 took refuge in Afghanistan, after his revolt against the Emir Seid Mouzaffar in 1869, has already made attempts to recover his province, with the assistance of the Afghans, to whom he promised the entire subjection to the Ameer of Cabul of the whole of the Province of Hissar and Kouliab. That this plan has not been carried out must be attributed to the fact that the authority of Shere Ali Khan in Badakshan was null, and that the Ameer had no means of aggression at his disposal in that State.

To the east of Badakshan, in the upper basin of the Amu-Daria, lies a country little known, named Wakhan. This country, sometimes called Daria-pondj (the Five Rivers), on account of the five principal tributaries which give rise to the Amu-Daria, to the north borders on the Pamir Steppe, which separates it from Karaténine ; to the east it marches with Sarikoul, which belongs to the States under Yakoub Bek ; to the south it is separated from Tchitrar (a country completely independent of Cabul) by the mountains of Nouk-San, the eastern prolongation of the Hindoo-Koosh. Wakhan is administered by a Chief of its own, but the poverty of its inhabitants, and the barrenness of the soil of this mountainous district, have brought it into dependence upon Badakshan, the Beks of which do not, however, meddle with its domestic affairs. Once a year the Chief of Wakhan sends a certain sum of money to the Beks of Badakshan ; but there are no direct relations between this country and Afghanistan.

A road passes through Badakshan and Wakhan, connecting Kunduz with Sarikoul, Yarkend, and Kashgar. According to certain information in our possession, this road is longer than the direct road from Peshawur to Yarkend taken by Mr. Shaw.

As to the Amu-Daria, this river serves as a boundary line between Afghanistan and Bokhara for a distance of about 300 versts, from the confluence of the Kouktcha on the east up to the point where both banks belong to Bokhara, and especially as far as the pass of Tchouckha-Gouzar, opposite the Bokharan village Khodja-Saleh, which is on the right bank of the river.

To sum up, as far as regards the north-west boundary of Afghanistan, although there are doubts as to the actual possession by the Ameer of Cabul of the towns of Aktchou, Seripool, Maïmané, Chibirgan, and Andkhoi, lying to the west of Balkh, it may be taken into consideration that all this region is isolated from the States of Bokhara by an almost impassable desert, and in part even by the sands, and that, consequently, on that side there would be less fear of any immediate collision between Afghanistan and Bokhara.

NO. 3.—EARL GRANVILLE TO LORD A. LOFTUS.

Foreign Office, January 8, 1873.

MY LORD,

Having received information from your Excellency and from Count Brunnow that Count Schouvalow, a statesman enjoying the full confidence of the Emperor of Russia, had left St. Petersburg for London at the desire of His Imperial Majesty, I had the pleasure of receiving his Excellency on the 8th instant.

He confirmed the fact that it was by the Emperor's desire that he had sought a personal interview with me. It had caused great surprise to His Imperial Majesty to learn from various sources that a certain amount of excitement and susceptibility had been caused in the public mind of this country on account of questions connected with Central Asia.

The Emperor knew of no questions in Central Asia which could affect the good understanding between the two countries. It was true that no agreement has been come to as to some of the details of the arrangement concluded by Lord Clarendon and Prince Gort-

chakow on the basis of Mr. Forsyth's recommendations as to the boundaries of Afghanistan; but the question ought not to be a cause to ruffle the good relations between the two countries. His Imperial Majesty had agreed to almost everything that we had asked. There remained only the point regarding the provinces of Badakshan and Wakhan. There might be arguments used respectively by the Departments of each Government, but the Emperor was of opinion that such a question should not be a cause of difference between the two countries, and His Imperial Majesty was determined that it should not be so. He was the more inclined to carry out this determination in consequence of His Majesty's belief in the conciliatory policy of Her Majesty's Government.

Count Schouvalow added, on his own part, that he had every reason to believe, if it were desired by Her Majesty's Government, the agreement might be arrived at at a very early period.

With regard to the expedition to Khiva, it was true that it was decided upon for next spring. To give an idea of its character it was sufficient to say that it would consist of four and a half battalions. Its object was to punish acts of brigandage, to recover fifty Russian prisoners, and to teach the Khan that such conduct on his part could not be continued with the impunity in which the moderation of Russia had led him to believe. Not only was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it, and directions given that the conditions imposed should be such as could not in any way lead to a prolonged occupancy of Khiva.

Count Schouvalow repeated the surprise which the Emperor, entertaining such sentiments, felt at the uneasiness which it was said existed in England on the subject, and he gave me most decided assurance that I might give positive assurances to Parliament on this matter.

With regard to the uneasiness which might exist in England on the subject of Central Asia, I could not deny the fact to Count Schouvalow; the people of this country were decidedly in favour of peace, but a great jealousy existed as to anything which really affected our honour and interest; that they were particularly alive to anything affecting India; that the progress of Russia in Asia had been considerable, and sometimes as it would appear, like England in India and France in Algeria, more so than was desired by the Central Governments; that the Clarendon and Gortchakow arrangement, apparently agreeable to both Governments, had met with a great delay as to its final settlement; that it was with the object of coming to a settlement satisfactory to both countries, and in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, that I had addressed to your Excellency the despatch of the 17th October.

The only point of difference which now remained, as Count Schouvalow had pointed out, concerned Badakshan and Wakhan. In our opinion, historical facts proved that these countries were under the domination of the Sovereign of Cabul, and we have acknowledged as much in public documents; that, with regard to the expedition to Khiva, Count Schouvalow was aware that Lord Northbrook had given the strongest advice to the Khan to comply with the reasonable demands of the Emperor, and if the expedition were undertaken and carried out with the object and within the limits described by Count Schouvalow, it would meet with no remonstrance from Her Majesty's Government, but it would undoubtedly excite public attention, and make the settlement of the boundary of Afghanistan more important for the object which both Governments had in view, viz., peace in Central Asia, and good relations between the two countries.

As to coming to a decision at an early date, it appeared to me desirable, inasmuch as it would bear a different aspect if arrived at in the spirit with which both Governments were actuated, and not complicated by possible discussions raised in the British Parliament.

I concluded by telling Count Schouvalow that I knew the confidence which was placed in him by the Emperor, and that I felt sure that my colleagues would agree with me in appreciating his visit to England, as a gratifying proof of the eminently conciliatory and friendly spirit with which the Emperor desired to settle without delay the question at issue.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

NO. 4.—EARL GRANVILLE TO LORD A. LOFTUS.

Foreign Office, January 24, 1873.

MY LORD,

Her Majesty's Government have attentively considered the statements and arguments contained in Prince Gortchakow's despatch of the 7th December, and the papers that accompanied it, which were communicated to me by the Russian Ambassador on the 13th December, and to your Excellency by Prince Gortchakow on the 29th of that month.

Her Majesty's Government gladly recognize, in the frank and friendly terms of that despatch, the same spirit of friendliness as that in which, by my despatch of the 17th of October, I desired to convey through your Excellency to the Russian Government the views of that of Her Majesty in regard to the line of boundary claimed by Shere Ali, the Ruler of Cabul, for his possessions of Afghanistan.

Her Majesty's Government see with much satisfaction that, as regards the principal part of that line, the Imperial Government is willing to acquiesce in the claim of Shere Ali, and they rely on the friendly feelings of the Emperor when they lay before him, as I now instruct your Excellency to do, a renewed statement of the grounds on which they consider Shere Ali's claim to the remainder of the line of boundary referred to in my despatch of the 17th of October, to be well-founded.

The objections stated in Prince Gortchakow's despatch apply to that part of Shere Ali's claims which would comprise the province of Badakshan with its dependent district of Wakhan within the Afghan State. The Imperial Government contend that the province of Badakshan with its dependency, not having been formally incorporated into the territories of Shere Ali, is not legitimately any portion of the Afghan State.

To this Her Majesty's Government reply that the Ameer of Cabul having attained by conquest the sovereignty over Badakshan, and having received in the most formal manner the submission of the chiefs and people of that province, had the right to impose upon it such a form of Government as he might think best adapted to the position of affairs at the time. In the exercise of this right he appointed a Local Governor, and he consented experimentally to receive a fixed portion of the revenues of the country, instead of taking upon himself its general financial and other administration. But the Ameer expressly reserved to himself the right of reconsidering this arrangement, which was, in the first instance, made only for one year, of at any time subjecting Badakshan to the direct Government of Cabul, and of amalgamating the revenues thereof with the general revenue of the Afghan State. Her Majesty's Government cannot perceive anything in these circumstances calculated to weaken the claims of Shere Ali to the absolute sovereignty of Badakshan. The conquest and submission of the Province were complete; and it cannot reasonably be urged that any experimental form of administration which the Ameer, with the acknowledged right of sovereignty, might think fit to impose on Badakshan, cannot possibly disconnect the province from the general territories south of the Oxus, the sovereignty of which the Russian Government has without hesitation recognized to be vested in the Ameer of Cabul.

Her Majesty's Government have not failed to notice in portions of the statements of the Russian Government to which I am now replying, that its objection to admitting Badakshan and Wakhan to be under the sovereignty of Shere Ali is rested in part on an expressed apprehension lest their incorporation with the remainder of Afghanistan should tend to disturb the peace of Central Asia, and specifically should operate as an encouragement to the Ameer to extend his possessions at the expense of the neighbouring countries. I alluded, in my despatch of the 17th of October, to the success which had attended the recommendations made to the Ameer by the Indian Government to adopt the policy which had produced the most beneficial results in the establishment of peace in countries where it had been long unknown; and Her Majesty's Government see no reason to suppose that similar results would not follow on the like recommendations. Her Majesty's Government will not fail to impress upon the Ameer in the strongest terms the advantages which are given to him in the recognition by Great Britain and Russia of the boundaries which he claims, and of the consequent obligation upon him to abstain from any aggression on his part, and Her Majesty's Government will continue to exercise their influence in the same direction.

Her Majesty's Government cannot however but feel that, if Badakshan and Wakhan, which they consider the Ameer justly to deem to be part of his territories, be assumed by England or Russia, or by one or either of them, to be wholly independent of his authority, the Ameer might be tempted to assert his claims by arms; that perhaps in that case Bokhara might seek an opportunity of acquiring districts too weak of themselves to resist the Afghan State; and that thus the peace of Central Asia would be disturbed, and occasion given for questions between Great Britain and Russia, which it is on every account so desirable to avoid, and which Her Majesty's Government feel sure would be as distasteful to the Imperial Government as to themselves.

Her Majesty's Government therefore hope that the Imperial Government, weighing these considerations dispassionately, will concur in the recognition which they have made of Shere Ali's rights, as stated in my despatch of October, and by so doing put an end to the wild speculations, so calculated to distract the minds of Asiatic races, that there is some marked disagreement between England and Russia, on which they may build hopes of carrying out their border feuds for purposes of self-aggrandizement.

Her Majesty's Government congratulate themselves on the prospect of a definite settlement as between the two Governments of the question of the boundaries of Afghanistan, the details of which have been so long in discussion.

Your Excellency will read and give a copy of this despatch to Prince Gortchakow.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

NO. 5.—PRINCE GORTCHAKOW TO COUNT BRUNNOW.—(COMMUNICATED TO EARL GRANVILLE BY COUNT BRUNNOW, FEBRUARY 5.)

(Translation.)

St. Petersburg, January $\frac{1}{2}$, 1873.

M. LE COMTE,

Lord Augustus Loftus has communicated to me the reply of Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State to our despatch on Central Asia of the 19th of December.

I enclose a copy of this document.

We see with satisfaction that the English Cabinet continues to pursue in those parts the same object as ourselves, that of ensuring to them peace, and, as far as possible, tranquillity.

The divergence which existed in our views was with regard to the frontiers assigned to the dominions of Shere Ali.

The English Cabinet includes within them Badakshan and Wakhan, which, according to our views, enjoyed a certain independence. Considering the difficulty experienced in establishing the facts in all their details in those distant parts, considering the greater facilities which the British Government possesses for collecting precise data, and, above all, considering our wish not to give to this question of detail greater importance than is due to it, we do not refuse to accept the line of boundary laid down by England.

We are the more inclined to this act of courtesy as the English Government engages to use all her influence with Shere Ali, in order to induce him to maintain a peaceful attitude, as well as to insist on his giving up all measures of aggression or further conquest. This influence is indisputable. It is based not only on the material and moral ascendancy of England, but also on the subsidies for which Shere Ali is indebted to her. Such being the case we see in this assurance a real guarantee for the maintenance of peace.

Your Excellency will have the goodness to make this declaration to Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, and to give him a copy of this despatch.

We are convinced that Lord Granville will perceive in it a fresh proof of the value which our august Master attaches to the maintenance and consolidation of the most friendly relations with the Government of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) GORTCHAKOW.

PROGRESS IN AFGHANISTAN.

BY JOHN A. GRAY,

Late Surgeon to His Highness, the Amir.

THAT Afghanistan has, during the last ten years, made considerable strides towards civilization, there can, I think, be no doubt in the minds of those who have had the opportunity of collecting sufficient facts upon which to base an opinion. And that this progress has been entirely due to that remarkable Prince who is now occupying the throne of Afghanistan—Amir Abdurrahman—requires but little proof.

We have only to compare the condition of the country and the “bent” of the people at the present time with their condition a few years back, to bring out, in a very clear light, the civilizing effect of a far-seeing, strong man’s personality.

Amir Abdurrahman is absolute autocrat of Afghanistan. His is now the only influence that has any lasting effect upon the people. There is no Press to guide public opinion. The influence and power of the Priests has been enormously curtailed. The chief Priest—the Khani Mullah Khan, himself—though treated with respect by His Highness the Amir, has scarcely more power, nor does he receive a greater share of attention, than one of the minor civil magistrates. The opinion of the Amir, delivered in open durbar, is the key-note from which all the tunes are played. It is caught up by the Chamberlains, the court officials and pages; it reaches the Bazaars; and soon the people join in the chorus. It is woe to the man who utters a discordant note: people look at him bewildered and draw out of his neighbourhood. Attention is directed to him and unless he alter his note he is—dismissed from the choir.

The Amir is chief of the powerful Durani tribe. This tribe has been from time immemorial more tolerant and

more civilized than any of the other tribes of Afghanistan ; and from it the native rulers of the country have been invariably drawn. When we consider the Amir's marvellous personal influence, we can but see it is a happy thing that his leaning is towards civilization and justice. That it is so, can be shown.

What was the condition of the country, no further back than the time of his grandfather, Amir Dost Muhammad, the great Amir—"Amir-i-Kabir"—as the Afghans called him? Dost Muhammad was Amir of the Kabul province ; Herat was held independently by Shah Mahmúd, brother of Shah Shujah ; and Kandahar by Ramdil, brother of Dost Muhammad. This was in 1835. These chiefs were constantly intriguing with Persia and Russia ; and their conflicting interests and personal jealousies brought the country into a condition so unsettled as to be little better than Anarchy. War, and, in its train, robbery and murder were so constantly carried on, that it was most unsafe for even Afghans, and quite impossible for foreigners, to travel from one city to another. So suddenly did fighting break out, that when travelling one found oneself in danger of falling into the thick of it. Caravans—such as ventured to start—made long and wearisome detours to avoid battle-fields. The more savage of the Afghan tribes delighted in nothing more than the chances thus offered of unpunished highway robbery and murder.

About the year 1850, Dost Muhammad succeeded in annexing Turkestan ; and in 1854, he managed to evict Ramdil from Kandahar. Meanwhile, in Herat, Shah Kamran succeeded his father Mahmud ; and at his death came his minister Yar Muhammad. The Persians at once advanced and took Herat ; and this, Herat being the "Key of India," necessitated British interference. Sultan Jan, brother of Dost Muhammad was put in possession. He died in 1862 ; and there were many claimants, each of whom appealed to Persia. Dost Muhammad therefore advanced with an army, besieged and took Herat. This

was his last act, for he died in his camp a few days after. While Dost Muhammad was on the throne it was allowable in Kabul to revile and curse the British openly ; and though as a successful warrior, with bluff, hearty manners and a free accessibility to his people, he was a popular monarch, nevertheless there was not a single act he did which in any way increased the material prosperity of his people. To use the words of a skilled and indefatigable observer of facts, Dr. Bellew, of whom one still hears much in Kabul : —“ Dost Muhammad, during his long reign, did nothing to improve the condition or advance the domestic welfare of his people ; nor did he introduce a single measure of general benefit to his country. He kept it a close borough of Islam, stationary in the ignorance of the middle ages, and pervaded with the religious bigotry of that period ; and, to the close of his life, he defended that policy as the only one whereby to maintain the independence of the country. His great merit is that he had the sense to perceive his own interest in the British alliance ; and he reaped the fruits of his good judgment, in the ultimate consolidation of his kingdom. But he was a barbarian nevertheless.”

Attention has been drawn to a certain resemblance existing between Amir Abdurrahman and Dost Muhammad. The Hon. G. N. Curzon, speaking at the Society of Arts on Feb. 15th, remarked that the Amir seemed to possess some of the strongest characteristics of his grandfather, Dost Muhammad. Without doubt this is so ; and one may add that, to the strong character of Dost Muhammad, Amir Abdurrahman unites a high degree of education and considerable stores of information,—scientific, artistic, and general,—acquired from books, from conversation and from observation during his travels. To the simple manners and free hospitality of Dost Muhammad he adds a dignity and a kindly courtesy of manner most remarkable in a man of his strong passions and in one who is constantly surrounded with adulation and flattery. He is readily accessible to his people ; and even when suffering from the pangs of

gout, he will listen patiently to the petitions of the poorest of his subjects, and give rapid though just judgment in the cases brought before him.

And now as to the measures he has taken to civilize his people and advance them in prosperity :—

Highway-robbery and murder are no longer common in the country ; nor is murder or theft in the towns. Englishmen—*Feringhis*—have been, for the last six or seven years, travelling constantly between Kabul and Peshawur ; and never has there been the slightest attempt to injure or annoy them. Indeed for myself I may say that at every halting-place the villagers brought their sick for me to attend to ; and I went among them freely, unarmed and unguarded. That the Amir should have used drastic measures to bring the diseased state of the country into a condition nearer approaching health was without doubt necessary : mild measures would have been misunderstood, and completely disregarded. The savage tribes who haunted certain parts of the highways and gave rise to such bywords as “the valley of death”—the name given to a certain dip in the road between Tash Kurghan and Mazar-i-Sherif in Turkestan—were either killed by the Amir’s troops, captured and executed, or dispersed. I remember when I was in Mazar-i-Sherif, in 1890, it was necessary to send to Kabul for two extra compounders or dispensers ; and the two men—one a Kabuli and the other a Hindostani—rode unattended the whole distance in safety. They had but one pistol between them, and that was unloaded :—they had no powder.

Again, should a Kabuli wish to start business for himself and not have sufficient money, he has but to apply to the Amir, who will, for a certain number of years, lend him a sum sufficient for his purposes, and this without interest. One day having occasion to visit His Highness I found him in the west gardens of the Erg Palace. He was seated in an arm-chair under a somewhat gorgeous awning : officers and pages were grouped round him ; and, away

out in the garden, there were drawn up several companies of soldiers, young men and lads, perhaps 300 in number. After I was seated and the usual salutations had passed, His Highness called my attention to the lines of men. He said, "These men are to be soldiers in my army. They are all sons of gentlemen—men of position and wealth; and such is the condition of Afghanistan that there is not one of them who can read or write. I am educating them so that at least they shall be able to do this. Fighting they will not need to learn."

The educational influence on the Afghans, of the Amir's Kabul workshops must be and is immense:—and that it is chiefly for this reason that the Amir has started the shops, seems to me clear. They cost him vast sums of money, far in excess of the return: indeed I have heard him say that the only department that paid him was the mint. He knows perfectly that he can buy war material at a far less cost and of better quality than he can produce it in his shops; and he knows better than anyone that Afghanistan never was and never can be self-supporting. It must always depend more or less upon one of its powerful neighbours; so that although he may have the machinery and the workmen to produce rifles, cartridges, shells and guns, he must get the material of which these are made, or money to pay his way, from England or Russia. He could not hope to be independent of both. And yet it has been, for years, his desire to start a workshop in Kabul. Obviously therefore his only reason for building the workshops and buying costly machinery must be for the moral effect it has upon his people.

The natives work in great numbers in the shops, being taught by the English engineers who have, from time to time, been in the service of his Highness, and by the Hindostani *mistris* who have been introduced from Lahore and Bengal.

Not only is war material produced in the workshops but various handicrafts are practised there. One body of men

are doing leather-work,—copying English and Russian boots of various kinds, making saddles and bridles, belts and cartridge-pouches, portmanteaux and mule-trunks. Then there are the workers in wood,—from those who manage the steam-saws to those who produce beautiful carved work for cabinets and chairs. There are workers in brass,—making vases, candelabra, door-handles, lamps, and many other things, both useful and ornamental. There is another department where they produce tin-ware—pots, pans and cans. The most artistic are perhaps the workers in silver. They make for the Amir or the Sultana very beautiful things,—cups, beakers, beautifully-embossed tea-pots, dagger and sword handles, and scabbards. Their work, however, is at present rarely original. The Amir shows them a drawing, or gives them a good English model to copy from.

Everything European is fashionable now in Kabul, and European clothing has become more universally worn by the Kabulis than it used to be even at the time I entered the service of the Amir, some five years ago. His Highness, therefore, finding that his tailors, though they understood the shape of European garments, had not mastered the difficulties of “fit,” sent for an English tailor to teach them. Classes were held on the subject in the workshops and demonstrations given, with the result that such of the Kabuli tailors who attended greatly improved in their system of “cutting” and obtained much better prices in the Bazaars. One day the Amir desired me to start an Art class in Kabul, and for my first pupils he sent the five chief artists of the country. They, at first, drew in the usual cramped native style; but soon they acquired a freer and more correct manner of drawing. One of the men showed talent as a draughtsman of no mean order, and I hope one day to have the opportunity of publishing some of his work. It would be impossible for me to enumerate all the different kinds of work carried on in the shops; but I think I have said enough to show that the educational

effects of the workshops must be immense. There are some thousand or fifteen hundred men at work in them ; they of course scatter to their homes at night and carry the wonderful stories of all they see and do to their friends. In fact the most popular song of the day is one depicting the life of a lad in the shops. It is supposed to be sung by the mother ; it ends, however, somewhat significantly by the workman being caught in the machinery and killed. One must remember that this educational system of civilizing is being carried on among a race of men who have been known hitherto simply as fighters, robbers, semi-savages, and who, unlike so many of the races of India, have shown but little if any sign that they were capable of being converted into useful producers. When I say finally that the Amir offers prizes, and of considerable value, for the best or most original work, produced either in the shops or elsewhere, it will be easily understood how much he has at heart the desire to advance his people in knowledge and civilization.

THE INDEPENDENT AFGHÁN OR PATAN TRIBES.

BY MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY

(Late 3rd Regt., Bombay N. I.).

THE danger from the Durand arrangement with the Amír is, that the Indian Government may continue to coerce the independent Afghán tribes, under the name of "Pathans," by supposing them to be a non-Afghán race, as has hitherto been the case. This misconception will eventually be more injurious to us than to the Afgháns. For if we really want to see a strong Afghán government, the Afgháns must be under the rule of the Amír of the Afgháns; and every effort should be made, not to alienate the oldest Afghán tribes from him, but rather to aid him in bringing them under his rule. It has ever been the great weakness of the Afgháns that they have not been in accord one with another. Their poet, the Khatak chief, Khush-hál Khán, says in one of his heart-stirring poems :—

"If the different tribes would but support each other,
Kings would have to bow down in prostration before them."

The ancient people known to history under the general name of Afgháns call themselves *Pus'htánah* as well as Afgháns; but those Afghán tribes, who, nearly seven centuries ago, migrated from the south-western part of their original country, and are now located on, and north of, the river of Kábul, east of the meridian of Jalál-ábád, change their name into *Puk'htánah*, and *Puk'htún*, and the name of their language from *Pus'hto* to *Puk'hto*. This is the only difference between them. Those Afgháns or *Pus'htánah* dwelling nearest to India on and west of the Indus, are also known as "Patáns"; but there is no more difference between an Afghán, a *Pus'htún*, or a *Patán* than between a Grecian, a Greek, or a man of Greece. Most Europeans, however, have got hold of the idea that the name *Patán* (or "Pathan" as it is commonly written), refers to a totally different race; but it does not, unless they mean

the descendants of those Patáns or Afgháns who settled in India itself, during the time of the Afghán rulers of Hindústán—(from 1450 A.D. to 1526 A.D., and from 1540 to 1555 A.D.)—who intermarried with the Muhammadans of India and who are vulgarly known by the name of Rohilahs as well as Patáns; but who centuries ago had, for the most part, ceased to speak the *Pus'hto* or Afghán language. These so-called Patáns, however, are not in question at all, but only the real Patáns or Afgháns who inhabit their original and true country “THE Afghánistán,” as explained further on. As for Rohilah, this merely means “mountaineer” and comes from the term “Roh,” which is applied to a still more extensive tract, stretching from, and including Swát and Panj-korah down to Síwí (Síbí), in one direction, and from Hasan-i-'Abdál to Kandahár in the other. It refers to the *mountain* tracts as distinct from the plains of the Derah-ját farther east. Indeed, “Roh” is a corruption of “Koh” signifying mountain or mountain range.*

Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, who was the first to give us an account of this famous people and of their country, makes no difference whatever between *Pus'htánah*, Afgháns, or Patáns, because no difference whatever exists.†

At the present day we understand by “Afghánistán,” the territories under the sway of the Afghán Amír, which is a vast extent of country, embracing a great part of the empire of the famous Turk Sultán, Mahmud of Ghazní. Of this, “*the* Afghánistán” is but a small portion. It is for attempting to consolidate his rule by bringing under his sway the remaining, and principal, part of “*the*” Afghánistán respecting which so little is known, that the Bárakzí

* It is partly owing to the loose way in which Survey Officers, who have no special knowledge of Afgháns, draw up their accounts through their Hindústáni officials, or native interpreters. It is by such reports that the Indian Government is led astray. *No people or tribes whatever speak Pus'hto as their mother tongue but what are Patáns or Afgháns, both words being synonymous.* (See my “*Notes on Afghánistán*,” etc., page 482 for an illustration of this.)

† I may mention that from the time I entered the service of the “Grand old Company,” fifty years ago, I always took a great interest in all things Afghán, and for more than thirty years I have been collecting the materials for a history of that people, which I am now preparing for the Press.

Afghán Amír, 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Khán, our friend and ally, was only lately threatened with a military force by his British protectors, as though he were invading a foreign territory.

The Amír is in a most difficult position, confronting an enemy who has been permitted to appropriate a large tract of his best territory on the very glacis of his country's natural fortress in the north-west, to threaten Hirát at all times, and to intrigue with the descendants of the Mughal *mīngs* or *Hazárahs* (the Persian translation of the Turkish *mīng*). These are the descendants of the military colonists, located in these parts by the Mughal invaders, after they had destroyed nearly all the Tájík or Persian population. These Hazaraks were never very obedient, even to their own Mughal rulers, much less to the Persians and Afgháns who succeeded. The upshot has been a serious rebellion which went on for some considerable time, and is, perhaps, not yet completely crushed. There can be little doubt that this outbreak was in some way connected with Muscovite tactics.

On the other side of "the Afghánistán," the Amír has a friend or protector, who assists him with much money and more advice, but who may find it convenient, when the Pámír question comes to the front, to abandon him, as was done at the time of the unprovoked outrage at Panj-Dih, when the Russians were allowed to appropriate the north-western parts of Maimanah and Indakhúd (Andkhui) as also the greater part of the Bádghais district; for the Indian Government was hand-tied by a party Government at home which shifts with every election.*

This friend and protector, who so much desires to see "a strong Afghánistán," very lately has done even more to weaken the Afghán State. Our Indian executive being dubious as to who are "Afgháns" and who are "Patáns,"

* I have no hesitation in saying that the Russians will endeavour to seize Hirát on the very first opportunity, treaty or no treaty; the proceedings on the Pámirs are partly intended to divert attention from their preparations for Hirát. By giving up Bádghais to them, we have enabled them to strike at Hirát at a moment's notice. Nearly every enemy in the past who entertained designs upon Hirát made his preparations for assailing it in the Bádghais district.

have not ceased, for years past, from encroaching upon that very Afghánistán, and from coercing peaceable and independent Afghán tribes who had given no offence, by calling upon them "to come in."*

This means allowing themselves to be annexed against their will, because the Amír's friend and protector wants their country, which that friend's political officers will not admit to be "*the Afghánistán*," and therefore change its name, say, to "BRITISH BILUCHISTAN." In case of refusing to "come in," these true Afgháns are compelled to do so by shot and shell, or at the point of the bayonet, as in the case of "*the turbulent population of the Zhob valley*," whose turbulence consisted in desiring to keep us out of the very truest Afghán country.

The following are some extracts from the letters of an eye-witness in the first "Zhub valley Expedition"—an officer present with the force—published in a leading London paper, October 1st, 1884. The force employed consisted of two European Regiments, one European Field Battery, one Native Mountain Battery, three squadrons of Cavalry, five Regiments of Native Infantry, besides Pioneers and Sappers and Miners. The writer says :

"The original plan and one likely to be adhered to is that we should go due north from here ('Smallan') enter the Zhob valley by Anambar, staying there long enough to do any necessary fighting, and for survey purposes. . . . We first entered Zhob territory that day ; but the *malik* of the village *came in* and we got all necessary supplies of grain, etc., on payment. The next day I was on rear guard, and though the actual march was only 12 or 13 miles, owing to the camels having to make a *détour* over a *kotal* and down a steep descent, I did not get into camp till 7.30 p.m. from early morning. *Had any organised opposition been intended*, they could not have resisted attacking our baggage train, which extended for some miles ; and we had only a troop of cavalry, and two or three companies of infantry to protect them. . . . On Tuesday, the 21st October, we turned due west and marched along the valley to our present camping ground, passing numerous villages and mud forts. The first night we got supplies on payment from a village near here ; but, owing to some *maliks* who promised to *come in* having failed to do so, permission was given to *loot* ; and we sent out regular parties, *under officers*, to bring in grain, &c.† All the villages had been deserted excepting the one mentioned as

* "Coming in" in former times meant persuasion by bribery ; it now implies compulsion by slaughter.

† It should be understood that these people just cultivate sufficient for their own support, and when compelled to furnish supplies, even on payment, to some 6,000 troops, and the same number or more of camp followers, they are deprived of about half a year's supplies for themselves, and that is much the same as if their crops had been devoured by locusts.

supplying us. Here, in the evening, there was a disgraceful scene of *looting*, owing to some *native levies of the Political Officer* [Balúchís probably, inveterate enemies of the Afgháns], *who are bigger blackguards than the Pathans*, having contrary to order, gone into the village to *loot*. The other native followers in camp, fancying permission had been given to do so [The writer himself says *it had been given* and that *looting parties*, under officers, had been sent out], flocked in and carried off everything they could lay their hands on, *even stripping clothing off the women!* A native Regiment had to turn out and clear the village . . . but I pitied the poor folk much, who had trusted to us, and who, of course, cannot understand the reason for such changes of treatment. . . . Still I am disgusted with our treatment of frontier tribes, and believe that, just because we want to find a good route to Candahar from the Punjab and secure our Railway, and for other political purposes, we find an excuse to come and treat in the roughest way people many of whom are peaceful cultivators. It is quite true they would cut any of our throats if they got the chance; but that they are brought up to, and I do not think it justifies our action. That day we blew up several mud forts,* etc., and it was *determined to remain here some days on purpose to eat up the valley*, with a view of putting pressure on the chiefs to *come in*. . . . On Thursday a reconnoitring party of Lancers was fired on to the north side of the valley, and reported some 100 men assembled determined to fight. The next morning early, half the troops in camp paraded and marched across the valley, some ten miles or so towards the place. The fighting men were still reported there, and were seen to be in what would have been an exceedingly strong position, *had they been decently armed*. A flag of truce was sent to try and induce them to yield [after what had been already done! but what do these people know of 'flags of truce'?), but it came to grief in some way, so it was determined to force them out. Some Punjabees were started off to turn their left, and shortly after *the guns were sent towards their right (our left) to shell them at long range*. We accompanied the guns, and soon got our order to ascend the hills to our left and try to cut off some of them who were making off in that direction. Our lads were very keen to get at them, and we got up the hill quickly, but to our chagrin found that the Punjabees, who had an hour's start of us, had crossed our front and were on a ridge in front of us; also the Pathans were bolting in every direction like rats from a hole. It is true they were men who were armed and who intended to fight [to preserve their homes, and their women's 'garments.' It is usual in these parts to go armed], and who would not accept quarter; but *it seemed to me murder, and I was thoroughly ashamed of the whole affair*. Happily our share in it was slight, and I DRAW A VEIL OVER IT. *With our superior arms the poor wretches could do nothing*. A party of them got up a hand-to-hand fight with the Panjaubees, and wounded six of the latter; also two of the Bombay Lancers were wounded. These were all our casualties and it was officially estimated that some 60 or 70 Pathans were killed. Native reporters since say that this is much beneath the mark, and that probably upwards of 100 were put *hors de combat*. *It will be said, no doubt, that there were several hundred fighting men opposed to us*, but I doubt if there were much more than 200, and *my feeling about the whole affair is one OF DISGUST AND SHAME*. No doubt it is difficult to draw the line, for the Pathans refuse to be made prisoners, and would kill us [very naturally we might say] if they could. It may be necessary to teach them a lesson; but it seems to me like a mastiff worrying a mouse. . . . The only prisoners we took were those badly wounded, and even they made

* What the writer calls "mud forts" is hardly correct. It is usual with the Afgháns to connect their dwellings (which are generally built of mud-mortar, sometimes with stones and mud-mortar), on the outside with a wall running from the outer wall of one house to another, and leaving but one place to enter, unless the village is very large. At the corners there would be small towers, raised as much for look-out purposes as for defence. At a distance these villages look as though they were fortified places, but these connecting walls are as much intended to keep out wild animals, and securing their cattle, as for a defence against thieves, or sudden attack from others with whom they may be at feud. As places of defence from troops they are out of the question: a pop-gun would be sufficient to knock them down. There are exceptions, however, in frontier villages regularly walled, some of which have offered obstinate resistance; but not in these parts.

several attempts to injure the doctors who attended them [This too is natural, never having seen a doctor before, and no one who knew sufficient of their language to explain to them being available, they, of course, did not know what was going to be done to them by those who had just before done their best to kill them. They probably thought the doctors were the torturers appointed to complete the work that the others had not finished], so deadly is their hatred and fanaticism [through being attacked without having shown hostility in the first place, their homes, and crops, and cattle destroyed and 'looted,' and their women molested—a good cause of hatred anywhere.] . . . I was sorry to hear that in *looting* a mollah's house a *lot of manuscript documents were destroyed!* We know so little of these people's history [!], and they claim such great antiquity, that we might stumble on manuscripts of great value and interest," etc., etc.*

The knowledge of the past history of a people is indispensable from a political point of view, but the India and Foreign Offices at home appear to ignore that of Afghánistán, and in consequence, the loyalty of the Amír, 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Khán and of his countrymen was lately strained almost to the snapping point.

The founder of the Afghán monarchy, Ahmad Sháh, the Sadozí Abdalí or Durrání, and his two immediate successors, ruled from the frontiers of Persia to the banks of the Jihlam (Jhelum) in the present Panjáb territory, and for some time as far as the Sutlaj, of Hindústán as then constituted. Indeed Ahmad Sháh ruled as far east as Sahrind (Sirhind) and all the Afghán or Patán tribes, with few exceptions, acknowledged fealty to him and his immediate successors "more or less," and had to furnish contingents to their armies in time of war.† The exceptions were the powerful and numerous Yúsufzí tribe‡ and their ramifications, dwelling on the north side of the river of Kábul, in Panj - korah, Swát, and Bunér, all the tracts lying north of the Pes'háwar district, and the Tarkalární

* Honours were distributed on account of this "*pacification of the turbulent population of the Zhob valley,*" undertaken with "*the sole object of bringing the independent tribes into friendly relations with the British Empire!*" I think it was one of those "*glorious campaigns*" in which everybody was mentioned in the "*Despatches,*" even down to the Telegraph clerk.

† Down to the time that Dost Muhammad Khán's brothers, Kohan-Dil Khán and Rahím-Dil Khán ruled at Kandahár, that is down to 1855, Shorah-bak, Síwí, Tal or Talah, and Tsoíálí paid them revenue and Pushang or Fushanj (not "Peshin") alone paid 900 *tomāns*.

‡ Although the Yúsufzís never paid taxes to anyone, yet, whenever India was to be invaded, and even in some expeditions on the Persian frontier, they were ever ready, of their own free-will, to assist their Afghán kinsmen, and this is precisely the relation which the most "independent tribes" cherish to the Amír, who is merely "*primus inter pares,*" but who in an emergency, say, a foreign attack, derives his main strength (which we have weakened) from their adhesion.

Afgháns dwelling in Bájaour, of which we heard so much lately, when the Amír was commanded not to interfere with it. The Yúsufzáís were very powerful during the period that the Barlás Mughal rulers of Hindústán, descended from Zahir-ud-Dín Muhammad Bábar Bádsháh, held possession of the *Súbah* or province of Kábul, as then constituted, which included all the territory between the Paghmán mountains and the Indus, from west to east, and from the south slopes of the Hindū Kush mountains (*not* including the Káfiristán, nor Chitrál, nor the districts peopled by the Yúsufzís, and the tribes confederated with them), to the south side of the Kurma'h ("Kurram") *darah* or valley, included in Upper Bangas'h, and Kohát or Lower Bangas'h, and Bannú, from north to south. The district proper of Ghazní was also included, but "*the Afghánistán*" or earliest seats of the Afgháns, Pus'htánah, or Patáns, from the time they are first mentioned in history, continued wholly independent of any other than Afghán chiefs.

Another exception was the tribe of Afrídí Karlární Afgháns, who were in receipt of a yearly allowance for keeping clear the Passes between Pes'háwar and Dhākah. A third, but in more recent times, was the Wazirí sub-tribe of Karlární Afgháns, who evaded payment of taxes whenever they possibly could. They were then, however, much weaker than they are at present, and were not accounted of much consequence, but they have become so numerous within the past sixty or seventy years, that, during the distracted state of the Afghán Government previous to the year 1850, or thereabouts, the rulers of that state had neither the power nor the opportunity of enforcing their supremacy over them.

The Afghán rulers of the Afghán state, whether Ghalzí, or Sadozí Durránís, or Báarakzí Durránís, have always been the natural sovereigns of the Afghán tribes, with the above exceptions who had left "*the Afghánistan*" in search of new homes, and one or two petty tribes which were scarcely worth coercing.

We profess, certainly, that we desire "a strong Afghánistán and strong Afghán Government," and yet we do all we possibly can to weaken both. The Wazírís alone could easily furnish the Amír with a contingent of from 25,000 to 30,000 men, of excellent fighting quality, and accustomed to hill warfare ; but we have compelled him to give up his effort to induce them to return to allegiance ! The Wazírís number in all upwards of 45,000 fighting men, and are remarkable among Afgháns for their tribal unity. The Indian Government supposing the Wazírís to be only "Pathans," and not Afgháns, ordered the Amír to desist under threats of military coercion ! His attempt in Bajaur to bring the Tarkalární Afgháns* of that part under his influence, was equally thwarted by the Indian Government, which has for years past been annexing purely Afghán territory inhabited by Afghán people by forcing them "to come in." Almost the whole of the southernmost part of the Afghánistán, in its widest sense, and lying north of the upper Sind boundary, namely from near Mangrothah on the east, to the Kojak range of mountains on the west, in length about 236 miles and in breadth nearly 100, has within the last few years, in carrying out this reckless "forward" policy, and the waste of much public money,† been annexed by the British Government of India. They have re-named it "BRITISH BILUCHISTAN," though nine-tenths of its inhabitants are pure Afgháns, probably because Balúchís and Hindú officials—Ráos and Ráms—have chiefly benefited by such forcible annexation, while the Afghán tribes inhabiting the tracts in question, most of whom have been independent from the earliest times, have been deprived of their rights. As an instance I may refer to the notable Borízí division of the Parnī tribe of Afgháns. The Political Officers sent to carry out the minor details of this policy of wholesale annexation in their

* The Tarkalární is one of the tribes and sub-tribes constituting the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept of the Afghán nation ; the Yúsufzís, Mandars, Gagyánís, and Mukah Khel being the others.

† The late Sir R. Sandeman is said to have "*metalled the road to Kandahár in 1878-79 with rupees.*" Such "influence" as this is easily obtained, but is an expensive luxury.

district, knew nothing, as a rule, of their rights, language, or history. How should they, when some of the highest Government officials often do not know the difference between an Afghán and a Balúch? If it was necessary to seize upon part of Afghán territory, why also change its name? Was it in order to throw dust into the eyes of the public, who might become alarmed at part of "*the Afghánistán*" being seized upon? No Afgháns ever yet dwelt in "Biluchistan;" Balúchs are simply modern interlopers upon the ancient Afghán territory on the upper Sind border. The latest seizure of territory immediately west of the Indus is the portion belonging to the Sheráni Afgháns towards the lower part of the *darah* or valley of the Izíob (Zhob), and between it and the range of Mihtar Sulímán on the east; but the whole of that *darah* has been "prospected," after the manner of the "Orenbourg Scout Corps" and of the Pámirs, previous to further seizure: and this truly Muscovite policy was defended by an Under-Secretary of State for India, in the British Parliament! These annexations began in the first place by a numerous force of British troops, with artillery, being marched into territory belonging to these unfortunate Afgháns or Patáns, for whose independence so much solicitude is manifested. If they assemble on their hills to see what is going to happen, as frightened sheep gather together when the wolves appear, they are "shelled at long range," or ordered to "come in;" if they do not "come in" they are reduced to submission by force of arms. This is just what the Russians have been doing, and we cannot blame them, for they are fully aware of all our movements.

In a despatch published in the "*Times*" of May 20th, 1891, on the operations of the "Zhob Field Force" [this was the second expedition] I find the following:—

The operations divided themselves into two phases—first, the march from the Zhob valley into the valleys of the Kunder and Gomal rivers and thence to Appozai; second, the operations against the Kidarzais and other sections of the Sheráni tribe. . . . A concentration of force was therefore arranged here [at "Tanishpa"] as *resistance was expected*. At the approach of the force, Bangal Khan, an outlaw who had dominated the neighbourhood sometime [so all who were not agreeable to give up their indepen-

dence and "*come in*" and be dominated by a Political were *outlaws* !] with a few followers took up a position on a peak over 8,000 feet high, and declared his intention of holding it to the last. He changed his mind however, and fled the day before the arrival of the force, (some 5,000 or 6,000 men of all arms) and got safely away, although an attempt was made to *run him down*. . . . Sir Robert Sandeman, K.C.S.I., having notified to Sir George White that no satisfactory agreement had been arrived at with the Sheránis, and that he was ready to proceed, Sir George ordered an advance of the whole force with a view to occupying the country of the Sheránis. . . . All the principal men of the different sections of the Sheráni tribe, with the exception of Murtaza Khan, who of all was most wanted, had "*come in*" to one or other of the political officers with the columns operating in their country. . . . A conclusive proof that the Sheránis no longer helieve in the impregnability of their position to shield them from the long arm of England's power. I thought it would be a useful lesson to the people to march troops to the top of the Takht-i-Suliman, and thus effectually roll up the curtain of obscurity which has hitherto shrouded this fabled throne. . . . The fact that the British soldiers and Baluch Sepoys,* fully accoutred (50 picked men of each kind) scaled these dangerous heights, will not be lost on the Sheránis."

What was the "lesson" to the Sheránis, I fail to see ; but it is a specimen of the policy which we are assured is "not to attempt an extension of the frontier of India farther than it was at present, but to bring the independent tribes, *with full respect for their independence, into friendly relations* with the British Empire," etc., etc. I may mention that I gave a detailed description of the Takht-i-Sulímán, which was scaled nearly a hundred years ago by a Surveyor from Hindústán, in my "*Notes on Afghánistan*" etc., in 1888, four years before this expedition set out, which account was not put in print by the India Office authorities, and is still in *MS*. No one, I should imagine, expected to find a *throne* there. The supposed "fabulous throne" to be "rolled up," was a ledge of rock, and more than this, at this very place, is the tomb of Ismâ'il, son of Shaikh Bait, or Batanaey, the progenitor of the Bataní tribe of Afgháns who are said, according to reports, to have "wanted protection from the *Afgháns*." Thus the latest spot in this direction seized and garrisoned is Appozí, 60 miles beyond our natural frontier.

* I knew both the 1st and 2nd Balúch Battalions, officers of my own corps being in both, from the time they were first formed in Sind by General Sir C. Napier, G.C.B. At first, the first Battalion, which was the earliest formed, contained the scum of the *bázárs*, discharged servants, who could not obtain places, and camp-followers generally, with a few indifferent Balúchis to swear by. A great improvement was subsequently made and all such got rid of ; and in 1847 and '48, both corps contained about 600 Afgháns each ; and just as the new "British Biloochistan" is so called because the majority of its people are Afgháns, and their country "*the Afghánistán*," so were these then two fine Regiments called Balúchis because four-fifths of them were Afgháns pure and simple. It is more than probable that the "Balúch Sepoys" here referred to were Afgháns.

The late Sir George Campbell, M.P., who knew who were Afgháns and who not, better than any member of the House of Commons, and also where "the true Afghánistán" lay, in a speech in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, August 4th, 1891, is reported to have said ("*Times*," August 5th):

"Sir G. Campbell, after asserting that the Black Mountain tribes which had been described by the last speaker, were ethnologically, the *purest Afgháns*, proceeded to comment on the statement that we were now attempting to establish relations with the tribes by *peaceful means*. A curious commentary, he said, was afforded on this statement by what was now taking place in that country. Did the hon. member call the Black Mountain expedition *voluntary and peaceful agencies* by means of which tribes might be brought under our control? What he complained of was rather that *we were advancing by military means, and by force of arms were trying to conquer the people*. (Hear, hear.) If we attempted to bring the Afgháns [he was then referring to these very tribes I have here noticed, dwelling on the extreme east of 'the Afghánistán,' between Appozi and the Indus] *under control by such methods, nothing but hatred would be engendered against us, and we should defeat the object which we were trying to attain*. He asserted that our relations with the Afgháns were extremely unsatisfactory. . . . *He should have thought that this country had burnt its fingers sufficiently already by mingling in Afghán affairs. The country was like a hedgehog, and the more we interfered with it the more disposed was it to resent our interference*. . . . *He deprecated the measures which had been taken to advance our Indian frontier among the Afghán tribes*. He was afraid the Governor General had not succeeded in exercising that amount of control over his *military advisers as had been the case in former days*," etc., etc.

In reply to this, Sir J. Gorst, the then Under-Secretary for India, said

"He should not attempt to act as arbitrator between two such authorities as the hon. member for Southport and the hon. member for Kirkcaldy on the question of the ethnology of the tribes which bordered the frontier of India. The hon. member was wrong, however, when he spoke of the policy pursued by the Government of India towards the Afghán tribes. The policy of the Government of India was *not to interfere with the independence of these tribes, not to attempt any territorial aggression* [the Sheránis and their country to wit!], *not to attempt an extension of the frontier of India further than it was at present** [Appozi is 60 miles west of it] *but to bring the independent tribes, with full respect for their independence* [What then is calling upon them at the bayonet's point to "come in"?], *into friendly relations with the British Empire, so that they might become the guards and the protection of the frontier*. (Hear, hear.) In pursuance of a policy of this kind, occasional outbreaks on the frontier would take place, and during the last year there were outbreaks of that kind on the Black Mountain, and at other places. [In the Sheráni country, and in the Iziob valley perhaps?] But these were the necessary and natural accidents which occurred in the pursuit of our policy [of 'coming in'?]. The policy of the Indian Government, *was a policy not of war but of peace*. . . . The Amir was at present our friend, he was independent: he was only to consult us with reference to his *foreign policy*," etc., etc.

If such is the case, why were we at that very time threatening the Amír with an advance by the "Gumul Pass

* This was *after* the little strip of territory 236 miles long, and about 100 broad, constituting "British Biloochistan," otherwise "Sande-mania" had been annexed; but the Iziob valley and other parts had been prospected under the policy of "coming in."

and Jandúlah," because he was trying to bring the Wazírí and other Afgháns under allegiance? Were they foreigners or was that *foreign policy*? Why not try threats upon Russia? Did the authorities desire to drive the Amír into her arms? If not, they must cease from encroaching on Afghán country, and on the independence of Afghán tribes nearest our natural frontier.

Now these "local border tribes" consist of some of the very oldest of the Afghán tribes, from which all the others have sprung. This is one of the specimens of the policy of non-interference with the independence of these tribes, and "not attempting any territorial aggression"! A telegram told us, that "a striking instance of *the effect of the vigorous frontier policy now being pursued* by the Government of India occurred in the Bataní country near the Gomal Pass. The tribesmen gave an enthusiastic welcome to the political officer on his arrival at Jandulah with an escort of 50 cavalry. *They were delighted to get protection against the Afgháns.*" But who are the Batanís? Afgháns pure and simple, and the direct descendants of Shaikh Bait or Batanaey, who was the second of the three sons of Kais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the progenitor of the whole of the Afghán race without exception. It was from Batanaey's daughter Mato that that vast tribe of Ghalzís has sprung, at present one of the three most numerous divisions of the Afghán race, who are still multiplying greatly, and are likely before long, if they do not already, outnumber their enemies, the Durránís. The Kákars are the next most numerous, and the Wazírís the next after them. The Ghalzís gave kings to Kandahár, and they also gave two kings to Persia, after having overthrown the Safawí dynasty. From Mato's other son, Loeday or Lodaey, sprung also the great tribe of Lodí which gave two dynasties of sovereigns to Hindústán, who reigned for the most part in great glory; and they were the only Patán or Afghán dynasties that ever ruled in that country.

To make what I say more clear, I will, on a future

occasion, give a rough sketch of the descent of the whole Afghán nation, from which it will be seen that the Batanís, who are said to have been "delighted to get protection from the Afgháns," *were of purer Afghán blood* than the Wazirís themselves, the father and mother of the formers' immediate progenitor being both Afgháns.

Only the other day, at a banquet at the Mansion House, Lord Roberts said :

"Circumstances might occur which would necessitate our affording his Highness that armed assistance which he would be within his rights in demanding ; and in order that such assistance should be prompt and effective, it is of the utmost importance that the population of the countries through which and in which we should have to operate should be well disposed towards us. (Cheers.) A mountainous region, inhabited by warlike and independent tribes, numbering according to the best information, not less than 200,000 fighting men, separates the valley of the Indus from the Afghán table land ; and if these tribes were to oppose *our advance into Afghánistán*, a large portion of our all-too-small field army would be absorbed in holding them in check, and in guarding our lines of communication. Although these tribes are troublesome and fanatical, they delight in military service and make admirable soldiers, and in many cases have shown a devoted attachment to the British officers with whom they have been associated. *The present policy of the Government of India towards these tribes is to extend our influence among them without menacing their independence,* and, by trying to civilize them and increase their prosperity, to induce them to look upon us as their friends, who will protect their interests and insure their being left in undisturbed possession of the territory they occupy.* (Cheers)."

Here Lord Roberts was actually describing the true Afghánistán, and the pure and most ancient Afghán tribes whom we know from contemporary history to have been dwelling here uninterruptedly for the last thousand years. Would anyone suppose that this policy referred actually to "the turbulent population of the Zhob valley," who were shelled for not "coming in" ; and to the Sheránís ; and that among the encroachments on their independence (that we have as yet heard of in this country) was the establishment of a fortified camp at Appozí, with a full fledged "Political," some sixty miles beyond our legitimate frontier ; or with the latest encroachments in the Kurmah (Kurrum) *darah*, or with the occupation of all the territory from Mangrothah to Kwatah (Quetta). We have really been doing on our side what the Russians have been doing on theirs, and setting them an example.

* See also the speech quoted previously at page 16.

Not long ago, Lord Lansdowne stated, at the farewell dinner given to him at the United Service Club at Calcutta :

“The cloud which has loomed on the horizon shows signs of rolling by. A firm alliance with the ruler of Afghánistán and a determination *to respect* and, as far as possible, *to maintain the independence* of his *country*, have been articles of faith with the Government of India ever since the accession of the present Amír.”

So it is evident that the Government of India does not really know that in alienating these true Afghán tribes, it is undermining the power of the Afghán Amír. It was the commencement of this sort of thing by the annexation of Kwatah (Quetta) of the Kásí Afgháns, and Síwí (Sibi) of the Parní Afgháns, that alienated the late Sher 'Alí Khán from us.

Since the inception of the “vigorous frontier policy,” we have already cut off from the Afghán ruler and the Afghán State, in order to make up this “British Biloochistan,” the whole of the Barets tribe of Afgháns, the Bábí Afgháns, the Parní Afgháns ; great part of the Taríns, of which the Durránís are but an offshoot ; nearly all the Kásí Afgháns ; numbers of the Karlární Afgháns ; the Mianí Afgháns ; and some of the Kákar Afgháns ; and now they want to cut away from the Afghán ruler and State, the Wazírís—the most numerous of the whole Afghán race after the Kákars—the Dotární Lodís, the Batanís, the Mandú Khel, the remainder of the Kásís, the Aor-Mars, the Sheránís, and even the main portion of the Kákars and some others !

Thus, in order to make “a strong Afghánistán,” they actually want, and *have begun, to cut away from the Afghán ruler, and from allegiance to and dependence on his government, every Afghán tribe, with the sole exception of his own sub-tribe, the Durrántís, all of whom are not loyal to him as being a Bárakztí, and the Ghalzís who are decidedly hostile to the Durrántís, and quite ready to show it on the first opportunity, and a few of the Karlárnís !* Was there ever such fatuity as this ? Nothing better could have been devised to break up the Afghán State altogether. How is any Afghán ruler going to retain his territory, which, with

the exception of these comparatively few Durránís,* estimated to be about 300,000 souls (= 60,000 men capable of bearing arms, but I estimate them to be rather more by one quarter), which consists of Tájíks, people of Turkish and Mughal descent, some 'Arab, and other races, who, from time to time, have come in the train of invaders into the tracts belonging to, and comprising the greater part of the Afghán State, north, south, and west of the true Afghánistán? Thus it is proved, as I have been endeavouring to show, that the advisers of the Indian Government are under the idea that the Durránís and Ghalzís and a few Karlárnís, numbering about 900,000 in all; and who actually dwell out of "the Afghánistán," alone constitute the Afghán nation, and that the remaining 1,500,000 Afghán souls, not counting the Yúsufzís and Pes'háwar tribes, and whose mother tongue, which they exclusively speak, is Afghání or Pus'hto, are not Afgháns at all!

How can any Mission or increase of subsidy convince the Amír or his people of the correctness of such palpably unfounded reasoning? We have simply secured a lull before the storm which must, sooner or later, break out in all its fury.

* The Durránís from the time of their conquest and occupation of Hirát and its territory in 1713, and their long dependence upon Persia previously, acquired some of the polish of that nation, but lost a good deal of the Afghán sturdiness.

FRENCH AMBITIONS IN AFRICA.

BY SIR GEORGE TAUBMAN GOLDIE, K.C.M.G.

BEFORE dealing with the subject-matter of this article, I must make two prefatory remarks. The term "tropical Africa" is here employed, for want of a better, to describe those two-thirds of the continent—whether within or without the tropics—where Europeans cannot till the soil, nor rear their children to the third and fourth generations, and where, consequently, they can only found what the French call colonies of plantation. This definition may avert objections from those who tell us that colonies of settlement may be successfully formed in Mashona- and Matabele- land, the Shiré Highlands, Abyssinia and other regions lying within the tropics.

In the next place, this article is intended less for those familiar with African questions, than for the general reader, whose interest in the opening out of much needed new markets for our manufactures is probably mingled with a desire to know how these enterprises affect our relations with France. The tension of those relations, during the last few months, has more than once burst the veil thrown over them by diplomatists, and I select three recent incidents which deserve special notice, as typical of the various aspects from which this matter is regarded from different standpoints.

One of these incidents was a temperate and lucid article in an English Review for March by M. André Lebon, a well-known deputy to the Chamber, who frankly admits the present "unfavourable current of opinion" among his countrymen towards England, which he attributes generally to our having shown a want of sympathy for their loss of Alsace-Lorraine and having joined in the "process of boycotting" France since the war of 1870: but amongst the immediate causes he gives the chief place to "the African question."

Another incident was a great banquet in Paris in connection with this African question, at which many leaders of public opinion were present, including a former Colonial Minister, when the following toast was given without any dissent being expressed, or at any rate reported :—" To all who struggle against our enemies, the English."

The third incident was the eloquent and statesmanlike speech of Lord Dufferin at the late meeting of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, which has elicited all the latent good feeling of the French people towards England, and thus cleared, for a time, an atmosphere highly charged with electricity. The gist of his speech was that two such nations as France and England ought not to quarrel over the "distant cane-brakes of Africa, or the feverish jungles of Indo-China."

To the English mind, the idea of war on such grounds is absurd. But the old proverb that it takes two to make a quarrel is less true than its converse, that it takes two to keep the peace ; and those who habitually study the French Press or have trustworthy information from French sources, appreciate the serious dangers through which diplomatists have had to steer ; dangers with which Lord Dufferin must have been strongly impressed or he would not have thought it necessary to speak as he did. We English are often reproached with being an unimaginative race, and we certainly find it difficult to understand the intensity with which the French people pursue some abstract idea, more for the sake of its own grandeur than for defined and probable results. Of late years, few ideas have moved the French public more deeply than that of uniting their scattered colonies into a great African Empire.

It is a common mistake to suppose that the conception of France regaining in "Les Indes Noires" that colonial parity with England which she lost, last century, in the Eastern and Western worlds, has been confined to a small minority of Chauvinists, who though active and earnest, have little influence over their compatriots. Even if this

were true, it would not have sufficed to avert serious dangers, for reasons which I will presently mention. That it is not true might be shown by giving a list of the eminent statesmen and others, from the President of the Republic downwards, who thought it necessary to countenance the African demonstrations in Paris in July and August 1892; but, to my mind, a more convincing proof of the hold that this conception has acquired on leaders of opinion is to be found in the fact that a philosopher such as M. Melchior de Vogué has steadily supported the movement with the literary force and perspicuous calmness which mark his style.

It may, however, be asked why French ambitions in Africa need endanger the good relations between France and England? It may be said, with tropical truth, that Africa is large enough not only for both nations, but for all the civilized Powers who intend seriously to undertake the difficult task of developing it; that France has obtained the recognition of spheres of influence, which are, in the aggregate, nearly as large as Europe; that in tropical Africa there is no alluring pagoda-tree ready to be shaken, as in the wealthy Indies; and that whatever may ultimately come out of that region, a great deal of work and capital must be previously put into it. These facts are incontrovertible; but they are, unfortunately, on a totally different plane from those which must constitute a standing danger to peace, until the respective spheres of French and English influence are fully defined and until both nations insist that these shall be scrupulously respected.

One element of danger has arisen from the instability of the Parliamentary *régime* in France, owing to the number of independent and hostile groups. The result is that any important group can exercise much greater influence over the Government than it is entitled to do from its numerical strength. In the new Chamber of Deputies, the Colonial group is a powerful body, which by throwing its weight into close divisions on other questions, might be able to

eject any Ministry from power. This increase of strength was due to several causes. The elections took place at a time when the national feeling against England was running strongly, so that the competitors of candidates known to be opposed to an aggressive Colonial policy found their opportunity in branding these as having English proclivities. Even the long services and great ability of M. Clemenceau could not save him from condemnation on this unpardonable charge. Moreover, a natural reaction had gradually set in against the bitter resentment so long displayed towards the late M. Jules Ferry and his supporters on the subject of Tonkin. To these causes may be added the justifiable enthusiasm and pride aroused by the exploits of recent French explorers, such as MM. Binger, Crampel, Monteil, Maistre and others. There is no reason to suppose that the members of the colonial group, as a whole, are wanting in the good sense and equity of their compatriots; but their attention is, from the nature of their work, constantly drawn to the two unpalatable facts, that the colonial policy of England has been more successful than that of France, and that French merchants abroad cannot, generally speaking, hold their own against English merchants on equal terms. This seems at any rate the most reasonable explanation of the deplorable support recently given by the colonial group to openly avowed attempts to drive out the English—“*chasser les Anglais*”—from territories acquired by treaty and recognized by France as falling within the sphere of British influence.

A strong Colonial Minister, responsible to the country, would be able to enlighten public opinion and check excesses arising from these causes; but the recent French system seems the worst possible for this purpose. Formerly, the supreme direction of colonial affairs was entrusted to the Minister of Marine; but the colonial inferiority of France being constantly attributed to this subordination, the colonial office was made practically autonomous. Instead, however, of putting at its head a fully empowered Minister,

sitting on equal terms in the Cabinet and sharing the responsibilities of his colleagues for peace or war, the appointment was given to an Under-Secretary. Between his department and the military and naval officers in the Colonies, who count upon the support of their respective Ministers in the Cabinet, there has been constant friction, resulting in an almost complete want of control on the part of the Under-Secretary. The following incident exemplifies the normal condition of affairs. Towards the close of last year, M. Delcassé found occasion to remove the military Governor of the French Soudan, Col. Archinard, perhaps the most distinguished of the succession of brilliant soldiers, who have, since 1880, created that province for France. Col. Archinard having asked for certain explanations, the late Under-Secretary wrote him an exceedingly polite letter, conferring on him, for his services in Africa, the order of the *Green dragon of Annam*; whereupon Col. Archinard replied, in equally polite terms, that the order in question had no value for him, but that he had passed it on to one of his negro subordinates.

Under such a system it is not surprising if French explorers, who are generally officers, have obeyed their own patriotic impulses rather than the matured policy of a responsible Government. Every such officer has strong motives for endeavouring to extend the territories of his country, no matter how he may tread on the susceptibilities of other nations. Recent experience will have taught him, indeed, that the most solid services to France will not bring him so prominently and favourably before the public as those which enable him to assert that he has checkmated the English. A further proof of this occurred lately, after the capture of Timbuctoo, contrary to explicit orders from Paris. The general tone of the newspapers was unfavourable to this movement as premature, but the strongest condemnation came from those papers which frankly pointed out that it was unnecessary, as its occupation would not be detrimental to English interests.

Finally, it must be borne in mind that many Frenchmen, who earnestly desire the maintenance of amicable relations with England and who deplore aggressive action in Africa, feel bound to support such action after the event, on the sentimental ground of upholding the honour of the flag, at any cost. Herein lies the chief danger of collision; for England could not submit to be chased out of her territories by some irresponsible filibuster, sincerely anxious though she is to live on friendly terms with her nearest neighbour. It has been argued that tropical Africa is not worth the risk of war, and that it would have been sound policy to give France all that she so ardently desired in that continent, in exchange for concessions in other parts of the world. On this question I express no opinion here. But no strong and self-respecting nation can afford to yield to illegal force, even in the cane-brakes of Africa; as she would thereby encourage, in every direction, aggressions which she must ultimately resist or cease to be a Colonial or even a European Power.

French ambitions in Africa have, therefore, a deep interest for every Englishman apart from their intrinsic importance, and I propose to consider briefly—their nature; how far they are at present realized; whether valuable material results may be expected; and, finally, if in their completion, serious disputes are likely to arise between France and England.

France commenced her African career in the same manner as other European nations, planting her flag, by conquest or treaty, on widely distant parts of the coast, without any apparent thought of ultimate union. Before 1882, her activity in Algeria, and on the Senegal and Gaboon rivers aimed at local colonial development and not at a connected African Empire. It would, of course, be rash to assert that no such conception had ever been suggested previously. I remember that Mr. Joseph Thomson, in his work on Mungo Park, published some years after the issue of the Niger Charter, showed that a great

geographer, named McQueen, had suggested such a Charter in the early years of this century, and had, with remarkable sagacity, prophesied that this alone would prevent France from obtaining possession of the greater part of Northern Africa. I may admit that I had never before heard either McQueen's name or his suggestion ; and it is probable that corresponding theories from the French point of view may have been advanced, in former days, from time to time. But it was not until 1882—a year after the first application to the British Government for a Niger Charter—that any practical move was made for the union of the scattered French colonies in Africa, by the acquisition of the immense inland regions lying between them. In that year a Company, with a capital of £600,000, was formed at Marseilles, under the patronage of M. Gambetta, for the double purpose of pushing up overland to the Upper Niger from the sea-board of Senegambia, and of entering the Lower Niger, at its mouth in the Gulf of Guinea, and working up the river to meet the advance from the west. In 1882, also, was first seriously mooted the idea of a Trans-Sahara railway. I cannot now remember whether the gentleman, who came to London to seek for English support in this matter, was the originator of the scheme or only an enthusiastic supporter ; but out of the mass of details with which he favoured me, there was one which produced a lasting impression : namely, that the carriages were to be bullet-proof, without side windows, and with platform roofs for mitrailleuse guns for the benefit of the Tuaregs. Finally, it was in 1882, that M. de Brazza, who had just succeeded in adding the great territory of the French Congo to the small coast colony of the Gaboon, commenced that northward movement towards the centre of Northern Africa, which has at last borne fruit in the Franco-German convention of 1894.

It must be remembered that in 1882, Germany had not commenced her colonial career or annexed the Cameroons ; nor England acquired political rights in the basins of the

Niger and Chad, or on the Oil Rivers ; nor the International Association received recognition as the Congo Free State : so that the extension of French rights—as against other European nations—over more than half of the continent of Africa was no visionary scheme, but might have been realized without any very serious sacrifices. The effective occupation of those five or six million square miles would, however, have been a very different task.

M. Gambetta's fall from power, his death, and the disasters in Tonkin which practically put an end to the career of M. Jules Ferry, prevented this gigantic plan being pursued at the time when it was practicable. Its failure is still frequently deplored by the French Press, and was undoubtedly at the root of the recent attempts of the Colonial party to repudiate or evade the Anglo-French Convention of 1890, which had secured to England the Niger and Chad basins to the south of a line from Say on the Middle Niger to Barruwa on Lake Chad. But the good sense of the French people ought to recognise that two powerful nations, desirous of keeping the peace, can only deal with facts as they are, and not as they might have been under other circumstances. England cannot be justly blamed for having secured those Niger-Chad regions, which were far removed from any then existing French possession or sphere, and had been opened up to commerce by British enterprise alone—the French having only entered after the ground was broken ; and having entirely disappeared after a few years of fruitless struggle.

Meanwhile, France had advanced from her position on the Senegal over extensive inland regions and had also taken possession of the hinter-lands of British Gambia and Sierra Leone, which she hemmed in closely to the sea ; thus impairing the present value of these British colonies, besides effectually preventing their future extension. England might have reasonably refused her recognition to this procedure, inasmuch as France, in the negotiations for the Say-Barruwa line of 1890, had rested her case on the right of

Algeria to a hinter-land 1,500 miles in depth, although at that date no Frenchman—explorer, merchant or official—had ever even visited the Central Sudan. But England, in her desire for peace, has always wisely shown a respect for French territorial claims, which has not been uniformly reciprocated. It would greatly serve the interests of peace and good feeling if these facts could by any means be placed temperately and without any shade of reproach before the general French public, which at present hears only unfounded accusations of grasping action on the part of Great Britain, in tropical Africa.

The public interest aroused by the conclusion and discussion of the Anglo-French agreement of 1890, gave a fresh impulse to the idea of uniting in some manner the African colonies of France, to which the valuable addition of Tunis had meanwhile been made. Large sums of money were found by the State and public subscription, and a stream of explorers extended French rights in every direction. The French Sudan was carried down to her possessions on the Ivory Coast and eastward to the rear of our Gold Coast colony. Admirably conducted military operations placed Dahomey under French rule, while the French Congo was pushed northwards toward Lake Chad behind the German colony of the Cameroons. An agreement has at last been concluded between France and Germany which enables the former country to complete the union of her colonies, by a circuitous route to the east of Lake Chad, and thus form her African possessions into a connected Empire. The advantage of the completion of this scheme to the cause of peace cannot be over estimated, as the advocates of an aggressive African policy will now have to convince their compatriots of the adequate benefits to be secured by each new aggression and will no longer be able to rest their case, as heretofore, on the sentimental idea that the French possessions in Africa should be united across the continent, even at the risk of collision with England.

The attractions of this territorial continuity, for which so much has been sacrificed and risked, seem to be purely ideal. It can hardly be doubted that the commerce of Senegambia will always pass to and from the Atlantic coast and not over thousands of miles of land transit to the French Congo or Algeria; and so on *mutatis mutandis*. However this may be, England has never opposed or displayed jealousy of the scheme, which is at any rate innocuous, and with which we have no concern whatever. I urge this, because the French Press constantly asserts the contrary. Scarcely any statement about a nation is true of all its individual members; but it is certain that most Englishmen are completely indifferent to the fact that France has now acquired, or rather excluded from foreign interference, nearly one-third of Africa; while many of us rejoice at this extension, as tending, when the frontiers are finally agreed, to preserve the peace of Europe by giving France ample employment abroad for her energies and revenues.

It is a notable fact, that although the French, as individuals, have a reputation for greater prudence and economy than the English, they have, as a nation, shown far more liberality in expenditure on building up colonies for the benefit of future generations. During the sixty-three years' occupation of Algeria, the mother country has already contributed over £160,000,000 to the expenses of that colony, and still pays for the entire maintenance of the army and for much of the expenditure on public works. In the other African colonies the amounts have not been so formidable up to now; but in all, with the exception of Tunis, the mother country supplies the annual funds without which they would cease to exist.

I cannot resist comparing these facts with the attitude of England towards her West African possessions. I refer especially to the Niger Territories, because I can place complete reliance on my information in that instance. The British taxpayer has contributed nothing whatever either to the acquisition of these half million square miles or to their

subsequent administration. No doubt this system tends to encourage self-reliance and energy, just as the hardiest children are those who have been allowed to run loose in all weathers : but some do not survive this bracing process, and it is difficult for limited private enterprise to contend successfully with prolonged hostile operations supported by public subscriptions and State funds.

In considering the question whether France will reap such a harvest from her possessions in tropical Africa as will repay her for her present sacrifices, I am leaving the realm of fact for that of inference. But I have never yet heard any valid reason for doubting that tropical Africa—excepting in the sterile soil of the desert and the swamps of river mouths—will gradually become as productive as other tropical regions of the world. It is said that the negro races will never take kindly to industry, and this view is generally supported by the two assertions, that the natives do not work at present, and that the freed negroes of our West Indian colonies and elsewhere are incurably idle. The former proposition is certainly inaccurate in respect to large populations of Western and Central Africa. I venture to think that the average European, if placed under similar political and social conditions, exposed at all times to slavery or violent death and to the seizure of the fruits of his labour by a stronger than himself, would not display more industry than the native of Africa. As to the argument drawn from our West India colonies, it must be remembered that the slaves exported from Africa belonged mainly to less energetic tribes which had been gradually driven down to the coast from the interior by higher races.

It cannot however be denied that to develop general and active habits of industry amongst the natives of tropical Africa and to introduce the growth of indigo, coffee, tobacco and the many other products which will pay for export, the tuition and supervision of great numbers of Europeans will long be needed. The insignificant proportion of Europeans who suffice for this purpose in Asiatic

countries, where the birth of civilization and industry dates from prehistoric times, would be ineffective in moving the *inertia* of the Dark Continent. This may prove a serious stumbling-block to the full satisfaction of French ambitions in Africa. I shall not dwell on this point, because I dealt with it fully some years ago in an article which earned the approval of so high an authority as M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire ; but I may point out that Frenchmen can hardly be induced to settle in sufficient number even in the delightful climate of Algeria, within easy distance from France, and that only the pressure of over population can produce the necessary supply of men willing to pass the best years of their lives in unhealthy and depressing climates, far from the comforts and interests of civilization and with little society but that of lower races with whom they have hardly an idea in common.

A glance at any map of the present partition of Africa, since the Franco-German convention of the 15th March 1894, will show that while about one-half of the area of the French empire in Africa, is fairly accessible to commerce and military force, she is not so well placed as other European Powers in respect of the far inland half, of which it may be safely prophesied that it will be the latest part of the Continent to bear fruit, the most costly to develop and the least profitable to work.

Another obstacle to the early success of the French Empire in Africa lies in the nature of some of the races within her sphere. One is apt to forget that in speaking of a State possessing a sphere of influence, the primary meaning is that other European States have agreed not to encroach or exercise political influence within it. Such international conventions are, it is true, generally based on previous treaties with the native rulers, but the effective conciliation or subjugation of these potentates is generally a later consideration. So far as the tribes of the Sahara, or potentates such as Samory, are concerned, the difficulties of France are probably not much greater than those with which Englishmen have to deal, both in East and West

Africa, or have lately successfully dealt in South Africa. But in her newly-acquired sphere, running from the French Congo to the east of Lake Chad, she has a task before her which will severely strain her resources. She has entered here into a hornets' nest of Moslem fanaticism and of fighting races, in the very centre of the continent. The new sphere will be altogether valueless unless France deals vigorously with the fanatical states of Baghirmi and Wadai, which are not likely to make any voluntary concessions to the hated and despised Nazarenes. The conditions in this eastern region are entirely different from those in portions of the Western Soudan, where masses of the populations are Pagan at heart, and so little attached to their Moslem rulers that a small European force would suffice to break a native kingdom to pieces ; and where the rulers themselves, either from the knowledge of this fact or from the absence of fanaticism, are generally willing to concede to Europeans, for a consideration, at any rate the political rights necessary for the security of commerce. If, however, France subjugates this nucleus of militant Islam to the east of Lake Chad, she will have rendered a great service to all the civilized Powers having possessions in Northern Africa, and England especially will have cause to rejoice at her having at last realized her dream of uniting her colonies.

It is to the east of Baghirmi and Wadai that the principal danger of future dispute may arise. But the intrusion of France into the basin of the Upper Nile would be a gratuitously unfriendly act, as she has no possessions on the East Coast from which she could reach that basin, and could not possibly hold and develop territory so remote from her bases of operations on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts ; while that region lies clearly within the natural hinterland of the British East African Protectorate. There are, happily, distinct signs of a better understanding than has lately existed between the two countries ; and, so long as that lasts, it may be hoped that no French Government will encourage or recognize such a useless and aggressive wild-goose chase to the east. Passing west-

ward from Wadai, there can be no element of dispute till Morocco is reached. As this country falls within general European politics rather than African politics, I shall venture no opinion on its future. France and England are, fortunately, not face to face with this problem, in the solution of which Germany, Spain and other nations will claim a voice. Moving southward from Morocco to the region which the French designate *le boucle du Niger*, where the frontiers have yet to be settled between France and Sierra Leone, our Gold Coast Colony and the Niger Territories, there is still plenty of work for diplomatists, but no great cause for anxiety. Each nation has its treaties with native rulers and its rights to a reasonable hinterland for its existing possessions; but there is no important principle at stake as in recent disputes elsewhere.

The Anglo-German agreement of November 1893, and the Franco-German agreement just concluded, may appear to some as made at the expense of England alone; but, if so, she may console herself by the assured possession of as much of the richest portion of tropical Africa as she can digest within two or three generations. It may perhaps be reasonably hoped that the race for Africa is now practically at an end; and that the time has come when European nations, no longer able to enjoy the dramatic spectacle of a struggle for the possession of a continent, must be content with more prosaic rivalry in the settlement and development of their respective spheres. This task will be more arduous than that of exploration or treaty-making. Regions as large as Europe have to be effectively occupied and governed; the paralyzing effects of native misgovernment from time immemorial have to be modified; and a new order of ideas gradually introduced amongst a hundred million inhabitants of tropical Africa; but six European nations, with all the resources of modern civilization, have pledged their credit to carry out this work, and though progress must be slow at first, its ultimate success may be confidently predicted.

AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION AND FEDERAL DEFENCE.

BY AN AUSTRALIAN OFFICIAL.

I.—FEDERATION.

THE student of different forms of Government who surveys the Australasian Colonies, their vast area, their diversity of climate, their natural resources and their remarkable progress in settlement and wealth, cannot fail to be struck by the mistaken policy which, in an earlier generation, divided them by artificial boundaries into separate *States*. As each State was entrusted with full powers of self-government, this arrangement led naturally to the evil result, that each was rendered independent and careless of the welfare of the others, as if there had been no bond of union, common to them all, in their unity of language and race.

In the earlier days of colonization this want of unity of interests passed unnoticed. The public revenues necessary to carry on the functions of government were easily raised by the sale of the Crown Lands. But as settlement increased and the duties of the State became wider and more complex, the Colonies were obliged to adopt a system of taxation by means of Customs' duties, as was done in Europe. Then the evils of subdivision began to manifest themselves. The chief Colonies of the group, jealous of each other's progress and striving each to be first in the race, found their temporary interest in pursuing different lines of policy, when establishing their fiscal systems. Some, like the mother-Colony of New South Wales, where the public men were strongly imbued with the doctrine of Cobden and the Manchester school of economists, adopted Free-trade, imposing Customs' duties solely for the purpose of raising a part of the required revenue. Others, like Victoria, imposed such duties not only as a means for increasing revenue but also with the avowed object of establishing and fostering local manufactures. This system, as a matter of course, gave, during

the earlier years of its adoption, a great impetus to manufactures in Victoria. Workshops, foundries and factories were built and equipped in Melbourne; and very soon Victoria began to export largely to the sister-Colonies. It was the time when, besides her manufactures being established, as it seemed, on a stable foundation, the gold annually won from her mines amounted to immense sums, and her pastoral and agricultural wealth was increasing by leaps and bounds: she soon became the most prosperous of the Australasian Colonies. But her protective policy, albeit designed on no fixed system, had yet a very marked characteristic,—its tendency to continual increase. Beginning with small duties, the clamour of her manufacturers for more assistance to enable their goods to compete with European products gradually led to a rise in their amount. Higher duties were soon imposed; and next it became possible to take a new departure, by taxing the products of the sister-States. So long as matters remained in this condition, Victoria enjoyed an undoubted advantage over the other Colonies. These, under their system of Free-trade, took no special pains to establish manufactures in their own territories, and allowed free entry at their ports to most of the wares of Victoria, thus giving her a far more extensive market than she could have had among only her own population. But while, on the one hand, she enjoyed this benefit to the full, she began, on the other, to tax certain of the products of her neighbours.

Such a policy could not but provoke irritation and reprisals. Gradually other Colonies of the group adopted a protective policy, by taxing not only the products of Great Britain and foreign countries, but also the goods exported by each other. The consequence of this inter-colonial taxation was felt with special severity in Victoria. Instead of having, as before, open markets in the neighbouring States, her manufacturers began to be confronted with the difficulty of competing against foreign-made goods, when their own products became liable to the same or to

somewhat similar import duties. Very soon, too, the other Colonies, under the influence of the protective system, began to manufacture for themselves, and the exports of manufactured goods from Victoria necessarily diminished.

In this condition of things, each Colony regarded itself as a perfectly independent State, having full liberty to tax, as heavily as it pleased, the products of its neighbours, in its own sole interest. The want of union and its resultant evils made themselves daily more evident. Federation became a popular theme. The Colonial press took the subject up; conferences were held and proposals made. When it was brought before the Imperial Parliament, that body passed a permissive measure for allowing the formation of a Federal Council, to which any Colony was free to send delegates. This body, purely deliberative, without funds or legislative powers, held its first meeting at Hobart Town, in January, 1886. Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia and Fiji were represented; and later on, South Australia joined: New Zealand and New South Wales have stood aloof. The Council has met five times in all, discussing much matter of interest, but otherwise effecting no useful result.

Meanwhile the advantages of Federation became more and more apparent; and in February 1890 delegates from the 7 Australasian Colonies met at Melbourne, and resolved on an address to the Queen, embodying the resolutions passed by them. These affirmed that an early union, under the Crown, of the Australian Colonies was most desirable, that the remoter Australasian Colonies might join it, on terms to be agreed upon afterwards, and that steps should be taken for assembling a "National Australasian Convention," consisting of delegates from all the Colonies, with full powers to discuss the form of Federal Government to be adopted and to draw up a Draft Bill for its establishment. Delegates were accordingly nominated by the respective Australasian Parliaments; each Colony sent 7, except New Zealand, which had only 3.

The first National Australian Convention met at Sydney on the 2nd March 1891. All the 45 members were present; and Sir Henry Parkes was unanimously elected President, with Sir Samuel Griffiths as Vice President. The following principles were laid down as the basis of the Union :—

1. The powers and rights of existing Colonies shall remain intact, except such as it may be necessary to hand over to the Federal Government.

2. No alteration shall be made in any State without the sanction of its own Legislature, besides the consent of the Federal Parliament.

3. Trade between the Federated Colonies shall be absolutely free.

4. Power to impose Customs and Excise duties shall be in the Federal Government and Parliament. Of these taxes, the balance remaining after defraying the cost of such Government shall be returned, in due proportion, to the various Colonies where the money had been raised.

5. The Military and Naval Defence Forces shall be under the control of the Federal Government.

6. The Federal Constitution shall make provision enabling States, which need it, to amend their constitutions for the purposes of Federation.

7. The Federal constitution shall provide, (a) An Executive consisting of a Governor General with such persons as may be appointed to be his advisers; (b) a Federal Supreme Court of Appeal; (c) a Federal Senate, and (d) a Federal House of Representatives, the last alone having the power of originating money Bills.

8. The draft Bill stated the rights and privileges of the several Colonies to be comprised in the Union, and defined the form of Federation.

As the functions of this Convention were strictly confined to deliberations and projects only, its work was ended when it had thus decided on the form which the proposed Federal Constitution should take. It then became a question for the separate consideration of the various

Colonial Parliaments, whether they would accept Federation on the lines of the Bill drafted by the Convention. A variety of causes, the chief of which was the need of internal reform and retrenchment in their own finances, has postponed, in most of the Colonies, any further consideration of this Federation scheme. Despite its solid advantages and its evident attractions, its accomplishment seems still to be far off. While awaiting this desirable result, it is well to point out particularly one among the evil results of the Separate Colony System. This is the development of a race of narrow-minded and parochial politicians, who possess neither foresight nor earnestness enough to enable them to grapple with large public problems. Their sole aim appears to be to tide over the necessities of the hour. There is at present no man of consummate ability and conspicuous steadfastness in public life in Australasia, to win over the people to accept Federation without demur. The politician eager that his own Colony should prosper at the expense of all the others may be found in every Colonial Parliament: the statesman, whose sole aim is the prosperity of Australasia as a whole, whose ambition it is to make of these Colonies one of the great nations of the world, we have yet neither seen nor heard of.

And so the war of tariffs still goes on. Each Colony wastes thousands of pounds annually in paying separate Governors and executive bodies, and each bears the burden of a large Civil Service. But though the evils are evident, yet while a narrow public spirit remains paramount, it seems hopeless to look for the early establishment of a Federal Union.

II.—FEDERAL DEFENCE.

One of the most important questions underlying the political union of the Colonies is that of Federal Defence.

British troops garrisoned Australia till 1870; and no more fatal blunder was ever committed by an English

Government than the withdrawal of the regular troops from Australia in that year. The Colonies of the Southern group finding that during the progress of the Franco-German war, the mother-country had decided to recall her small infantry detachments from their chief cities, set to work to increase the number of their volunteer soldiers for their own defence. When the war was over, England took no steps to send out fresh garrisons; and from that time down to the present, Australasia has provided her own Land Forces, though a body of British troops is kept in Canada to this day. The Home Government lost, by this step, healthy relief stations for their soldiers after a long sojourn in India, and, what is of more importance, an excellent recruiting ground for her general army; besides the incalculable advantage resulting to the mother-country and the Colonies from the mutual intercourse of large bodies of men, which is not the least excellent consequence of the maintenance of such garrisons.

In 1892, the land Defence Forces of the group numbered just under 36,000. Since then, however, owing to the necessity of retrenchment, the strength has been temporarily reduced. There is no fixed system of recruiting and enrolling, and no uniformity in drill and organization. Some years ago, a project was set on foot for the creation of a Federal Artillery Regiment, to be composed of the several permanent garrisons serving in the capital cities and their adjacent forts. The advantages of having such a Regiment are obvious. Even as a first step towards political Federation it is to be commended; but from the soldier's point of view, the regular interchange of garrisons between one colony and another is of the utmost importance, and furnishes ample reasons for its adoption, in the larger knowledge which it would bring of guns, equipment, and military organization, and the healthy spirit of rivalry and emulation which it would awaken. Nor must we forget the priceless advantage which it would be to the mother-country, in her hour of need, to have, ready at her call, a

body of Australian troops, inured to a hot climate, well equipped and organized, and within a fortnight's steam of Ceylon.

At present the total number of men of age in Australasia for military service (20 to 40 years) is computed at 689,426. Out of this material, there are actually enrolled

In Victoria	7,314	Staff	901
New Zealand	5,561	Artillery	4,169
N. S. Wales	5,157	Engineers	717
Queensland	3,840	Cavalry	909
S. Australia	2,371	Mounted Infantry	3,200
Tasmania	1,856	Infantry	16,860
W. Australia	657		
		Total	26,756
Total	26,756		

To these must be added about 8,500 men of the Rifle Clubs and companies, which bring up the aggregate to 35,556. There is a marine volunteer force of 3,196, making a total effective force of 38,452.

As regards naval defence, the Home Admiralty have pursued a different policy from that of the War Office. Sydney, which possesses good repairing yards, has, for many years, been the head-quarters of a fairly strong squadron, generally numbering some 8 vessels;—1 first-class and 3 third-class cruisers, 3 gunboats and 1 Survey yacht. Under the agreement made in London at the Colonial Conference of 1887, this Imperial squadron has been increased by 7 additional vessels, which are exclusively for Australasian service. For this protection the Colonies have agreed to pay an annual subvention of £126,000, based on their respective population, as follows :

N. S. Wales	£37,720
Victoria	36,968
N. Zealand	20,599
Queensland	13,342
S. Australia	10,663
Tasmania	4,850
W. Australia	1,858
Total	126,000

This auxiliary fleet consists of 5 fast cruisers and 2 torpedo gun-boats, of which 3 cruisers and 1 gunboat are kept in commission and the rest in reserve, but ready to be commissioned whenever needed. The vessels have been built by the British Government ; but the Colonies pay 5% interest on the prime cost (provided such interest do not exceed £35,000), and also the actual charge for their maintenance. The agreement is to remain in force till 1901, when (or at the end of any subsequent year) it is terminable, after a two years' previous notice, the vessels remaining the property of the Imperial Government. In addition to this, the Colonies maintain a naval flotilla : Victoria 14, Queensland 10, New Zealand 8, and N. S. Wales, S. Australia, Tasmania and W. Australia, 1 each. The naval defence of the Colonies may, therefore, be said to be sufficiently provided for.

All the chief cities are well fortified : Melbourne and Sydney, in particular, have powerful batteries armed with the newest type of breech-loading cannon. During 1891-92, the Colonies spent £799,974 on fortifications, and the total debt incurred by them for this purpose, to the end of 1891-92 was £2,534,983. King George's Sound, Thursday Island, Hobart and Port Darwin are being fortified or soon will be. The works on Thursday Island are already far advanced, while those at King George's Sound, though not quite completed, have lately received their armament from England and their garrison from S. Australia.

Just as a strong Federal Union is needed for the continuous joint progress of all the Australasian Colonies, so is the want of unity in the organization and command of the Land Forces the worst defect in the present system of Colonial Defence.

ORIENTAL ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

BY WILLIAM SIMPSON, R.I., M.R.A.S.,
HON. ASSOCIATE R.I.B.A.

(Being a paper read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held in London in September 1891, and brought up to date.)

IN opening this Section of Oriental Art and Archæology in the IXth Congress of Orientalists, it may perhaps be appropriate to take a retrospective look at the progress which has taken place in this particular department of research, and of some of the events connected with it, since the first meeting of the Oriental Congress which took place in London in the year 1874,—that is seventeen years ago. So much has been done in that time, that it will be impossible to go into every detail, and I can only give a very brief sketch of some of the work that has been accomplished.

But, in the first place, let me say something of those whose names belong to this Section, and who have joined the greater number since the Congress of 1874. Since that date we have lost many good and worthy workers. From the Council of that Congress, of which I had the honour of being a member, we have to mourn the loss of the President, Dr. Samuel Birch, a man who was in the front rank of Egyptologists, while he possessed a wide grasp of knowledge and had sympathies extending far beyond his own special study. My old and dear friend Mr. Joseph Bonomi, whose speciality was the Art Archæology of Egypt, has also passed away. Professor Donaldson has also to be added, as one who has done good work in the field of classical architecture. The name of Mr. George Smith is too well known as a cuneiform scholar to require any words of praise from me, except that of regret, that he was taken away so early in his career. Mr. Edward Thomas stood high as a numismatist. Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, who was latterly Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, was another whose name is well known as an Oriental archæologist. Mr. John Williams was Secretary to the Royal Astronomical Society, and from his study of Chinese Astronomy, he had a claim to be ranked among Orientalists. I have given these names of those of the Council who have passed away, although they could not perhaps be all classed as belonging to the department of Art Archæology.

There are two names which demand a special mention. The first of these is Mr. James Fergusson. I enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with him since about the year 1862 till his death; and during that time I have discussed many questions about Indian Architecture with him. In these I have at all times found him not only straightforward, but most genial. Perhaps the best way to sum up his labours, will be to say that when he began the study of Indian Architecture, nothing was known about it; and he lived to collect such a mass of information, that he was able to put the

whole into a classified form. This was a great work for one man to do. It is quite possible that the future may produce a fuller and more exhaustive classification ; but that will not detract from the result which has been achieved, and which was a labour of love to this man. His theories about the Topography and Architecture of Jerusalem have not stood the test of recent discoveries ; and I doubt if his *Rude Stone Monuments* will in the future stand high as an authority in that branch of Archæology. His fame will rest on what he accomplished in the Architecture of India.

The other name,—the owner of which has passed away,—is Sir Henry Yule,—so much better known by the old familiar title of “Colonel Yule.” It was only a few months before his death that he accepted the knighthood ; but it may be stated, and I have his own authority for it, that the honour had been offered to him years before ; and it was only on Lord Cross’s earnest solicitation that he at last gave his consent, and became Sir Henry,—a distinction he had well earned. My first acquaintance with Colonel Yule goes back to the winter of 1859-60,—when I first went to India. I had letters of introduction to Lord Canning, who that season, with Lord Clyde, was making a triumphal march over the ground of the late Mutiny, and holding grand durbars at all the chief towns. I was invited to join the camp by Lord Canning, and I travelled with it from Delhi to Peshawer. Colonel Yule was, as head of the Public Works Department at that time, in Lord Canning’s camp, and there we first met. As he was fond of Art, we were often together sketching temples, and I may say that I began my study of Indian Architecture with him ;—so, I can speak of the interest he took in Oriental Art and Archæology. He had not the minute knowledge of Indian Architecture that Fergusson had accumulated ; nor the wide knowledge of Indian Archæology that Cunningham has been able to grasp ; but, still, in another way he gathered honey, and we all acknowledge its quality in *Marco Polo*, and in his later work,—not yet so well known,—*The Diary of William Hedges*.*

The death of Rajendralala Mitra, LL.D., and C.I.E., was announced in July last. He was a Sanscrit scholar, but he had also given his attention to the study of Indian Architecture and Archæology. *The Antiquities of Orissa*, in 2 folio volumes, with numerous plates ; and *Buddha Gaya, or the Hermitage of Sakya Muni* ; are his two principal works of this kind. The hope ought to be expressed that this learned Doctor will not be the only native of India to study the Art Archæology of his country ; and that he will be the forerunner of many others who will yet devote themselves to this wide field of research. Among the people of India there have been individuals celebrated in every branch of literature, and we may be certain that in the future many will be distinguished in this.

I now turn from the dead to the living. Sir Alexander Cunningham has at last, and that only a few years ago, retired from his long and brilliant career in India. As far back as 1835, as a young officer of Engineers, he was exploring the Sarnath Stupa at Benares ; and in 1851 he, and Lieutenant Maisey, who made drawings of the sculptures, were at work on

* Published just before Yule’s death, by the Hakluyt Society, of which Sir Henry was the President.

the Sanchi Stupa, near Bhilsa. Half a century at least is the period during which General Cunningham has been almost constantly engaged upon the Archæology of India. To do anything like justice to the work accomplished in this time would require a whole paper. He has explored the remains of ancient sites from Buddha Gaya to the Khyber, and has identified many places the situation of which had been lost; he has wrought out the ancient geography of India from the historians of Alexander and the travels of the Chinese pilgrims. His knowledge of coins is a reputation in itself. Perhaps the best monument of his work will be found in the twenty-three volumes of *Archæological Survey Reports*, which record what he has done, or at least what was done under his superintendence, as Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India. The first volume was published in 1871, and the last appeared in 1887,—these dates show that the largest portion of the work belongs to the period between the two Congresses.

He has been succeeded by Dr. Burgess as head of the Archæological Survey. This gentleman has already done good work in Western India; and besides *Archæological Reports*, has published numerous works on Archæology and Architecture. Special mention is due to his *Rock-cut Temples of India*. Mr. Fergusson wrote the Introductory part of this book; but the main portion of it, giving minute details of the temples, represents the work of Dr. Burgess; and the whole proves a most valuable book of reference to this department of Indian Archæology. In this very slight sketch, it must be understood that I do not pretend, neither in the case of Dr. Burgess nor the others, to enumerate all that has been accomplished by them.

Here it might be of interest to detail the circumstances which first led to the starting of the Archæological Survey. The merit belongs to Lord Canning when he was Governor-General; and probably his action in this was largely due to Lady Canning. In evidence of this I can only chronicle the following details, and leave them to speak for themselves. In the cold season of 1859-60 when I travelled as Lord Canning's guest in camp through the North-West Provinces, Lady Canning accompanied her husband. She was an accomplished artist, and spent most of her time in sketching places of interest on our route. Sketching ruins of temples and old cities naturally leads an inquiring mind to wish for knowledge about each place, and Lady Canning was constantly asking questions about the spots she visited, as to their history, and the people connected with them. Luckily there were those in camp, such as Colonel Yule, and Mr. Louis Bowring, Lord Canning's Private Secretary, who were well qualified to supply information. The various races of people were a subject of constant conversation, and I understood it was from the great interest Lady Canning took in them that a scheme was started shortly afterwards for procuring photos of all the races and tribes in India. A number were done and published, but the plan was only a partial success. In January 1862, only two years afterwards, Lord Canning penned the *Minute* appointing Colonel A. Cunningham to commence the Archæological Survey. The documents begin thus:—"In November last, when at Allahabad, I had

some communications with Colonel A. Cunningham, then the Chief Engineer of the North-West Provinces, regarding an investigation of the Archæological remains of Upper India. It is impossible to pass through that part,—or indeed, so far as my experience¹ goes, any part—of the British territories in India without being struck by the neglect with which the greater portion of the Architectural remains, and of the traces of by-gone civilization have been treated, though many of these, and some which have had least notice, are full of beauty and interest.” Here Lord Canning refers directly to the remains which he had seen in passing through the North-West Provinces,—that was in 1859-60,—the winter following he went in camp to Jubblepore in Central India, and Lady Canning was again with him. These were the two journeys which led to the origin of the Archæological Survey. Now I remember well, that in camp, Lord Canning was so devoted to the work of his desk, his Dr. could scarcely make him take sufficient exercise.—My idea is that it was not Lord Canning, but Lady Canning that saw the Architectural remains ; it was her inquiries that led to the conversations about them ;—and it is to that highly cultivated Lady,—who died in India,² a martyr from her devotion to Art,* that I ascribe the influence which led Lord Canning to begin the Archæological Department.

Since the time above referred to Archæological departments have been extended to Bombay and Madras. From Bombay we have lately had news of the discovery of a new group of Buddhist caves, which seem to have existed only about 50 miles from the capital. How they could have escaped observation, up to the present, is somewhat surprising, for the group comprises eighteen caves, one of them being a chaitya cave. They are situated in the Ghats near to the village of Nadsur, and a smaller group was at the same time discovered about six miles distant at the village of Karsambla. These have all been surveyed, and *Reports* made upon them, by Mr. Henry Cousens of the Archæological Survey of Western India.

In Madras the Department is also active. Mr. R. Sewell is connected with it, and I have seen Reports by Mr. A. Rea from the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts, which are full of interesting matter.

In addition to this Department another new one has come into existence, which has for its object the Preservation of the National Monuments of India. In 1881 Major H. H. Cole, R.E., was appointed Curator. It will be impossible to preserve every example of the ancient remains in India ; but there are a number of the more important of which every care will now be taken. We may take the Sanchi Stupa as an illustration of what has been done : in this case the vegetation that grew over it, like a wild jungle, has been cleared away. The South and West gateways, which had fallen, have been re-erected ; the portions of the rail which had tumbled down, or were threatening to do so, have been put to rights ; and the whole has been,—not restored,—but merely repaired, so as to prevent further decay. This is in itself a good work, for this is one of the very few stupas that remain to us as a monument of the Buddhist period in India. Major Cole

* Lady Canning died in November, 1861, from a fever caught in the malarious part of the road while on a journey to Darjeeling, where she had gone to make sketches.

has published a series of illustrated monographs of some of the principal monuments under his charge.

Allusion has already been made, when speaking of Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, to the probability of the educated natives of India devoting themselves to the study of Art Archæology ; and I have another evidence in favour of this to place before you, and one that should not be overlooked. The late Maharajah of Jeypore founded a School of Art some years ago in his capital ; and one of the results is that the present ruler of that Rajput State,—H.H. Maharaja Sawai Madhu Singh, G.C.S.I.—has been able through the able supervision of Colonel S. S. Jacob, C.I.E. to produce a very magnificent work, known as the *Jeypore Portfolios*, of Architectural details ; the whole of which has been drawn by the students educated at the Jeypore School of Art. To give some idea of the extent of this work, I must state that there are no less than six portfolios, and the whole is formed of 374 large folio plates. The plates have been photo-lithographed by Mr. W. Griggs of Peckham, so they are exact copies of the original drawings. The subject matter of these plates has been derived from the beautiful details of the best architecture of Delhi, Agra, Futtehpore Sikri, and Rajputana. As an artist I am entitled to speak of the good and faithful drawing manifested in every sheet of this splendid work, which is an honour to all who have been connected with it.

In Ceylon an Archæological Department has also come into existence, and the exploration of the ancient capital, Anuradhapura, has been taken in hand. Mr. H. C. P. Bell has been intrusted with this work, but as yet little has been done, as he had as a preliminary to clear away the jungle before any exploration was possible. The great dagobas,—the word used for stupa in Ceylon,—at Anuradhapura, are the largest known to exist, and as that city was the capital of the island for about a thousand years, great interest will no doubt attach to any discoveries Mr. Bell may be fortunate enough to come upon.

This very slight and imperfect sketch, is still quite sufficient to show the progress made in Archæology in India. It indicates the mass of work already done, but above all it tells of the wonderful change that has taken place ; where before ancient and precious monuments of the past were allowed to go to ruin,—they are now explored, studied, and carefully preserved. This is done as a duty by the Government. Archæology is now a State Department. This is a most satisfactory result ; and it has been almost wholly accomplished since the first meeting of the Congress of Orientalists in London in 1874.

Much important work has been done in Western Asia since the year 1874 ;—so much so, that time will only permit me to mention but a fraction of it. Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlik had been going on before the year just named, but it was not till 1875 that *Troy and its Remains* was published, so that the knowledge of what had been done was only made known within the period I am dealing with. Since then Dr. Schliemann has made explorations at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and other sites. It was the same with Mr. Wood's explorations at Ephesus, which resulted in finding the site of the celebrated Temple at that place. He had been at

work for a number of years before, but his book, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, did not appear till 1877.*

Explorations in Mesopotamia for many years back have been more productive of literary than of art remains. Mr. Rassam's discovery of the bronze gates at Balawat, in 1877, was an important find, as the bronze fragments were covered with figures in relief.

As one of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I may be permitted to say a word or two on our labours. We have now been in existence for over a quarter of a century ; during which time our society has been steadily at work. Besides a large map of Western Palestine, and *Memoirs*, which have been published, adding largely to our knowledge in every way, a vast mass of material connected with the Art Archæology of the region has been accumulated, and placed within the reach of students. This includes monuments of all kinds from the Rude Stone period to the time of the Crusades. The society has been particularly fortunate in its explorers, having had such men as Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren, Major Conder, Colonel Kitchener and others.

What I might call a Subsidiary Society has been lately established in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund ; this is the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, and its object has been the translation and publication of early accounts of the Holy Land,—principally the descriptions by pilgrims. Other works have also been produced, among them I may mention *The Buildings of Justinian*, by Procopius,—the first time this important work, bearing on the architecture of the Byzantine period, has been translated into English. Another most valuable text is a translation from an Arabic Author, of the 10th century, known as Mukaddasi, or “the Jerusalemite.” This author belonged to an architectural family, and the details he gives of the buildings of Jerusalem at his time, which is almost entirely new, have turned out to be most invaluable.

The Egyptian Exploration Society has also done good service to Archæology. This society has also been very lucky in its explorers ; Mr. Flinders Petrie being a whole host in himself.

I can only mention the doings of M. and Mme. Dieulafoy at Susa ; I have not seen the large collection they have brought back to Paris, but it is spoken highly of by those who have had the opportunity of inspecting it.

I may call your attention to the remarkable development of Archæological exploration which has taken place, and almost wholly between the dates of the two Congresses of London. In India, as I have already pointed out, Archæology is organised under the Government ; and at home here societies have come into existence for the sole purpose of exploration. This, I am sure, you will agree with me, is most satisfactory. The positive results have been a large addition to our knowledge. Although much has been done, I yet believe that exploration of this character has only begun ; and that in the future the development will be still greater. There is an ample field in store yet for work. It is not long ago that I heard of two young Americans who were roughing it at a site somewhere to the south of the Troad, and were excavating on their own account ; and the report was

* Mr. Wood began his explorations at Ephesus in 1863.

that they were doing very good work. The remarkable thing is that so few young men of our day have yet thought of turning their energies to account in this direction. The fashion hitherto has been sport. Men will go to the other side of the world, and face any danger, to kill some wild or rare animal ; but when it becomes realized that more repute and honour will be achieved by discovering the site of an ancient city, by digging up some ancient hoard of coins, unearthing an inscription, a statue, or a fragment of an unknown style of Architecture ;—this new manner of sport will not want for disciples. I have often thought the professors at our Universities might assist in inspiring the youths under them with an ambition in this direction.

In 1884 I accompanied the Afghan Boundary Commission, under Sir Peter Lumsden, through Persia and Khorassan to Afghan Turkestan in Central Asia. We wintered at Bala Murghab, and I returned home in the spring of 1885. As the Archæology of the region we passed through is but little known, I propose giving a few details.

I shall first touch upon the Fire Temple at Baku. I had always understood that this temple belonged to the Guebres, or Fire-worshippers, and I should have been much astonished on seeing the place, if Colonel Stewart had not previously informed me that it was a Hindu Temple. The temple is a very rude erection, not unlike the usual Saiva Temple of India, but there is no *Garbha* or cell ; it is quite open on the four sides. In the centre a tube projects out of the earth, and the gas used to come through and was lighted. A low *Sikhra* surmounts the Temple, and at each corner of the *Sikhra* were tubes, which could be lighted ; these, with the central fire, would produce the *Panch Agni*, which is familiar to the Hindus. On one side of the *Sikhra* a trisula projected,—from which I assumed that the worship had been devoted to Siva. There is a sculptured stone on the temple on which there is a Swastika, and other rude figures, as well as an inscription in Devanagari. There is an enclosure round the whole containing a number of small rooms for the accommodation of pilgrims, and over the door of each there is a small stone with Devanagari inscriptions on each. I brought home some rough squeezes of these inscriptions ; these on being submitted to Sanscrit scholars, including Professor Max Müller, were supposed to date only from a few centuries back. The temple is now deserted, but a few years ago, as Colonel Stewart informed me, a man from Delhi was in attendance, who received pilgrims, and kept the place in order. The pilgrims came from India, and were Hindus, and not Parsees. Colonel Stewart has seen and spoken to many of them. The Hindus call the temple “Jowala Jee ;” and they associate it with Jowala Mukhi, the well known fire temple at Kangra ; but they esteem the one at Baku as the more important of the two shrines. My own impression is that the sacred fire at Baku must have been originally a Guebre place of worship ; but how, or when, the Hindus found their way to such a distant spot, is a point on which I have no information.

Before reaching Kasvin I was struck with the appearance of the villages. They were exactly the same as those I had seen between the Khyber and the Jellalabad Valley. The resemblance was so complete, that I could

see no difference,—and I have made sketches of both. Each village is a small fort. Four high mud walls, crenellated, form a square enclosure; four round towers, made also of mud, and crenellated, at each corner, complete the design. The houses of the village, all of mud construction, are huddled anyhow inside this protective defence. I kept my eye on these villages all the way eastward from Tehran, through Khorassan, to the Heri Rud, on the Afghan Frontier; and I assumed that the type would be found to be the same through Afghanistan to the Khyber.

This was interesting so far, but it becomes, I think, still more so, when I point out another identification that dawned on me. Larger villages having more space to enclose, had more round towers, the wall being what a military engineer would call a curtain between each. Towns were fortified in the same way; round towers at regular intervals, and the high, crenellated, mud wall, forming the curtain between. One morning on our march, I passed a village, where a new wall was being made; the men were at work, and the crenellations they had finished were neat and well formed; and it suddenly forced itself on my mind, that these walls were identical with those represented in the Assyrian sculptures. We know that in Mesopotamia mud, or sun-dried brick, was the building material. It was with this same material I saw them constructing defensive walls in the present day in the north-east of Persia; and I believe the same system exists through Central Asia and Afghanistan. The walls of Jellalabad, of which I have sketches made in 1878-9, are similar in design and material. I felt that it might be a matter of some importance to realize that this mode of building had continued to the present day from the period at least when Babylon and Nineveh were in the height of their grandeur,—and in all probability it had existed for many ages before.

This was not the only identification I noticed between the Valley of the Two Rivers and the further east. The cities and towns of Mesopotamia are known to have been in a number of cases square in form; and either the whole city, or a portion of it, to have stood on a raised platform of earth. The square walls of the villages, already described, may be just noticed; but I found larger towns that were also square in plan. Old Sarrahks, on the right bank of the Tejend, or Heri Rud, is a good example. This is a very ancient place. It seemed to me to be a perfect square,—unfortunately at the time of my visit I had no means of measuring it,—with its corners facing the four cardinal points.*

The form of the town is perfectly distinct, because it stands on a raised platform, round which the ruined walls are still visible. My first notion was, that the raised ground had resulted from repeated destructions, and rebuilding of the town; but I abandoned this idea as soon as I had seen other mounds in the same region. Kala-i-Maur, on the Kushk Rud, is an old place, the mound is now somewhat irregular in form, but I took it to have been originally square. Kara Tapa Khurd, on the same river, is a

* The plan of Babylon is understood to have had its four corners to the cardinal points; Khorsabad was the same; and so was the plan of the Birs Nimrud, showing that temples, as well as towns, were arranged under similar ideas,—thus indicating that there was probably a religious motive which existed as a basis.

mound, square in form. Maruchak, on the Murghab, having been inhabited down to a late period, has its walls still standing, and it is a square town. The fort at Bala Murghab was rectangular, but not exactly square. There were other places that we passed, of some of which I did not learn the names, but I noticed that they were square in plan.* What I have given will be sufficient to show that this particular form was common in that part of Asia.†

Having given examples of the square form, I shall now mention one or two very marked exceptions. The first of these is the great heap called Ak Tappa, or the "White Mound," at Penjdeh. This mound has no resemblance to the flat platform on which a town or a citadel might be built. It might be described as a small hill, irregular in form, slightly triangular. It was roughly measured, and put as 300 yards in its longest dimensions, and about 150 yards in its greatest breadth; and 100 feet high. It is undoubtedly artificial, and a large town existed round it; although there are no remains, yet the fragments of pottery in the soil was in itself evidence that such had been the case. Someone has suggested,—but I now quite forget who it was,—that such high mounds were as old as the Zoroastrian period, and they were high places for fire altars. Whatever may have been the object for which such a heap was raised, it must have been very different from that for which the low quadrangular platforms were formed.‡ I have heard that various theories have been suggested as to the origin of the Central Asian mounds, but as yet I have not read anything authoritative on the subject; and my own knowledge of them is too slight to enable me to throw any light upon it.

All the villages in Persia are not square, and we came upon a very remarkable one, about one hundred miles east of Tehran. This village was round. The legend as told us by the people living in it, was, that Las, the Son of Noah, traced the circle on the ground, on which the village was built,—and its name is "Lasgird,"—the girdle, or circle of Las, as the name was explained to me. The solid wall of mud rises perpendicularly for perhaps about 30 feet, and on the top of this wide rampart the houses

* Ferrier in his travels, p. 207, describes the citadel of Balkh as a square enclosure on an artificial mound. He also states that there is an "immense artificial mound, anciently crowned with a fortress," at Khoosk-i-Nakood, near Kandahar, p. 316. Near to this there is another, at a place called Sungusur, p. 316. He mentions many other places in his travels where there are such mounds.

† This square form of towns extends into China. Peking is square, each of its sides being four miles in length. The city of Ava, one of the old capitals of Burmah, is square, with three gates on each side;—exactly the same as the new Jerusalem of the Apocalypse. It is difficult to understand how there could be any connection between Burmah and Western Asia; but recent speculations have dealt with a supposed relationship between the Chinese and the ancient Akkadians.

‡ I find the following in my *Diary* made at the time.—"Captain De Lassoe tells me that an Arab Geographer, called Khordabih, who wrote about 880, A.D., gives a description of a place on the Murghab,—'Mowrab,'—which must be Ak Tappa, and gives it the name of Karinain.—It is described as a village on the top of a high hill on a plain, inhabited by fire worshippers, who earned their living by hiring out donkeys, and were called Karkuns, which means workmen, and they had the reputation of being great travellers, from going about with their animals."

were built. The inside of the circle contained storerooms, and places where cattle, horses and sheep could be stowed away when a Turkoman raid took place. The only entrance to this was a very small doorway, with a door formed of granite, which turned in the primitive way on pivots. The object of this door was to prevent it from being burned by the Turkomans; and when it was closed the people were safe within this strange citadel. There are other places in Persia with the word "gird" in their names, but whether they are similar to Lasgird or not I have not learned.* That the circular form is an ancient type as well as the square, we have evidence in the city of Ecbatana, which was round; and I understand that Hatra was also round. That there was some practical, or perhaps symbolic reason, which gave rise to the square and round form of towns at some early date, is what I am inclined to suppose; but I can offer no suggestion that will explain the origin of either. By putting this as a problem here, it may be seen by others, who may chance to have the necessary knowledge to solve it.

Knowing that Buddhism had been carried to Central Asia, and that while it spread from there eastward to China with great rapidity, it seems to have made little or no progress westward into Persia;—I was anxious to observe if any remains of it could be traced. It was not till we reached the Heri Rud, which forms the frontier between Persia and Afghanistan, that I came upon what I believe to be a small group of Buddhist caves. This was at a place called Dowlutabad, which might be about twenty miles south of Sarrahs. I noticed a perpendicular cliff on the eastern, or right, bank of the river, with holes in it. I rode across to the place, but could find no means of ascending to the caves, but from what I saw, no doubt was left in my mind that they were artificial excavations. That they were Buddhist I could not affirm at the time; and it was only after other caves were discovered on the Murghab, that I came to the conclusion they were in all probability remains of that kind. If I am right in this, these are the latest found monumental evidence of the spread of Buddhism westward in that region.†

At Bala Murghab, the Honble. Major M. G. Talbot, R.E., who was on the Survey Department of the Commission, discovered a couple of caves in a cliff on the left bank of the river. I went over to see them with him one day, but the climb up was too difficult for me to risk, so, I only saw them from below. Talbot measured them, and made a plan and section.‡ One cave is 45 feet long, and the other 30; the width is 7 feet, and vault formed roof is 7 feet high to the point in the centre. There is a communication between the two caves.

These caves were quite empty; there were no paintings or sculptures in

* I have been informed that Lash, south of Herat is a "Gird," and that it is named after the son of Noah.

† In making this statement I am not ignoring the existence of a colony of Buddhists now located on the north western corner of the Caspian. I saw and sketched a lama from that locality, in Moscow, where he had come in 1883, to attend the coronation of the Tzar.

‡ These were published in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. xviii. Part I. 1886.

them to indicate the purpose for which they had been excavated. Although wanting in this, I can come to no other conclusion than that they were the habitations of Buddhist ascetics. I would assume that the great body of Buddhist monks that occupied the city of caverns at Bamian, would not limit their occupation of that important centre of the faith, but in all likelihood, would have outlying posts at least extending over what is now known as Afghan Turkestan. The difficulty would be to account for these places upon any other supposition. The Buddhists were the only body of people who excavated such habitations.* The Bamian caves are evidence of this; the Jellalabad Valley is full of Buddhist caves;—all these were no doubt made in imitation of those in India. I have further evidence;—I have made drawings of the caves in the Jellalabad Valley, and I can trace points of identity between them and the caves at Bala Murghab. Without plans or illustrations, I cannot give these here; but even wanting this, I think the Buddhist character of the caves will be accepted.

Further confirmation of this was found in the discovery of a large and very important group of caves at Penjdeh.—Captain,—now Major De Lassoë, one of the officers attached to the Commission, had been detached for a short time to Penjdeh; and while there in February, 1885, the people told him of the caves. The entrance was closed, but a passage was easily made; when he found a long vault-formed passage 150 feet in length, 9 feet wide, and the same in height. There were doorways on each side, which led to at least sixteen chambers,—many of these having smaller chambers connected with them, and not enumerated in this figure. Almost every one had a small recess in which was a well,—or it may have been a circular shaft for keeping a supply of water in. This was evidently a large Vihara, or Monastery. The houses here have been constructed of mud,—and people accustomed to such simple and easy working materials would never have been at the trouble to cut out dwellings for themselves in the solid rock; and particularly in such a manner that they would have been in perpetual darkness, which must have been the condition in every one of these rock-cut chambers. The group is known as the Yaki Deshik caves.† Major de Lassoë reports the existence of numerous single and double caves in the hills about Penjdeh.

Towards the end of 1885, while the Afghan Boundary was being determined, Major Talbot started on a Survey expedition. He passed eastward through the valley of the Heri Rud, and ultimately reached Bamian. He made drawings of a number of details which are all interesting. A young Brahmin, Bhairon Bux, who had been trained in the Jeypore School of Art, was with the party, and he made very careful drawings of the two great Statues, which are the best I have yet seen of these remarkable monuments, and they convey a very perfect idea of them. Major Talbot

* I am aware that the Hindus excavated caves; but that was in imitation of the Buddhists, and after their suppression. This was the case in India; and there could be no Hindus in a position to excavate caves after the Buddhists in Afghan Turkestan.

† This plan of the Yaki Deshik caves was given in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. xviii. Part I. 1886—with a letter from Captain De Lassoë to myself describing them; and to which I refer for further details.

sent all these home to me, with a descriptive account, which was published in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society.* Major Talbot measured the Statues with the theodolite, and found the largest to be 173 feet in height ; and the smaller one to be 120 feet. Previously to this the height of the greatest had only been guessed by chance visitors, but it turned out to be higher than the highest estimate that any one had ventured to make. One important point about these figures is that they do not show any indication of the Greek influence, which is now recognised in the sculptures of the Peshawer and Jellalabad Valleys. The drapery of the Statues is all as regular and formal in its folds as the Statues of Buddha show which belonged to those parts of India where the Greek influence had never reached. Neither do the details of the caves, judging by the drawings sent home, show any signs of Classic Architecture. As Bamian was so close to Balkh, the supposed headquarters of the Greek power left in that region by Alexander, one would have expected to find the Classic influence more strongly marked than it is farther South. We might speculate on the causes of this peculiar condition of Art at Bamian, but it may be as well to wait till further data are forthcoming.

From Bamian Major Talbot went north to Haibak, and he reports the existence of large numbers of caves in that direction. One place bears the name of "Hazarsam," a word that means the thousand *Samutches*, or caves. At Haibak he found one group which is called "The Stables of Rustam"; this name is given to them from a series of arches cut in the rock, which would serve admirably as stalls for horses. The feature of interest in these caves is that of three chambers which have been excavated with domes ; and these domes have evidently been formed in imitation of previously existing constructed ones. The domes are high, and although circular, are not pointed ; this form identifies them with the Sassanian domes, such as those in the palace at Serbistan ; or the form of the great arch of the Takht-i-Khosru at Ctesiphon. The pendentives, which support the circular part of the domes at Haibak, are an exact repetition of those in the few examples of Sassanian architecture that are still existing in our own day. Among the details sent by Major Talbot from Bamian, is a sketch of the same pendentive in a domed cave at that place,—the value of this is, it shows the pendentives in the Stables of Rustam were not exceptional ; but belonged to a type that was common to Central Asia. All this points to the conclusion that the main features of what is now known as Sassanian architecture were not limited to Mesopotamia, but was the style practised through Northern Persia, Khorassan, and that it at least extended as far east as Balkh,—and in all probability to Bokhara and Samarkand. It also suggests a greater antiquity for the dome than has generally prevailed hitherto ;—but on this point we have as yet no dates to guide us.† Another interest attaches to this rock-cut dome ; but in

* Vol. xviii. part 3 with an *Introduction* by the late Sir Henry Yule, and explanatory notes by myself.

† There are domes represented in some of the Assyrian sculptures ; and from the facility with which I saw that the village people of Persia could construct domes and barrel-roofs, with sun-dried bricks,—and without what is technically called "centring," I came to

this case we trace it down towards the present day instead of backwards in the past. It was this dome as a structural form that continued in Central Asia, Khorassan, Persia, and Afghanistan, which the Mohammedan conquerors of India brought into that country; and it is the successors of that dome,—though slightly altered, that are still to be seen at Delhi, Agra, and other places in the north-west of Hindostan.

I believe I am expected to say something about the Græco-Buddhist remains which are here around us.* This splendid collection which Dr Leitner has brought to this place is certainly tempting, and the subject is undoubtedly one belonging to our section. It so chances that I have had opportunities of studying these remains in the Punjab, Kashmir, and Afghanistan; I have also seen the collection in the Lahore Museum; and as I can claim to have given some attention to the questions connected with the subject, I shall devote a short time to it.

Perhaps I should say something about the discovery of this Greek influence which is now recognised by everyone. There have been many claims made for this honour. The earliest notice I have yet found where the resemblance to Greek of these Buddhist monuments was noticed, is in the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone's *Caubul*. This was as far back as 1809, when he and his mission were returning through the Punjab, a party of them visited the Manikyala Stupa. Elphinstone says:—"There is nothing at all Hindoo in the appearance of this building; most of the party thought it decidedly Grecian. It was indeed as like Grecian Architecture as any building which Europeans, in remote parts of the country, could now construct by the hands of unpractised native builders."† The recognition here is distinct enough, but it can scarcely be entitled a discovery. We might apply the word used by children in one of their games, and say that Elphinstone and his party were very "warm";—they were close upon the discovery, but they really did not quite realize what they had found.

The actual merit, so far as my knowledge goes, is due to Sir Alexander Cunningham. The evidence for this is to be found in a small book he published in 1848, entitled *An Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture*;—the work is very rare—the only copy I have seen is the one in the British Museum. It deals with the Architecture of Kashmir, in which the Greek details,—I am using the word Greek here, as including Roman, or even Byzantine,—as these were all only developments of the Greek,—are even more marked than in the Manikyala Stupa.

the conclusion that such modes of roofing must have been practised from a very early date. Where wood was to be had, flat roofs in villages would be the rule; but where no such material existed,—and mud was plentiful, as in Mesopotamia and Central Asia, the sun-dried bricks would be built into barrel-roofs and domes. On my return from the Afghan Frontier, I read a paper on "Mud Architecture" to the Royal Institute of British Architects, where this subject is dealt with.

* This address was delivered in the Museum at the Oriental Institute, Woking.

† Vol. i. pp. 107-8.—Professor Wilson, in his *Ariana Antiqua*, published in 1841, refers to this visit and the impression formed upon Elphinstone and his party, on which he remarks,—“it has been since fully proved the work of Indian artists,” p. 31. These words are no doubt literally correct enough, but they miss the real mark. We have made progress since 1841.

I have made claims to this discovery myself,—but unfortunately I found that this was twelve years after the publication of Sir Alexander's small book. Still, I can claim that the identification in my case was quite an independent discovery. It was in February 1860 that I first visited the Manikyala Stupa,—at that time I knew very little about Indian Architecture, and had heard nothing about a Greek influence having reached the region of the Indies,—but I had begun my artist career in Architecture, and was familiar with every detail of the “five Orders,”—and before I had finished my sketches of the stupa, I was convinced of the existence of Greek details upon it. The capitals, although much weather worn, I saw were rude imitations of Corinthian; and the frieze with its cornice, was so unmistakably classic, that I made a slight sketch of the section, which is still in one of my sketch books. My knowledge of Architecture enabled me to make the step beyond what Elphinstone and his party made, that step which amounted to discovery. Next year in Kashmir I sketched the old temples there, and found in them further confirmation of my conclusion.*

It was some years after this when Dr. Leitner, if I mistake not, while exploring after the Dards, came upon some of the Buddhist remains in the Peshawer Valley, which he collected, and these were the commencement of this interesting and most valuable museum we are now in. Its value may perhaps be appreciated when I say, it contains examples of nearly all the forms of Art peculiar to the style we are at present considering. Dr. Leitner claims, and I believe he is fully entitled to the merit of applying the term “Græco-Buddhist” to them, as descriptive of the character and origin of this particular form of Art.† But he is entitled to something more than this. He brought this collection home to England, where it

* On my return home from India in 1862, I read a paper in May of that year to the Royal Institute of British Architects, *On the Architecture of India*; and in dealing with the Kashmir Temples, I said,—“The style of all these buildings is very peculiar, quite unlike anything else in India. Instead of being like the architecture of India, your first impression is that it is Gothic. This is from the high pediments and the spire-like roofs and general constructive appearance, but a closer inspection shows the stilted arch, which is more Saracenic than Gothic. A still closer inspection reveals a mass of mouldings, and details which, if not classic, can leave no doubt on the mind that they have been derived from that source. There is one sketch of some details which I did at Martund, which is a very remarkable illustration of this Greek or classic character. Were I in a general company to throw down that sketch, and say that it was a sketch in Athens, unless it was minutely inspected the statement would not be likely to be contradicted.” Regarding the Manikyala Stupa I said,—“here again there are clear remains of Greek Art.”—The capitals of the pilasters,—“are so decayed by time, that it requires close inspection to make out what they have been, but no doubt was left in my mind that they are Greek of the Corinthian order. I have given drawings of two of them, and if that is not enough, there is a hastily done section of the frieze, which I think establishes the classic character itself.”

† This style has also been termed “Indo-Grecian,”—Cunningham adopted this: “Indo-Roman,” or “Indo-Byzantine,” has been suggested by Mr. Fergusson;—“Indo-Ionic”; “Indo-Hellenic”; “Roman”; “Græco-Roman”; and “Roman-Buddhist,” are terms which have been used by various writers. The introduction of the word “Roman” has resulted from a supposition that the Classic influence only came through some Roman colony; or that the influence continued,—that is fresh communications with the West went on after the first Greek inspiration, till the Roman period, or even to the Byzantine period.

was for a time exhibited in the South Kensington Museum, and by this means, as well as by lecturing, Dr. Leitner made the subject known, and created an interest in it, which it would not have otherwise had.

The style of Architecture which we may call the Græco-Buddhist, is a very curious mixture ; and I shall try to give a slight description of it for the benefit of those who may not have had the opportunity of seeing any of the examples. First, there is the column in the style which we call "Persepolitan," from its bell-shaped capital, similar to those at Persepolis ; and which is common to the Western Caves, and the sculptures of Sanchi and Bharhut.* Along with this is a Corinthian pilaster, and capital. At times the Abacus is extended beyond the capital, shewing a survival of the primitive wooden bracket. The base mouldings of the pilaster are generally rude imitations of the usual Corinthian and Ionic orders. Some remains of what are supposed to be Doric and Ionic have been found, but these are very exceptional. I have a sketch of the Pheelkhana Stupa in the Jellalabad Valley, where one half of the column—the lower half—is Corinthian, and the upper half is Persepolitan. These two orders were generally associated together on the same building ; and they were only used,—so far as our knowledge goes,—as decorative, and not as constructive, forms. In the Jellalabad Valley there are no buildings of the Buddhist period left, there are only the remains of stupas, more or less in a ruined condition, and I speak mainly from what I saw on these monuments. So far as I know, nothing in the shape of a classic pediment has been found. Its place was supplied,—and also applied as a decorative detail,—by the round Arched form derived from the roof of the Buddhist Chaitya hall,—or more properly speaking, from the wooden roof of the house of the Asoka period. Although this may be considered an Arch in form, it never was so in construction. Along with this I found in the Jellalabad Valley a form, which so far as I know, is new to students of Indian Architecture. This was composed of two uprights, sloping inwards to the top, and surmounted by a straight lintel, with rude mouldings giving it somewhat the character of a cornice. We have no such form in the plains of India, but in the Himalayas I have seen doorways bearing a strong resemblance to it ; and my supposition is, that it was common to the hills, that it existed as a constructive detail in Afghanistan at an early date, and was continued among the decorative details of the Buddhist period in that region. The conical roof of the Kashmir temples is also a form derived from wooden roofs still existing in the Himalayas ; I come to this conclusion from sketches of wooden temples I made in the Sutelj Valley. The Kashmir temples have a very marked feature which is described as a trefoil arch. Its origin is far from being clear. Fergusson thought that it had been developed from the section, or profile, of the Buddhist Chaitya Cave.

This very slight description of the forms found in this class of Architecture will tell what a strange medley it is. I shall not occupy your time with the sculpture which was connected with this Architecture. It can be studied here in this museum, which contains an ample supply of examples.

* Whether this capital was carried from India to Persepolis, or the reverse,—is a point not yet determined. Fergusson thought it possible that it was common to both.

The difference in style between it and the sculptures of India will be easily perceived, and better understood by inspecting what is around us here than by any description I could give you.

The particular channel by which this classic influence reached Afghanistan and the region of the Indus, has already been the subject of considerable speculation. At first Alexander's invasion was thought to be a sufficient explanation; but his march through Afghanistan, the halt in the Punjab, and descent down the Indus, were performed in too short a time to permit of any influence being produced. A better supposition then presented itself, which was that the Greek governors of Bactria, after Alexander's death, had Greek artists in their employment, and it was to them we should attribute the introduction of classical details into the Architecture of the locality. The coins of these early Greek satraps bear so far unmistakable evidence of this; and if there were men in Bactria who could produce coins with Greek Art on them, we need scarcely doubt but there were others who could produce Greek Architecture. Later again, it was suggested that in both the Architecture and the sculpture, there are details more allied to Roman than to Greek Art; and from this it has been assumed that artists must have continued to come from the West down to the Roman period Fergusson was inclined to this opinion; and still farther, he thought that the connection went on as far down as the Byzantine date. I cannot share in this view of the case.* It has also been assumed that it was from the Greeks the people of India learned to use stone instead of wood in their Architecture; and that as the Greek influence can be traced in the sculptures of Sanchi and Amaravati, Indian sculpture was wholly indebted for its origin to the invasion of the Macedonian. I made sketches of the Sanchi Stupa as far back as 1861, and have been familiar with its sculptures since that date,—but I hesitate to accept the statement that Greek influence is visible in them. It is quite possible that there may have been a more intimate connection between India and Western Asia in ancient times than we have supposed,—a subject on which some very able papers, by Mr. Hewitt, have appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,—and I am willing to suspend judgement on the origin of lithic Architecture and Sculpture in India, as well as other matters, till this most interesting subject has been more fully wrought out.

As I was in the Jellalabad Valley with Sir Sam. Browne's force in the Winter of 1878-9, during the last Afghan war, and devoted some of my spare time to the study of the Buddhist remains there, some slight account of them may be of interest. Previous to that time our knowledge of Indian Architecture did not extend beyond the Khyber Pass; but I brought home drawings of details sufficient to entitle us now to say that we know it as

* Since this address was delivered, Dr. Leitner kindly sent me a paper by Mr. V. A. Smith of the Bengal Civil Service; who advocates the theory of a Roman influence. It is a very able paper, and shows careful study of the subject. At first I thought of adding a note of criticism, but the subject is too wide,—it would require a long paper, as well as illustrations, to do it anything like justice. Though doubting Mr. Smith's view of the matter, I may call his attention to a point in this address which favours his theory; that is the absence of anything Greek at Bamian or Haibak.

far as Jellalabad and Gundamuck. The population of monks in the Jellalabad Valley, during the Buddhist period, must have been very large. I judge from the remains which can still be traced of monasteries, with their topes. These crumbling ruins of the past are scattered all round the lower hills of the valleys, and in some places they extend for miles with only an interval here and there between the mounds. Wherever there is a scarp rock in the hill side, caves have been excavated; and these still remain, many of them almost as perfect as when made, but the greater number are in a ruined state. These caves seemed to me to be copies of the caves in India,—not those of the western ghats, but the earlier caves about Buddha Gaya. The Viharas, or built monasteries, can only be traced in some places from ridges formed by the walls having tumbled down. In one, or perhaps two instances, I could trace the plan of the monk's cells, by the line of walls about level with the ground.

The topes are in most cases mere heaps, but there are a great many of them of which a considerable portion still remains. In none of them did I find the Tee, or the umbrellas; but there was one standing as high up as the spring of the dome. Taking a bit of what was left in one, and a bit from another, I was able to make out all the Architectural details on these monuments; which were very much as I have already described the character of the Græco-Buddhist Architecture. At Hada, the Hidda of the Chinese pilgrim, which is a few miles to the south of Jellalabad, there are the remains of a considerable number of topes, as well as caves. It was at this place in a monastery, that Hiuen Tsiang, in the early part of the 7th century, saw the skull, and other relics of Buddha. It was an important place of pilgrimage at that time. The name of the capital of the district was known as Nagarahara, and after careful inspection of the whole valley, I came to the conclusion that it stood at the junction of the Surkh-ab and the Kabul rivers,—that is on the right bank of the latter stream. At this place there is what seems to be a natural mound which I take to have been the Bala Hissar, or citadel; and round this for some distance extend extensive mounds, and these are covered with stones, among which are the mounds of many topes. One of these I commenced excavations upon, but had to stop just when it began to show the walls, and manner of construction.

Previous to this I had made a very successful exploration of one of the topes, and the result may be of interest here in connection with the subject of Græco-Buddhist Architecture. While the army was quartered at Jellalabad, Lord Lytton, who was then Viceroy, sent a communication to the late Sir Louis Cavagnari, that if Archæological excavations could be carried out in the Jellalabad Valley, he was to do all that he could to accomplish them. It so chanced that only a few days before these instructions arrived, I had begun operations with a working party, which Cavagnari had supplied, on the conditions that all coins, sculptures, etc.,—which might be come upon, were to belong to the Government. The spot was on a ridge nearly a mile from the camp, where there was a large mound, with lower mounds, in the form of ridges, round it, which I naturally took to be the remains of a Vihara, or monastery. I was aware

that Masson had dug into almost all the topes in the Jellalabad Valley, but there are still a number of mounds, in which he saw no traces of Architecture and left untouched. This mound was one of them; it was known as the Ahin Posh, or "Iron Clad" Tope,—a descriptive name I have not as yet been able to find an explanation of.

I commenced a tunnel in order to find the cell in the centre. The interior mass of the structure was formed of large boulders from the river embedded in mud. Luckily the tunnel led in exactly on the level of the cell, this last was formed of slates, and its size was 15 inches square. In it I found a small heap of dark-coloured dust, which, it may be assumed, were the ashes of the holy person to whose honour the tope had been erected. On the top of this heap lay a golden relic-holder,—such as are worn suspended by a chain, or cord, from the neck. In this was a small object, most probably a sacred relic, and two gold coins.—Among the ashes were eighteen gold coins,—making twenty in all. Seventeen of these were Indo-Scythian, belonging to three reigns, those of Kadphises, Kanerki, and Hverki. The other three were Roman coins belonging to Domitian, Trajan, and Sabina, the Empress of Hadrian. The date of the Indo-Scythian monarchs is understood to have been during the first century before Christ; the Roman coins come down to the first quarter of the second century of our era,—thus giving us the utmost limit of antiquity for the monument.* The coins had more or less sunk into the ashes, and this suggested to me that each one had been dropped in as an offering, each person in his turn coming up and dropping his coin. If someone had collected the offerings, he would naturally have placed them altogether, and probably in a corner of the cell. The relic-holder lay on the top of the heap, as if the person who presented it, had taken it from his breast, and laid it down, without any plan of arrangement,—and there, I believe, it had remained untouched from the moment it was deposited, till the time when it was found by me. My supposition is, that there was a ceremony at the dedication of the tope, when the relics were placed in the cell, and offerings were made to them; but whether this was so or not, the above details may be of interest as indicating, though faintly, what had taken place on such an important occasion, and so very long ago.

While the tunnel was going on, others of the working party were clearing away the rubbish round what had been left of the lower part of the tope. The building of the inner mass has been already described as that of boulders in mud. The external face was formed by boulders split in two, and each piece laid so that the split face was outside. Between each of these courses was a layer of slate, some inches in depth, and slate was also built up between each boulder,—the whole producing a diaper appearance,—but all this was covered over thickly with plaster. Mouldings were roughly formed with the slates, which seem to have been plentiful in the locality,—and finished more minutely with the external plaster.

The Afghanistan topes† present some marked difference from those in

* The ashes, coins, and relic-holder were all sent to Calcutta, and a description of the coins, with Photographic reproductions, was given by Dr. Hoernle, and published in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, August, 1879.

† "Tope" is the local word, used by the natives,—so it is given here instead of Stupa.

India. The Sanchi Stupa, for instance, may be described as a dome resting on the ground. In Afghanistan these monuments have a square base, from which a drum springs,—and this drum is surmounted by a dome. These peculiarities give a greater height to the Afghanistan topes. The square base of the Ahin Posh Tope was 100 feet on each side; and although the drum was entirely gone, luckily its circle could be traced, and it measured 80 feet in diameter. The height of the base was between 30 and 40 feet; to which we have to add the drum and its dome, about 90 feet, and we have a structure over 120 feet high at least:—contrast this with the size of the Sanchi Stupa, which was about 120 feet in diameter at the base, and 56 feet in height; or scarcely the half of the others in altitude.

There was another feature of these Afghanistan topes which I was fortunate enough to discover; and I believe it must have belonged to those of the Peshawer Valley as well. On my return from Afghanistan, I read a paper *On the Buddhist Remains in the Jellalabad Valley*, before the Royal Institute of British Architects.* For this paper I made a restoration of the Ahin Posh Tope, for which, I believe, I had data for every detail, including the Tee, which surmounts the dome, but I had no authority to guide me for the umbrellas above the Tee; so I introduced the triple umbrella only as a recognised form which we were familiar with. Fergusson saw, and approved of my restoration, and made no objection to the triple umbrella; but after it was published, I chanced one day to be looking over one of my old Indian sketch-books, when I noticed a sketch, made as far back as 1861, of a sculpture on an old stone at Dras, in the Himalayas, on the road from Kashmir to Leh. My surprise was great on finding that it represented a stupa similar to those in Afghanistan,—it had the square base, besides other details, which left no doubt on the point. But the remarkable characteristic was a pile of thirteen umbrellas which towered high up above the stupa. This at once recalled the Chinese pilgrim's account of the great stupa at Peshawer, which had 25 copper-gilt umbrellas,—the whole monument being 400 feet high. There is, in Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 126, an illustration of a small model of a tope found by Masson, in the Jellalabad Valley, and it must have had seven umbrellas over it. This model perfectly confirms the Dras sculpture, and shows that the Afghanistan, as well as the Peshawer Valley topes, were all surmounted by a high tower-like form of gilt umbrellas, and which must have more than doubled their height above the dome. From this, the full height of the Ahin Posh Tope must have been at least over 250 feet.†

This sculptured tope at Dras has also thrown light on another question which was before in doubt. The Sinologues all affirm that the Pagoda of China was a form originally brought from India, and that it came with Buddhism. It was surmised that if this was the case, the stupa must have been the first model; but the Pagodas of Southern China, are so

* Read 12th January, 1880.

† I have sketched a restoration, but with the umbrellas altered according to the sculptures on the old stone at Dras.

unlike our previous notions of Stupas known in India, it was difficult to believe that the one could have been the origin of the other. The Pagodas about Peking were not so well known as the Southern ones; the latter being a series of rooms, one above the other, while those about Peking have only one chamber at the base, which is surmounted by an odd number of roofs, generally eleven or thirteen, forming a tower;—and evidently a copy, in Chinese Architecture, of an Afghanistan tope. This identification, so far as I have learned, has been generally accepted, and the old sculptured stone at Dras has become the first monumental evidence of the origin of the Chinese Pagoda.*

As it is over two years since the above address was delivered, I am now asked to add a few lines so as to bring the slight sketch of events, with which the address begins, up to date. During the time mentioned no discovery that can be called great in the department of Oriental Art and Archæology has as yet been announced. Much has been done,—more indeed than can be chronicled here,—in the various regions of the east, where, as it has been explained, we have organized departments under Government, as well as societies, carrying on operations.

The first duty is to notice the death of Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham. He was born in Westminster on the 23rd Jan. 1814, and died on the 28th Nov. last. He was thus within two months of completing his eightieth year. A very full notice of his life and the work he has accomplished will be found in the January part of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for this year, 1894. He may be said, even at his great age, to have died in harness. I had a letter from him only a few months before his death, and it was, as a piece of penmanship, so well written, it gave me hopes that there were still many years in store for him. As an evidence of his working power up to the end, his last book, entitled *Mahabodhi, or the Great Buddhist Temple, under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya*, was published at the end of 1892. This is a large quarto volume with many plates, recording his explorations and discoveries. This temple, built beside the Bodhi Tree under which Buddha attained to Supreme Wisdom, or Buddhahood, has been the source of much controversy, and some of the points are now cleared up by Sir Alexander's discoveries. The building has been so often repaired and altered, that there were doubts as to whether it was the structure seen and described by the Chinese Pilgrim in the early part of the seventh century. In removing some additional building on the north side, a part of what may be supposed to have been the original wall was uncovered; and here the niches were found to be surmounted by arches copied from those of the Chaitya cave form,—so different from those of the more modern restorations. This leads to the probable conclusion that the original walls still exist in the temple; but the existence of such arched forms is so new to us in that part of India, that as yet no exact date can be suggested regarding them.

* I read a paper to the Royal Asiatic Society in December, 1881, on this stone, giving a drawing of it. In that paper will be found fuller details of its bearing on the Afghanistan Topes, as well as the Chinese Pagoda, than space will permit of here.

Although a date cannot be given, these arches are in all probability older than the time of Hiuen Tsiang.

The Sikhara or tower of this temple has a floor above the Cella, so it is a two storied structure; the old temple at Konch is similar. This would seem to have been a peculiarity in the construction of Sikharas at some early period, of which there is an important confirmation in a late "*Progress Report*" in which Dr. Führer announces that in his explorations near Râmnagar, in the Bareilly District of Rohilkhand, where there are extensive mounds marking the site of Adhichhatra, the ancient capital of Northern Pâncâlâ, he has come upon the remains of a large "two-storied" Saiva temple, built of carved brick, and dating from the first century B.C. A Saiva temple of this date is a discovery in itself; but as yet no detailed account beyond what is here given has appeared, and hence any conclusion regarding it must be deferred. Dr. Führer also found some inscriptions at Adhichhatra, and from the names upon them he makes the following important statement.—"Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay, the prevalence of Vaishnavism and Saivism not only during the second and first centuries B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaisnavism and Saivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism."

A late issue of the *Epigraphia Indica* deals with inscriptions found at Mathura by Dr. Führer. These have been translated by Dr. Bühler, and contain some valuable data respecting temples and architecture. From one inscription we learn that the Jaina sect were settled in Mathura in the second century B.C.; and from another that an old Jaina stupa existed there "which in A.D. 167 was considered to have been built by the gods, *i.e.*, was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten." This, so far as I can recollect, is the first notice I have seen that the Jainas had stupas; and it adds another link to the resemblance between Jainism and Buddhism.

I believe Dr. Führer is now in Burmah at the work of exploration, which was begun by the late Dr. Forchhammer. Our knowledge of Burmese architecture is as yet only that of a confused mass of material which requires to be sifted so that its history and development can be accurately realized. It is to be hoped Dr. Führer and his staff will do something to give us this desirable result.

Dr. Hultsch, who was appointed Epigraphist to the Government of Madras, has now published two volumes, in four parts, of *South-Indian Inscriptions*. These inscriptions are mostly found in temples, and contain much valuable information about them; but they have very little reference to the architecture or art of that part of India.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the Archæological Commissioner for Ceylon, still continues his explorations at Anuradhapura, and is doing good work, so far as the means at his disposal, which are somewhat limited, will permit.

Having explored "The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland," Mr. Theodore Bent has since then visited Abyssinia, and his book, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, is worthy of notice, from the author's discovery of the old city

of Yeha, and also for the photographic reproductions of the obelisks at that place as well as at Aksum ; these give us a perfect notion of the details of the monuments. The altars or sacrificial stones at the base of the obelisks are an important addition to our knowledge, as they appear to confirm what Professor Robertson Smith says about sacrifices among the Semites. These altar stones may possibly suggest an origin to the obelisk, which as yet Egyptology has failed to supply us with. Mr. Bent left at the end of last year for Hadramaut in Arabia Felix, on an exploring expedition, and letters have been received from him at Shibam.

In 1890 Professor Flinders Petrie, under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, commenced a preliminary exploration at a mound known as Tell el Hesi, which is situated about 16 miles east of Gaza. The exploration has since been carried on by Mr. F. J. Bliss, and a large portion of the mound has been cleared away down to the original soil. Mr. Bliss considers that he has found at least eight cities,—each being a rebuilding on the remains of the others. Professor Flinders Petrie in his first digging found, at the lowest depth he went to, what he took to be Amorite pottery ; and he came to the conclusion that the spot was the site of the ancient city of Lachish. This is an important identification of a Biblical site, and it is now generally accepted, but as yet we cannot speak of it with perfect certainty. Bronze implements,—an axe, and spear-heads, with flint implements,—were discovered ; and a pilaster with a primitive Ionic capital was brought to light. Some authorities consider that it is only a rude copy of the Ionic of a late date ; my judgment would be in the opposite side, and I am inclined to say that it belongs to a primitive type. A point such as this,—whether a work of art belongs to the first beginnings of a style, or has come into existence when the style was in its decadence,—is often one of the most difficult questions we have to decide in the Archæology of Art.

CONTINUANCE OF THE NAME ASSYRIA AND NINEVEH AFTER 607-6 B.C.

BY D. A. LINCKE, PH.D.

It is generally supposed that, after the fall of the independent monarchy of Assyria in the above year, the name of this people and of its famous capital, Nineveh, completely perished and that the Assyrian nation was totally destroyed. The cause of this unparalleled catastrophe is said to be the "great hatred" which this "unspeakably abominable people," as A. von Gutschmid calls them, had deservedly created; thus judge among others Ed. Meyer (in his *History of Antiquity*, vol. i., p. 483), Hommel, Delitzsch, Duncker, Maspero, Perrot, etc.

This view is quite wrong, as indeed Kiepert, Schrader and Tiele (in his excellent *History of Babylon and Assyria*) have already recognised and pointed out.

The memory of the power and pomp of the Assyrians, who were not only warriors, but also merchants and artists, and by no means averse to science and literature, was ever vivid in ancient times and was not forgotten even during Muslem rule.

Names of kings no doubt were mostly forgotten, as were most of the Pharaohs and in Persia even the first Achæmenides.

The name Nineveh, however, always shines as a star in the darkness of the past. In most English works, as in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (under Nineveh) and in G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, passages are most commendably named like those of the *Annals of Tacitus*, XII. 13, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 23, 6, 20.

Among older authors Ritter in his *Geography* and Tuch in his admirable treatise *de Nino urbe* (Leipzig 1845) have collected much material which is too little used. In the old-Persian cuneiform inscriptions, Assyria is cited next to Babylon as *Athurâ*. The demotic text of the Table of Canopus gives the Greek "*Συρία*" with Aser (Assyria), and in the Coptic Kalendar of Saints we find valuable notices regarding the fall of Nineveh and Senkarib of Mosul. Nearly all Greek and Roman authors mention the Assyrians and their capital. Xenophon (*Anab.* III. 4, 9 p) on his march through the Tigris country does not name Nineveh, but I have shown in my longer Essay that this is either an accident or an error.

The fact that the Assyrians had ruled Asia Minor before the Medes was known to all the Classics. Herodotus (I. 184) notoriously wrote, or wanted to write, "*Ἀσσυρίοι Λόγιοι*." I. 1 he mentions that the Phœnicians also carry "Assyrian" goods to other countries. Even the assertion that the name of Nineveh was unknown at the time of Alexander the Great is, to say the least, doubtful. Arrian several times mentions Assyria and the Assyrians in his *Anabasis*, and Nineveh twice in surviving fragments; Diodorus also names this city (XVII. 53). Lucian (Charon) speaks of it

as highly renowned; Strabo does the same; Ptolemæus names Nineveh among the cities of Assyria (VI. 43).

During the time of the Roman Emperors there existed an accurate knowledge of the historical, commercial and political importance of the site of Nineveh, though, curiously enough, Kaulen contests this fact in his *Babyl. Assyria*. The words of Tacitus prove my statement irrefutably (Ann. 12, 13), 'Sed capta urbs Ninus, vetustissima sedes Assyriorum.' On coins we find the name of the Roman Military Colony "Colonia Niniva Claudiopoliis" which had been founded there. See also Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (D. A., p. 451).

Amnianus Marcellinus knows very well that *Adiabene* was called "*prioribus temporibus Assyria*" and that this land of Assyria was "*nobilis celebritate et magnitudine*." "*In hac Adiabene Ninus est civitas*" (23, 6, 14-23).

The Hellenic and Roman poets knew the people and town well; Phokylides already speaks of Nineveh. Roman poets mention Assyrian ivory, Assyrian ointment, Amomum and Melabathrum. Nöldeke has collected all these passages in his admirable article, *Hermes* V. p. 440. The Byzantines also knew this ancient nation on the Tigris. Thus the Assyrians are named by Zosimos, Prokopios, Theophylactus, Samosata and above all Theophanes.

According to Nikephoros Skeuophylax (in Theophanes II. 22) the Emperor Leo the V. ascribed his origin to the Armenians and Assyrians. Johannes of Nikiu in his *Chronicles of the World* confounds the Persians with the Assyrians when describing the Egyptian campaign of Kambyses.

Remember what fables have been spread by other Byzantine Classicists, e.g. Syncellus and the Chronikon Paschale, regarding Ninus (the Heros Eponymos, or the Personification of Nineveh) and Semiramis! This, and the invented Lists of Kings then circulated, shows that the imagination even of later years was incessantly occupied with the Assyrians. Ninus, Semiramis and Sardanapalus have even invaded Germanic poetry. The *Nibelungen Lied* mentions "silk from Nineveh" and even in Wolfram's *Parzifal* we find this venerable name. Similarly Jewish-Hellenistic literature says all sorts of things about Assyria and its Metropolis. Thus also the Sibylline oracles, the Apocalypse of Ezra and the Babylonian Talmud in which especially interesting passages regarding Sanherib are to be found. Indeed, the memory of this energetic and practical people was kept alive for the Jewish-Christian World by the Biblical books, the indignant effusions of the prophets, which are an eloquent testimony to their greatness, e.g. of Nahum, the story of Jonah and the penitence of the Ninevites. (See Isaiah 19, 23) "Blessed be Egypt my people and Assyria the work of my hands." Ezra 6, 22, calls the Persian King "King of Assyria" and Benjamin of Tudela also mentions Nineveh, as others have already shown. Above all, in *Syrian Literature*, we repeatedly meet with the name "Athur" (Othur) and Nineveh. It is most desirable that a Syrologist should collect and elaborate these innumerable passages. Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and Bar Hebræus' writings, especially the *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, offer an abundant material for a description of the importance

of Nineveh as the seat of a Bishopric, for such it was during centuries. Down to the 13th century Nineveh plays an important part in Oriental Ecclesiastical History. Above all, was the *Jejunium Niniuiticum* renowned among Syrian Christians and is mentioned even by Arabic authors like Albīrūnī and Kaswīnī. Bar Hebræus tells us that even during the time of the Ejjubites there was a Fort of Nineveh (*Hist. Dynast.* Ed. Pococke, p. 265). The Rev. Dr. Badger's work *The Nestorians* also contains interesting communications on the subject; the Homily of Ephrem Syrus regarding the Mission of Jonah and the repentance of the Ninevites was published by Burgess in 1853. Most valuable are the inquiries of G. Hoffmann *Extracts from Syrian Acts of Persian Martyrs* (1880) regarding the Behnam Legends and Sardana, the King of Athor. Important passages are also found in the *History of Mâr Qardagh* and the book edited and translated by Bezold *The Treasure Cave*. In the Syrian novel of Julian, Persia is often called "Beth Nimrod" and "Athur." Most Arab Geographers and Historians name Assyria and Nineveh, e.g., Abulfeda, Ibn Batuta, Beladhori, Muqaddasi; Yaqut mentions Nineveh 21 times. Nineveh also appears in the rôle of Qodâma (*Kremer, Cultur.* I., 367). Down to the latest times has the name of Nineveh been perpetuated among Bedouins and Turks in the form of "*Nunia*," as heard by Niebuhr and Moltke. Again, the Armenian authors report much about *Assyrians*, and surround Nineveh with an Armenian Legend. Compare Moses of Chorene, Faustus of Byzanz, Agathangelus (according to him Ardeshir, the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty, was an Assyrian), Serubna of Edessa, Mar Apas *Katina* (who tells us about the Library of Nineveh), etc.

Not Nineveh, but Babylon was already in ancient times in the possession of the evil notoriety as a seat of magic and of devilish arts! Let us hope that the day may not be far distant when Assyria may be colonized and that then Nineveh will again revive in her ancient glory and grandeur!

It is most interesting to find in the "Breslau" Translation of the 1001 *Nights*, that "Sencharib, King of Arabia and Nineveh" takes the place of the Indian King Nanda, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, in the tales of the wise Heykar. In the *Continuation of the 1001 nights* by Charis-Cazotte, the "Sinkarib and his 2 Wazirs," the former is called King of Assyria and represented by the Arab version of tale 3 as a *good* monarch (see Benfey's *Clever Maid*). In this story it is said that the neighbouring countries are becoming jealous of the growing might of Nineveh and that the King of Egypt seeks a pretext to involve Assyria in war. He asks Sencharib for an architect who can build a tower between heaven and earth and also answer the most difficult questions. Now the second question of the King to Heykar is what is that horse in Sencharib's stable in Nineveh at whose neighing the mares of the King of Egypt are frightened into foaling (page 185). This story compared with that in Herodotus II. 150 (the treasury of Sardanapalus) and Aristotele's *Hist. Animal.* 8, 20, proves that Assyria and Nineveh were ever connected in song and legend among the nations of Asia Minor and "Anterior" Asia and of Europe. It is, indeed,

curious that the Breslau text of the Arabian Nights should call Sanherib King of Arabia as in Herodotus II. 141.

2. In the *Bahman-Yasht* (Spiegel's introduction to the traditions of the Persians, II., p. 128) is a passage according to which the rule of Irán would come into the hands of "the worst nations." Now does the word אֲשִׁירָא which occurs here really mean, as Spiegel himself has it in his Glossary, II., p. 355, "*Assyria*"? The word is met on line 5 of the transcribed text by Spiegel, page 235, etc. West's *Pehlevi Texts* (4 vols., Oxford, 1880-92) which contains in its first volume the Text and Translation of the Bahman-Yasht is, unfortunately, not within my reach.

NOTES.—I.

1. SAYCE says in his *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians* pages 17 and 91, "The Assyrian Empire fell, because the population which had created and maintained it, was exhausted."

2. HOMMEL is obliged to state in his *History of Assyria* page 601 that in the Armenian Tradition, Ninus (namely the personified Nineveh) plays a part.

3. The following passage has to be added to the quotations in Ancient German Literature: "Zu Trippel noch zu Nineveh, Wart geworht nie rôter më"=Neither at Tripolis nor at Nineveh was there ever wrought a redder silk-stuff.

4. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, (*Stromat.* i., p. 363 ed. Potter) mentions that the Assyrians had invented the "Dichordon."

5. TERTULLIAN mentions the Assyrians in various parts of his writings, thus *Apologia* 26 "regnauerunt et Babylon regnum universae nationes habuerunt ut *Assyrii*, ut *Medi* ut *Persae*."

6. ALBIRUNI mentions that the last King of the Assyrians ("the people of Mosul") was conquered and killed by Arbakes alone (without the help of the Babylonians).

7. SOLINUS (*Collect. Rer. Memorab.*) mentions "Adiabene" and "Adiabeni" along with "Assyria" and "Assyrii," page 196 and again: "Assyrorium initium Adiabene" (see Capella 6, 691, see also pages 179, 222, 445).

8. It is said that Ninus struck the first coins on the advice and with the help of the THERACH (Grünbaum, *Semitic Legends*, p. 121).

9. The influence of Assyrian art on that of Persia was pointed out by Spiegel as early as 1852 in his *Avesta*.

10. Brunn in his *History of Greek Art* (I., 1893) accepts a counter-action of Hellenic art on the last period of Assyrian art, but he thinks that the Greeks only borrowed the *writing* of art from the East, but that its *language* was their own creation.

II.

(1.) Dio Chrysostomos says: "πολὴ δ' ἂν ἔργον εἴη πάντας ἐπεξεῖναι τοὺς διὰ τρυφὴν ἀπολλώλτας, Ἀνδρῶς πάλαι, Μήδους, Ἀσσυρίους πρότερον." (Vol. ii., p. 12, Ed. Reiske, cf. ii., p. 329.)

(2.) Ἀσσύρια γράμματα are distinguished from the Persian ones in the 21 letter of Themistocles (Hercher *Epistolographi Graeci*, p. 762).

(3.) In the Ἀσσωρός of Damesius (de primis principiis, Ed. Kopp, cap. 125) according to Halévy (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. 22, p. 190) the god Asur fought.

(4.) Regarding the Assyrian and Armenian descent of Leo the Armenian also Georgios Monachos *Chronikon syntomon*, Ed. Murali, p. 683 et seq.

(5.) In the Syrian legend of King Alexander Assyria is named, (Nöldeke, *Contributions to the Alexanderroman*, p. 29).

(6.) Nineveh's fall is e.g. paralleled by the Arabs completely forgetting the greatness of ancient Palmyra. Of the Egyptian Thebes Eusebius-Hieronymus (ed. A. Schöne, II. 141) reports: "Thebae Aegypti usque ad solium erutae"; "Thebaica submrbia in Aegypto funditus eversa sunt." Even the ruins of Thebes were long forgotten, though

this celebrated city had never given cause of great hatred. (Bädeker *Upper Egypt*, p. 123).

(7.) Hammer *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iv., p. 641 gives the text of the Latin letter of King Sigismund of Poland to the Sultan Murad III., dated Cracow 13;5 1588, in which the latter is styled as "Dominus Assyriae."

III.

(1.) Minucius Felix also, in his *Octavius* refers (chapter 25) to the dominion of the Assyrians. Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* i. 48), similarly mentions *Nineveh* as the capital of the Assyrian Kingdom—"ut in magno abundans vitiis," but still also as "celebris circa haec tempora Ninivitarum fides traditur"; these base themselves on the sermon of Jonas and were spared the judgment of God. Cf. cap. 51 and 52.

(2.) Epiphanius *Περὶ Μήτρων καὶ σταθμῶν* chapter 9 (iv. page 13 ed. G. Dindorf) says that there are more books existing than in the Alexandrian library. *Παρά τε Αἰθιοπικαὶ Ἰνδοῖς, Πέρσαις τε καὶ Ἑλαμίταις, καὶ Βαβυλωνίαις, Ἀσσυρίοις τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις* etc. On page 210 (vol. iv. 1) of the *Liber de gemmis*, versio antiqua is recounted that the priest Esdra is sent to Jerusalem with the Jews, by the King of the Assyrians; this Assyrian monarch was Artaxerxes I.

Epiphanius, of course, mentions also Ninos and Semiramis ("κατὰ ἀπόψεωσιν" I. 7 (1st vol. page 284 ed. Dindorf cap. 5 page 285) we read "κεῖται δὲ αὐτῇ ἡ Σενναύρ ἔννι ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Περσίδι ἣν δὲ τοῦτο πάλαι Ἀσσυρίων." (See with this Lehmann "*Samasumenkin*" II. p. 113.)

(3.) Amongst the pupils of the Persian school at Edessa there was a certain Absota of *Nineveh*, see Duval *Histoire politique etc. d'Edesse* (Paris 1893, separate reprint from the *Journal asiatique*), p. 178.

(4.) For later times the Babylonian king *Nebuchadnezzar* was deemed an unmitigated tyrant; thus amongst the Vandals (Dahn *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, I. 220) and later amongst the English Puritans. We may also be reminded of the well-known passage in Wallenstein's *Lager* by Schiller. As regards the superstition of the Babylonians we have also to mention that, according to *Benjamin of Tudela* (Ed. Baratier, chapter 12, p. 154) there are in Baghdad (see Delitzsch's *Paradies*, p. 206) "many magians well versed in all kinds of magic." In Lyons the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II. was in the year 1245 cursed by Pope Innocent IV. as a "Babylonian" (Kämmel, *Deutsche Geschichte*, p. 397).

(5.) Dr. Rauwolff in his description of a voyage which he had made to Oriental countries, particularly Syria, Judæa, Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Assyria (Frankfort a Main 1582) recounts how, setting out from Baghdad through Assyria, he reached the river Tigris and "the famous city of Mossul, which had been named years ago *Nineveh*"; "Nineveh was destroyed, yet, subsequently it was rebuilt; later on also it suffered, under the changes of reign severe attacks, until at last *Tamerlan* arrived and having forcibly taken it, destroyed it with fire and so demolished it that in its place only vegetables were planted thereafter" (ii. p. 102, p. 112, p. 83). As regards antiquities there was not much to be seen; the inhabitants of Mossul were almost exclusively Nestorians, that is, Christians, but they were worse than any other people and only thought of robbing and despoiling wayfarers, so that the roads were most insecure. Rauwolff was in those regions in the year 1574; he tells us (ii. 1017) that Nimrod had been a mighty sorcerer. In the atlas of the world of Fra Mauro (the original of which is in Venice) of the year 1459 "Assiria" figures as an Asiatic province (Ruge, *History of the age of discoveries*).

(6.) There is a very detailed treatment in Dapper, *Circumstantial description of Asia* the third portion dealing with the regions of *Babylonia* and *Assyria* (on page 201 of the German translation, Nuremberg 1681) about Assyria and Nineveh; the author mentions all classical writers that treat of this country and city; he is also well aware that the names of Assyria and Syria have been confused; he also knows that Nineveh is opposite to Mosul on the banks of the Tigris "a little town called to the present day by Arab writers *Nennouwi* and by the Turks *Eski Mossul*" (p. 204). The same author says that the whole of Asia was called together for the building of the city of Nineveh and that 1,400,000 men laboured continuously for a full 8 years at this work. Tavernier's

account of old cities also gives a fancy picture of Nineveh and he thinks that it seems to have flourished afresh in the times of Ammianus Marcellinus.

The same writer Dapper considers the Assyrian kings to have been most luxurious and lustful and mentions that Baidawi in his *Commentary on the Qurân*, refers to the lusts of the Ninevites or that the prophet Jonas had gone for this reason from *Mosul* to *Nineveh*.

(7.) Le Quien in his work *Oriens Christianus* which appeared in 3 vols. in Paris in 1740, describes very fully (vol. ii., p. 1128 and especially 1223) the ecclesiastical conditions of Assyria and says amongst other things: "Ex regione Mosul (ap. p. 1096 quae Chaldaice Atur) ad orientalem fluminis Tigris ripam *priscae Nini vel Ninivae* reliquiae *exstant*, in quibus oppidum est de illius *prius dictum nomine*, quod quartus est episcopatus sub Mosulensi metropoli. In ea autem episcopalis sedes stetit a tempore Josuae Bar Nun, qui anno 820 Catholicus renuntiatus est, ac brevi subinde illam exstinxit, quemadmodum Ebed Jesus I. Catholicus in sua constitutione narravit, apud Lahhaeum in collectione canonum. Eam tamen post aliquot saecula instauratam esse mox compertum fuit," etc. Le Quien furnishes a list of 13 bishops of Nineveh; the 13th, Joseph, was as such, companion of the Catholicus Simeon Sulaca on the latter's journey to Rome to pope Paul IV. in the year 1556 (pag. 1226). It is simply quite inconceivable to me how it is possible to maintain under these circumstances, that the position of this capital was soon completely forgotten and that even the name had absolutely disappeared (Hommel, Kaulen, Delitzsch, Meyer and others). It is to be hoped that this thoroughly baseless prejudice will soon disappear for ever from the world.

IV.

(1.) The title of a piece by the Attic poet *Chionides* has been preserved; it is: *Ἡέρσαι ἡ Ἀσσύριοι* (Kock *Comicorum Atticorum fragm.* I. pag. 5); there existed also a piece *Sardanapalos* by Sannyrion (vol. iii., p. 731).

(2.) *Aristides* *περὶ ῥητορικῆς*, chap. 5, 6 (vol. ii., page 29 Dind.) says: *Νίνος δὲ ὑπὲρ Μήδων ἐάλω.*

(3.) *Eratosthenes* also made mention of the *Assyrians*. (See Stephan Byzant., s. v. Assyria: "*Ἀέγεται καὶ Ἀσσυριοὶ* (1 ed. d. Pal. *Ἀσσύριοι*) καὶ Ἀσσυρεὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἑρατοσθένει" etc. Cf. Eustath. ad Dionys. 775 and 492; Berger, *die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes*, p. 264.)

(4.) Compare now with reference to the tradition of the epitaph of Sardanapalus and the treatise of Niese regarding it, also Ed. Meyer's *Researches in ancient history* (vol. i., p. 203) who says on page 204: "There is no doubt whatever, that Assyrian royal monuments were still much visible amongst the ruins of the capital of Assyria in the 6th and 5th century, and became known to Greek travellers."

(5.) The "*Assyria tempora*" are referred to by *Justinus* 41, 1.

(6.) *Lucanus*, *Pharsalia* III. 215, also mentions *Nineveh* "Et *felix*, sic fama, Ninos" etc.: in several passages of his poem, reference is made to the "Assyrians," e.g. "Assyrii populi," VI. 52; "Assyria pax," VIII. 417; "Clades Assyria," VIII. 234; "Assyriae Carthae," I. 105. Similarly with *Nonnos* in the author's *Dionysiaka*, II. 402 etc., the Lebanon is described as the "Assyrian," IV. 2 and 4 and 31, 207 we have *Ἀσσυρίη Ἀφροδίτη* etc.

Münter also (in his edition of the work of Firmicus Maternus *de errore profanarum religionum*. 1826, p. 12) draws attention to the circumstance that the ancient authors frequently confused the Assyrians and the Syrians (Herod. I. 131).

(7.) In the inscription of Adulis (Emil Kuhn "the constitution of the Roman Empire" etc. II. 125), it must, on the other hand, be admitted that all mention of Assyria together with Mesopotamia and Babylon is omitted.

(8.) Winckler in his *Old Testament Researches* (1892, p. 117) deduces from the circumstance that in the Phoenician inscription Corp. inscript. semit. 119 (Epitaph of a Sidonian woman from Peiraicus) in which Yatanbel, the son of Eschman-Silleah, high-priest of Nergal is mentioned that the Colony of Sidon started by Asarhaddon continued for a long time as such, together also with the cult of the Assyrian deities that had been introduced (thus this very *Nergal* for instance) into very late times; and that a

portion of the population of Sidon, continued to cherish its Assyrian traditions after the fall of Babylon.

Thus also the names אֲסַרְיָא (C. I. S., 118 Athen.) and עֲבֶרְבֶּל are to be explained as purely Assyrian (p. 118).

(9.) Isaak of Nineveh is mentioned (Chabot, de Isaaci Ninevitae vita, scriptis, etc. Paris, 1892, p. 62), called in the Codices ἐπίσκοπος τῆς φιλοχορίστου πόλεως Νινευί. The verses of the monk Tocha or Isaac in the year 1468, mention ἡ τῶν Νινευητῶν πόλις θαυμασία. Endert, p. xii.

(10.) In the Syrian work on the Knowledge of Truth or the Cause of Causes (Ed. Keyser 1893) which dates from the 11th or 12th century of the Christian Era, besides Mesopotamia and Beth-Chaldaoe also Athur is named.

(11.) Finally as a *curiosity* mention might be made that in 1678 in the Diana procession in Dresden six Assyrian monarchs figured, besides Nimrod (*Die Strassenansichten* 1678, vom Dresdner Geschichtsverein 1893).

V.

(1.) Josephus also, (*Archæol. Buch* 9 cap. 102) mentions in his report, regarding the mission of Jonas, the town Νινευή. I. 64 and the Assyrians "οἱ μάλιστα ἡνδαιμόνησαν."

(2.) Also Eutcrepius names in his *Breviarium Assyria* 4 times: VIII. 3, 6, 10 and X. 16.

(3.) In a hymn to Attis, a fragment of which is found in Origenes (*Hippolyte*) adv. Haeret. 118 and which Bergk is endeavouring to reconstruct, we find:

ὦ χαῖρε κατηφές ἀκουσμα Ῥέας
Ἄττη σέ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι
τροιπύθητον Ἀΐωνιν.

(Bergk *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* III. p. 685.)

(4.) In another place of this work of Origenes or Hippolytus (adv. Haer. V. p. 96) it says: "Ἀσσύριοι (sc. φασί) δὲ Ἰάννην (Ea or Ia, *Tiele, Babylonian and Assyrian History*, p. 101 and 387) ἰχθυοφάγον γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς." (Also in Bergk III., p. 712.)

(5.) Nineveh is also mentioned by Rabbi Petachja, but his *Travels* (issued in Paris in 1831) are not accessible to me.

(6.) *Jamblichus de mysteriis* (Ed. Parthey p. 5 and p. 256) speaks of the Ἀσσύρια ὁγμάτα and the Egyptians and the Assyrians as holy nations ἱερὰ ἔθνη.

(7.) Highly interesting and suggestive is the essay by A. Wesseloſky "The position of the Babylonion Empire" (in the 2nd vol. of the *Archives for Slavic Philology*); the work which exists in a Russian translation, is a fragment of a tale of a Byzantine Epic which is perhaps of an Iranian-Semitic source, the Greek original of which has been lost. The hero is Nebukadnesar (Nabuchodonozor) a foundling, who becomes Emperor of Babylon and possesses a self-smiting serpent-sword. His son is Basilios Nabuchodonosorovic! In his commentary to this Wesseloſsky remarks that in the romantic literature of the middle-ages Nebukadnezar and Nimrod (therefore not an Assyrio-King!) appear as the representatives of self-deification and furthermore that in the poems of the middle ages, before all, Babylon is described as a city *deserted* and *destroyed* (not Nineveh); we have these same descriptions in "King Rother" in the prophecies of Merlin in the Tesoretto of Brunetto Latini, in the letter of the priest Johannes etc. According to Giacomino de Verona, Babylon is even described as a town of hell full of snakes etc. (p. 318), or a town of Antichrist. Together with Babylon also the Trojan Kingdom was considered as a habitation for wild beasts and serpents (324).

In the poem, discussed further on, by Heinrich von Neustadt namely "Apollonius" *Nemrot*, King of Romania, and *Assur*, son of Balthasar, prince of Armenia are amongst the dramatis personæ (p. 32).

(8.) E. Wilhelm *l'Expédition de Ninos et des Assyriens contre un roi des Bactriens* (Löwen 1891).

VI.

(1.) In Gobineau's *History of the Persians* (Paris 1869, II., p. 493) I find the notice that King Orodes is described on north Mesopotamian coins as *Urad Vaga Attur* or

Aram "King of Assyria and Aram." The work of Percy Gardner *The Parthian Coinage* who follows A. v. Gutschmid in his *History of Iran* etc. (1888) is, unfortunately not accessible to me.

(2.) The author of the *Tahkemoni Harizi* calls the town Mosul sometimes Assur, sometimes Nineveh; see Albrecht *The Statements occurring in the Tahkemoni regarding Hariri's life, studies and travels* (1890, p. 34), who mentions that also other travellers (e.g. Rabbi Petachja, whose work referred to by Tuch p. 387 I cannot use) designate Mosul by מְסוּלָה. Tuch reports as well that the Armenian Haitho, the contemporary of Abulfeda, in his book *de Tartaris* cap. 11, transfers the name Nineveh to the town of Mosul; see Tuch *de Nino urbe* p. 38. In this place we must also refer to the passage (p. 62), quoted also by Tuch, of Eustathios (*ad Dionys. Perieg.* I., p. 292, ed Bernhardt) according to which 14 myriads of workmen are said to have worked continuously for 8 years in the building of Nineveh.

(3.) For the sake of completeness it might also be mentioned that Calderon in his Drama *The daughter of air* (*la Hija del Aire*) (very highly placed by Schack in his *History of Dramatic Literature and Art in Spain* III. 2, p. 184) makes Semiramis the centre of the play.

(4.) Nineveh is also named in the Old German literature in the poem *Der rôt munt* 236; see A. Schultz *The Court life of the Minnesänger* II. edition, I., p. 350-4 (Kurtis = Kurdistan?) 3 and 6. Also Rudolph of Ems mentions several times in his *Weltchronik* the land of the Assyrians and the Tigris; the *Anno*-song treats, verses 117-174, of the cities Nineveh and Babylon and in the traditions of Trier, Ninive and Semiramis play a great rôle. Hans Sachs too, according to Justinus describes a queen Semiramis of Assyria. In connection with this see *Massmann Kaiserchronik* (1854, vol. iii. p. 113). R. v. Ems also names the Egyptian historian Manetho (pp. 121, 148, 154, 263, 504, 513, and 532); R. v. Ems well remarks (book v. p. 23) that "*dö wart mit Kraft gesundert die Hêrschaft von Assyria und was in Kaldeî bi Nabuchadonôsor.*" Also Ecko of Repkow calls Salmanassar the king of Assyria.

(5.) As material to a history of Assyria after 607-6 may finally be mentioned the works of Brüll in his *Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* vol. i., p. 58-86 regarding "Adiabene" and of Franz Delitzsch on the royal house of Adiabene in the Church publication *Saat auf Hoffnung* 1887; also A. v. Gutschmid's *Gotarses* (Kl. Schriften, III., p. 43).

(6.) As regards the influence of Assyrian art on the art development of other nations it may be remarked that already Oppert in *Grundsätze der Assyrischen Kunst* (1872, p. 30) points out how Persian art is connected with the Assyrian, more particularly in sculpture and lays stress on the special character of Assyrian art which, it is stated, outlived for centuries the fall of the political power of Mesopotamia and Greek art also is said to have adopted Assyrian forms; see also Ménant *la Glyptique Orientale* II., p. 155, 165, 174. On the marble slab found in Attika, Ménant (plate XL., page 178) there is a representation showing a distinct Assyrian type; it probably dates from the time of Hadrian; compare also Tiele, *History*, page 609. Assyrian influence is also observable in the plate of Präneste and similar monuments; see Perrot de Chipiez (*l'histoire de l'art* etc. III. 767, ap. 759; also III. 436 etc.); similarly on the stèle of Teima (Perrot IV., p. 392). Assyria moreover is also named by Herodotus II. 17. Assyrian culture and religion, Assyrian life and thought had also found in earlier times an entrance among the people of Israel, see Kittel *Geschichte der Hebräer* II., p. 316.

THE SO-CALLED "EUCCHARIST" OF THE LAMAS.

BY L. A. WADDELL, M.B.

THIS Lāmist Liturgy, on account of its pompous ritual and the dispensation of consecrated wine and bread, has been compared by Huc and others to the Christian Eucharist; but it is, in reality, as here shown, a ceremony for gratifying the rather un-Buddhistic craving after long life in this world.

It is entitled "The Obtaining of (long) Life" (Tibetan.—*Tshe-grub*) and is a very good sample of the Lāmaist blending of Buddhists ideas with demon-worship. It incorporates a good deal of *Bon-pa* or Pre-Lāmaist ritual, and its benedictions and sprinkling of holy water are suggestive of Nestorian or later Christian influence.

It is done at stated periods, on a lucky day, about once a week in the larger temples, to which numerous seekers after long life come specially to participate in this rite; and its benefits are more particularly sought in cases of actual illness, and when death seems imminent. Every village must have it performed at least once a year for the general life of the community. If after its performance life is prolonged, then all the credit is ascribed to this service; while should death happen it is attributed to the excessive misdeeds of the individual in his last life or in former births.

The chief god addressed is Buddha *Amitayus* or *Aparamita* (Tibetan.—*Tshe-pag-med*) "The (god of) boundless Life." Unlike the Chinese Buddhists* the Lāmas never confuse *Amitabha* (the Buddha of boundless Light) with his reflex *Amitayus*: they represent these differently, and credit them with different functions. The other gods specially identified with life-giving powers are "The 5 long-Life Sisters" (*Tshe-ring-che-nga*) and to a less degree the White Tara, and Ushnisharani (*g Tsug-dor-rgyal-ma*); and *Yāma* the Lord of Death himself may be at times propitiated into delaying the time of death.

The officiating priest in this ceremony for propitiating *Amitayus* and the other gods of longevity must be of the purest morals, and usually a total abstainer from meat and wine. He must have fasted during the greater part of the twenty-four hours preceeding the rite; and before the ceremony begins, he should have bathed and repeated the *mantras* of the Life-giving gods 100,000 times if possible. It also entails a lot of other tasks in the manufacture of the consecrated pills and the arrangement of utensils &c. The service itself usually extends over two to three days, and is thus described:—

On an altar, under the brocaded dragon-canopy (*nam-yul*), in the temple or in an open tent outside, are placed the following utensils and articles:—

1. *Las-bum*, the ordinary altar water-vase.
2. *Ti-bum*, the vase with pendant mirror and containing water tinged with saffron.

* Eitel's Dict. "Amitābha."

3. *dbang-bum*, the "empowering vase" with the chaplet of the 5 Jinas.
4. *Tshe-bum*, the "immortal nectar vase," special to *Amitayus*, with a banner of peacocks feathers, and sacred *Kusa*-grass.
5. *Tshe-chhang* or "the wine of longevity" consisting of beer in a skull-bowl.
6. *Tshe-ril* or the "pills of longevity" made of flour, sugar and butter.
7. *Chi-mar*, or wafers of flour and butter and rice.
8. *mDahdar*, or sacred dagger with silk tassels.
9. *rdor-jehi gzung-thag*, or the divining bolt, a *vajra* or thunderbolt-sceptre with 8 ridges to which a string is attached.

In the preliminary worship the pills are made from buttered dough, and the nectar or *amrita* (Tib:—*dud-tsi* or "devil's juice") is brewed from spirit or beer, and offered in a skull-bowl to the great image of Buddha *Amitayus*.

Then the officiating head priest, having observed the ascetic rites above noted, abstracts from the great image of Buddha *Amitayus* part of the divine essence of that deity, by placing the *vajra* of his *rdor-jehi gzung-thay* upon the nectar-vase which the image of *Amitayus* holds in his lap, and applying the other end to his own bosom, over his heart. Thus through the string, as by a telegraph wire, passes the divine spirit. The Lāma must conceive that his heart is in actual union with that of the God *Amitayus*, and that, for the time being, he is himself that god. Then he invokes his tutelary-fiend and through him the fearful horse-necked *Hayagrīva*, the king of the demons. The Lāma, now having this trio (the Buddha and the two demon Kings) incorporate in his body, and exhibiting the forms of all three to spiritual eyes, takes up the *Las-bum*-vase and consecrates its contents, saying: "*Om! namo Tathagata Abhi-Khita samayasriri hung! Nama chandra vajra Kroda Amrita hung phat!*"

Then he sprinkles some of the water on the rice offerings (*gtor-ma*) to the evil spirits, saying: "I have purified it with *swabhawa*, and converted it into an ocean of nectar within a precious *Bhrum*-bowl. *Om a-Karo mu Kham! Sarba dharma! nantya nutpanna tatto! Om! a! hung! phat! Swaha!* I now desire to bestow the deepest life-power on these people before me; therefore, I beg you demons to accept this offering of '*gtorma*,' and to go away without doing any further injury."

Here the Lāma, assuming the threatening aspect of the demon-kings, incorporated, for the time being, in his body, adds: "if you refuse to go, then I who am the most powerful *Hayagrīva* and the King of the angry Demons, will crush you—body, speech and mind—to dust! Obey my mandate and begone, each to his abode, otherwise you shall thus suffer. *Om sum-bha ni,*" &c.

The Lāmas and the people now believe that all the evil spirits have been driven away by the Demon-King himself; and the Lāma then proceeds to secure for himself the benedictory power of life-giving. He first meditates on "the guardian-deities" (*ḍSrung-hkhōr*), thus: "The upper part (of the divine abode) is of thunderbolt (*vajra*) tents and hangings; the lower part of earth-foundations, and adamantine-seats (*vajrasana*); and the walls are of thunderbolts. The entire building is a great tent, protected by precious charms, so that the evil spirits cannot destroy it, nor can they

find admittance. *Om! bajra nakhya rakhya Sutra tikhtha bajra ye swaha !"*

Then the Magic Circle Mandala is offered up, saying :—

"If I fail to refer to the successive Lāma-Saints, my words and deeds will count for nothing. Therefore, I must praise the holy Lāmas in order to secure a blessing on the realization of my plans. O holy *Padma Sambhava*, in you are concentrated all the blessings of the present, past and future. You are the Buddha of the great final Perfection (*Maha-utpāna*) who beheld the face of Lord (*mgonpo*) *Amitayus*. O Saint possessed of the gift of undying life, of life lasting till the worlds of re-births are emptied! You hid away from us, in the snowy regions, the revelation upon the true essence of the five hundred 'Obtainings of Life.' The one which we now perform is the *Tshe-grub lchags-kyi-pho-brang*, or 'the iron palace of the attainment of life,' and is extracted from *dKon-mchhog-spyi-hdus*. It was discovered by the Saint *hDsa-h-Tshon-snying-po* in the cave where you hid it; and this mode of endowing a person with life has come to me through many generations of Saints. Now, O Lord *Amitayus* and the host of radiant gods! I beg you to sustain the animal beings, vast as the starry host, who approach you now with great reverence and praise. *Om a hung!* O Holy shrine of our refuge! *Hri !** O Hosts of the World of Light Brightness! *Pad-ma thod-phreng-rtsal-bajra sa-mayaja siddhi phala hung !"*

Then here is repeated "*Tshe-hgug*" or "The calling of life" thus :—
"O Lord *Amitayus*, residing in the five shrines whence glittering rays shoot forth! O! *Ghandarva* in the west! *Yāma* in the South! *Nāga nāga* in the west! *Yaksha* in the north! *Brahma* and *Indra* in the upper regions! and *Nanda* and *Taksha* in the lower regions! And especially all the Buddhas and Bodhisatwas! I beg you all to bless me and to gratify my wishes, by giving me the gift of undying life and by softening all the injuries of the harmful evil spirits. I entreat you to grant life and implore you to cause it to come to me. *Hri!* I beg you, O Buddhas of the three times! to bless me."

At this stage the Celestial Buddhas, Bodhisatwas and other gods are supposed to have consecrated the fluid in the vase and transformed it into immortal *amrita*. Therefore the priest intones this chant, accompanied by the music of the cymbals :—"This Vase is filled with the immortal nectar, which the Five Celestial Classes have empowered with best Life. May the life be permanent as adamant, and victorious as the King's banner. May it be strong like the eagle (*Gyung-drung*) and last for ever. May I be favoured with the gift of undying life, and may my wishes be all realized. *Buddha! Bajra! Ratma! Padma! Karma, Kapalamala. Hri maha rinisa ayu siddhi phala hung! Om a hung bajra guru Padma siddhi ayukhe hung nija !"*

Now the officiating priest bestows his blessing (*dbang*), as the incarnate *Amitayus* and the other gods of longevity, and distributes the consecrated water and food to the assembled multitude. When the crowd is great, the votaries file past the spot where the holy Lāma is seated. In smaller congregations the Lāma with the *Ti-bum* vase in hand goes to the rows of

* The *Vija-mantra* of *Avalokita* and *Amitābha*.

worshippers near the temple door, and pours a few drops of the holy fluid into the hands of each person. With the first few drops they rinse their mouths, and with the next few drops they anoint the crown of their heads, and the third few drops they swallow.

Then the Lāma brings the *Tshe-bum* vase and places it for an instant on the bowed head of each of the kneeling worshippers, reciting the *mantra* of Amitayus (*Om Amarani jiwantiye swāhā*), which all repeat. Then the Lāma touches the head of each one with the *Dbang-bum* vase; and afterwards, in similar manner, with the divining-dagger (*Mdah-dar*) saying: "The life which you now have obtained is unfailing like the *vajra*-armour. Receive it with reverence. As the *vajra* is unchangeable, so now is your life! *Vajra rakhya rakhya swāhā!* Worship Amitayus, the God of boundless Life, the chief of all world-rulers! May his glory come, with virtue and all happiness." And all the people shout, "Glory and all Happiness."

Each worshipper now receives from the skull-bowl a drop of the sacred wine which he reverently swallows; and each also receives three of the holy pills, the plate of which had been consecrated by the touch of the officiating Lāma. These pills must be swallowed on the spot. They are represented as beads upon the vase which the figure of Amitayus holds in his hands.

After swallowing the pills, all file past the Lāma, depositing with him a presentation scarf and any money offerings they may have to make. The majority pay in grain, which is piled up outside the door of the temple. They then receive a benediction from the Lāma who places his hand on their heads and repeats *Amitābha's mantra*; and on its conclusion he throws on their shoulder a knotted white scarf (*Tsim-tu*) from a heap of consecrated scarves lying beside him. The colours are, white for the laity and red for the priests.

Other ceremonies for prolonging life, especially resorted to in severe sickness, are "The Saving from Death" (*hchhi-bslu*), the "Ransoming of another's Life" (*srog-bslu*), *Ku-rim*, *gSer-Skyems*, *gyal-gsol*, &c.,—all being more or less mixed up with demonolatry.

THIRD REVIEW ON THE
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.
 CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

I.—INDIA.

THE ŚATAPATHA BRÁHMAṆA ACCORDING TO THE
 TEXT OF THE MÁDHYANDINA SCHOOL.

TRANSLATED BY JULIUS EGGELING.

PART III., BOOKS V., VI., AND VII.

BY C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.

IN the introduction to the first volume of his translation of the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa Prof. Eggeling observed that he was under no illusion as to the reception that his work would be likely to meet with at the hands of the general reader. He was well aware that few more tedious productions than the Bráhmaṇas existed. Notwithstanding he undertook the task of translating the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa, considering that it would furnish a picture of an important period in the social and mental development of India. Speaking of the Bráhmaṇas generally Prof. Eggeling observes: "They represent the intellectual activity of a sacerdotal caste, which, by turning to account the religious instincts of a gifted and naturally devout race, had succeeded in transforming a primitive worship of the powers of nature into a highly artificial system of sacrificial ceremonies, and was ever intent on deepening and extending its hold on the minds of the people by surrounding its own vocation with the halo of sanctity and divine inspiration." This judgment, though severe, is strictly just. A perusal of a few pages of Prof. Eggeling's translation would explain the impatience with which Gautama Buddha seems to have regarded the whole sacrificial system. The minute regulations with regard to the drawing of cups of Soma-juice, which seem to have absorbed so much of the attention of the priestly mind, are to the modern reader, insufferably tedious. Such ceremonials as are depicted in the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa must indeed have been a weariness to the flesh. But it is just the pressure of this intolerable law of "commandments contained in ordinances" that accounts for subsequent intellectual and religious movements in ancient India, and without some knowledge of the Bráhmaṇa period it is impossible adequately to comprehend them.

Since the time when Dr. Eggeling wrote the introduction to the first part of his translation, movements have taken place which tend to render such works more palatable to the "general reader." The development of the study of Folk-lore has awakened an interest in ancient customs and legends. The fascination of the comparative system has made these dry

bones live. It may be safely predicted that many enquirers, who are not specialists in Sanskrit, will turn over the pages of the present volume, with the hope of having some light thrown on their favourite study. Nor will they be disappointed. Looking at the matter from this point of view, we think that Prof. Eggeling has acted wisely in making his translation as literal as possible. In the few pages that we have found time to compare with the original, the Sanskrit text seems to have been faithfully followed, without any violation of English idiom. This is as it should be. For the careful student anything of the nature of a paraphrase is a hindrance rather than a help.

The present volume deals with the *Vājaṇeya* and *Rājasūya* sacrifices, and the *Agnichayana*, or building of the fire-altar. The *Vājaṇeya* sacrifice, a term which Prof. Eggeling translates as “drink of strength or perhaps the race-cup,” is an elaborate Soma-sacrifice, containing “a chariot-race in which the sacrificer, who must be of the royal or of the priestly order, is allowed to carry off the palm.” The *Vājaṇeya* or inauguration of a king, “strictly speaking, is not a Soma-sacrifice, but rather a complex religious ceremony, which includes amongst other rites, the performance of a number of Soma-sacrifices of different kinds.” With regard to the *Agnichayana* or building of the fire-altar, Prof. Eggeling is of opinion that it was “a very solemn ceremony which would seem originally to have stood apart from, if not in actual opposition to the ordinary sacrificial system, but which in the end, apparently by some ecclesiastical compromise, was added on to the Soma ritual as an important though not indispensable element of it.” Its principal object is the exaltation of *Agni*, the Fire, to whom so many hymns of the Rig-Veda are addressed.

As the cups of Soma-juice play so important a part in these sacrifices, it is disappointing to find that the identity of the plant is not, as yet, satisfactorily established. Dr. Haug tasted the juice of the substitute used by the Hindu priests of the Dekhan. He observes, almost pathetically, “It is a very nasty drink and has some intoxicating effect. I tasted it several times, but it was impossible for me to drink more than some teaspoonfuls.” That the Soma-juice was an intoxicating drink is well-known from the hymn in the Rig-Veda, in which its effects on the god *Indra* are vividly described. But it certainly reflects on the taste of that eminent Vedic deity that Dr. Haug should have found it “nasty.” Dr. Watt appears to think that the drink may have been prepared “from the oblong fruits of the Afghan grape.” This is no doubt, a tempting theory. But this view of Dr. Watt’s, as well as his alternative view that the Soma-juice was used “to flavour some other beverages,” conflicts with the testimony of the oldest Sanskrit literature. Professor Hillebrandt in his *Vedische Mythologie* shows that the attributes of the Soma plant are confused with those of the moon, also called Soma in Sanskrit. This renders the task of identification more difficult than ever. But it opens a rich field of enquiry to the student of ancient Aryan mythology. Professor Hillebrandt has, with rare self-denial, abstained from considering the problem from the comparative point of view, as he appears to think that it is necessary thoroughly to investigate the separate mythologies before proceeding to a comparative study of them.

His object is to lay solid foundations, and to leave it to future generations to erect the superstructure.

But the student of ancient customs and beliefs, who is not a specialist in Sanskrit, and therefore not bound to such literary self-abnegation, will find many points of interest in Professor Eggeling's volume. In the directions for the *chariot-race*, which is a distinctive feature of the *Vijāpeya* sacrifice, and which Professor Hillebrandt, according to Professor Eggeling, considers to be “a relic of an old national festival, a kind of Indian Olympic games,” we find the following words, “He then yokes the right side-horse ; for in human (practice) they indeed yoke the left side-horse first, but with the gods in this way.” It is obvious that this “right-side horse” corresponds precisely to the Homeric *δεξιόσσιπος*. The distinction between the national customs of gods and men is also eminently Homeric. Passing on to the next page (22), we find the following words : “Alongside the yoke of the side-horse goes a fourth horse, for that one is human.” Should we be wrong, in this connexion, in thinking of Pedasus, the mortal horse of Achilles? of whom Pope writes in his translation of the *Iliad*,

“The next transpierced Achilles' mortal steed,
(The generous Pedasus of Theban breed,)
Fix'd in the shoulder's joint ; he reel'd around,
Roll'd in the bloody dust, and paw'd the slippery ground.”

The statement on page 19 that the horse was “produced from the water” may also seem not altogether unfamiliar to the classical student. He will not be surprised at reading, on page 199, “*Agni* went away from the gods. He entered into a bamboo-stem for that is hollow. On both sides he made himself those fences, the knots, so as not to be found out ; and wherever he burnt through, these spots came to be.” For what is this but the myth alluded to by Aeschylus in his *Prometheus Bound*, line 109? Professor Eggeling has discovered the Homeric *δαρπός* on page 63.

A very interesting point is the identification of the three Aryan castes, the Brāhmans, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas with Agni, Indra, and the Visve Devāh (all the gods or as a special class the All-gods) respectively, and of the last mentioned occasionally with the Maruts. Prof. Eggeling observes, “This identification is a very natural one. Agni, the sacrificial fire, the bearer of oblations and caller of the gods is, like the priest, the legitimate mediator between god and man. . . . Again Indra the valiant hero, for ever battling with the dark powers of the sky, is a not less appropriate representative of the knightly order. . . . Lastly the identification of the common people with a whole class of comparatively inferior deities would naturally suggest itself.” There can be no doubt as to the position which the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa assigns to the “common people.” On page 34 we read, “Peasants throw them up to him, for the Maruts are the peasants, and the peasants are food for the nobleman.” It would be difficult to state more plainly the superiority of the nobles to the commons. But the still more exalted position of the Brāhmans is clearly enough indicated on page 95, where the court chaplain says, at the anointing of the king, “This man, O ye people, is your king, Soma is the king of us Brāhmans.” The author points out that by this formula the chaplain

“causes everything here to be food for him, the king, the Bráhmaṇ alone he excepts : therefore the Bráhmaṇ is not to be fed upon, for he has Soma for his king.” We may rest assured that this expresses, if not an actual fact, at any rate the pious aspiration of the Bráhmaṇ caste.

The student of folklore in the usual sense of the word, will find many traces of primitive barbarous customs in these pages. With regard to the Animal Sacrifice, Prof. Eggeling informs us, in a note on page 161, that the heads of the victims are used in building up the altar, whilst some of the blood is mixed with the clay of which the bricks are made.” This is obviously a survival of the custom which Dr. Liebrecht treats of, in his essay on “Die vergrabenen Menschen,” which commences at page 284 of his book “Zur Volkskunde.” On the same principle the “*sham-man*,” on page 197, may be a survival of the custom of human sacrifice. However the slaughter of a man would appear to be expressly prescribed on page 166. The “ropes of slaughter” on the same page may be the Homeric ὀλέθρων πείρατα,—an idea, of which, if our memory does not deceive us, Mr. Whitley Stokes has found traces in ancient Celtic literature.

To the student of ancient Indian civilization Professor Eggeling’s translation of this important Bráhmaṇa will, of course, be indispensable. We need only refer to the “skin of the black antelope considered as a symbol of Brahminical worship and civilization” on page 215 ; the references to dice-playing, that special weakness of the Indian warrior-caste, on page 106, with Prof. Eggeling’s interesting note ; and the allusion to the “king’s jewels” on page 58, an idea frequently found in subsequent Indian, and specially Buddhistic, literature.

But our remarks are not addressed to the specialist. Our object is to show that the fairly educated “general reader” may find much to interest him in the volume that we are considering. And it is, perhaps, for the “general reader” that the valuable series of which this work forms a part, is intended.

In conclusion we beg to congratulate Prof. Eggeling, on having been able, in spite of his numerous engrossing labours, to make such satisfactory progress with his translation of the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa, which is, like many Sanskrit works, of truly Himálayan proportions. It will apparently require two volumes more for its final completion. When completed, it will be a noble monument of the learning and industry of the translator.

II.—CHINA.

THE TRUE NATURE AND INTERPRETATION OF THE YI-KING.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND MONSEIGNEUR C. DE HARLEZ,


Professor in the University of Louvain.*

It was with a pleasure not unmingled with surprise that I read the interesting notice of the “Texts of Confucianism,” in the January 1894 number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*,—especially the part regarding

* Translated from the French by the Rev. J. P. Val d’Eremao, D.D.

the *Yi-King*. The learned Reviewer seems to be unaware of two matters, to which I should have wished to see him give due weight. I mean the translation of this famous book by M. Philastre in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, and the new explanation accompanied with a full translation given by myself, in the *Journal Asiatique de Paris*, and afterwards in the *Mémoires of the Académie Royale de Belgique*. In consequence of these two works, we have before us four different systems of interpretation, for the consideration of our readers; but before enumerating them, let us first see of what the *Yi-King* consists.

We must distinguish the text itself from its explanatory appendices, seven in number. The text consists of 64 chapters, each of which has, as its heading, like a title, a Chinese character accompanied by a sign invariably composed of 6 lines, some entire, others broken in the middle. These two kinds of lines, in combinations of 6 and 6, give precisely 64 combina-

tions. They are called *Kua*: the 10th *Kua* is ; and the Chinese character which accompanies it has the sound of our *li*.


So far regards the title of the chapter. The text consists, first, of a phrase or two, giving a general explanation of the subject; then of 6 (sometimes of 7) sentences, expressing ideas often entirely independent of each other, and seemingly most diversified.

1. According to the system of the learned Sinologist of Oxford, the first text shows what the *Kua* figure represents, taken as a whole, while the six sentences of the second text indicate what each of the six lines of the *Kua* means. Hence there naturally result such extraordinary meanings, that Dr. Legge himself expresses, several times, his regret at placing such pitiful nonsense before his readers. How could it be otherwise, when these same two lines have to express more than 400 different things or ideas?—geese grazing on a hill, a young officer in danger, a man meeting an equal, a dragon of the abyss, or of the air, *etc.*, *etc.* The task may well daunt the most resolute.

2. M. Philastre takes his stand at another point of view. The two great volumes composing his work give us a translation, and the commentaries of Tch'eng-tze, of Tchu-hi, *etc.*, of the Philosophical school of the Song dynasty. In the midst of all this, the text itself is quite lost, like a few cockle-shells floating on the surface of an immense lake. In his translation, too, M. Philastre gives the meaning of each word without troubling himself about giving the continuous sense of the phrases. In the *Yi-King* he has seen nothing except its philosophical and mystic side, such as has been made up by fanciful commentators, who have wished, at any cost, to make the *Yi-King* square with their own ideas, without troubling themselves in the least about its real meaning, and have, moreover, confounded the special meaning of the six-lined figures or *Kuas* with that of the Chinese words or characters accompanying them, though there is nothing whatsoever in common between them.

The *Kuas* may be divided into two figures, each having three lines. Hence there are eight kinds of such figures, supposed to indicate eight

different things: heaven, earth, fire, air, thunder, mountains, celestial waters and terrestrial waters. In the *Kuas*, these sets of three lines are

placed one over the other, in twos. Take as an example ; here

the three unbroken top lines represent the heaven above the air represented by the three lower lines of which the last is broken in the middle. The varying arrangement of the elements in such figures gave occasion to horoscopic interpretations, the secret of which was held by the augurs, or rather was invented by them as they pleased. Of quite a different nature were the Chinese characters forming the text itself, which I shall notice further on.

Such philosophical elucidations began with the speculations of the *Tao-shes*, or rather at the time when her communications with the west had introduced into China the astrology and magic of the Chaldeans, which the *Tao-shes* fully knew how to turn to their own profit. Their speculations were first introduced in the *Hi-sze*, the 3d Appendix of the *Yi-King*, which treats of everything concerning the *Yi-King*. This Appendix is attributed to Confucius himself, though there is nothing in its contents to allow of its being ascribed to that celebrated philosopher. It certainly belongs to a date much less remote than that of Confucius. When that great man lived, such speculations had not yet appeared; and Confucius, who was no metaphysician himself and who had no desire to investigate the mysteries of nature, was the very last person either fit or inclined to write in this way on the origin of things. Let us, however, return to the work of M. Philastre.

We must say that he has in little or nothing explained the nature of the *Yi-King*; nor has he been able to penetrate into his subject. His work, nevertheless, is interesting; inasmuch as it makes us acquainted with the system of explanation followed by a great philosophical school. It is an excellent page in the history of the human mind; but it does not at all help to settle our question.

3. Professor T. de Lacouperie is the first who has sought and has found in the *Yi-King* something sensible. His system agrees in many points with mine. Yet it differs from it essentially; for it supposes successive transformations of the work, of which I fail to see sufficient proofs, and proclaims a complete dissimilarity among the different chapters of the *Yi-King*, which does not seem to me so very certain. The learned London Sinologist, moreover, agrees with certain Chinese authors in attributing certain things to the Prince *Wen-Wang*, who flourished in the 2d half of the xüth century B.C., and similar statements, which I cannot accept for reasons given further on. He sees, besides, in the *Yi-King* a collection of very incongruous things—fragments of dictionaries, ballads, legends, and lists of all kinds of other things, the grouping together of which is not satisfactorily explained. His translations, too, of special phrases are often very peculiar; but, on the other hand, his immense archæological knowledge helps him frequently to grasp the real sense of the many obscure sentences with which the *Yi-King* abounds. It is, however, as yet too early to pronounce a

definite judgment on his work, since he has till now given us only his "Introduction," with a few examples of his interpretations.

4. I pass, therefore, without further delay, to explain my own system. To form a just idea of it, we must remember what the *Yi-King* is, and examine its nature and origin. Since its first appearance in historical documents, the *Yi-King* is a book that has been employed in divination. Though its origin is far from being thoroughly known, some facts allow us to form an approximate idea of it. The *Yi-King* comes from the country of Tcheu ; and it is not quite so old as it has been said to be. It was not in existence in the days of King *Wu-Wang* and his brother, the celebrated minister *Tcheu-Kong*. Of this there is incontestible proof in the *Shi-King*.*

In fact, we find, in L. v., chap. 4, § 20 *et seq.*, a thorough explanation of the system of divination followed under King *Wu*, with precise statements of the minutest details ; but there is not the faintest allusion to even any part whatsoever of the *Tcheu-yi*. It is true that the invention of this plan is attributed to *Yu of Hoa* ; but besides the evident improbability of this assumption, it is clear that this system was still followed in the life-time of *Wu-Wang*. The tablets of divination which are spoken of in L. V., chap. 6 have nothing in common with the *Yi-King*.

Here is the manner in which that book explains the system of divination as practised in the reign of Wen Wang's grandson. The number and shape of the lines made by fire on a tortoise-shell were observed :—such as figures of rain, clouds, light,—crossings or unbroken continuation. From these, favourable or unfavourable auguries were given. Consecrated rods also were cast, for the same purpose and with the same results. There were five meanings for the tortoise, and two for the holy rods. The interpretation of what they presaged was made by three learned men, chosen for the purpose, who made their interpretation without mutual consultation. If two agreed in interpreting the signs in the same way, their opinion was adopted. If any doubt remained, one had to consult his own conscience (*nai-sin*), the great state officials, and even the people. When two kinds of such advisers agreed, the question was settled. It is easily seen that this not only does not deal with the *Yi-King* at all, but that the use of it, and even the knowledge of it are utterly excluded.

The silence of the *Shi-King* on this point is even more significant. There, too, we find divination practised, but recourse is never made to any text whatever. The replies are obtained directly from the shape of the lines or from the arrangement of the twigs of the holy plant called *Shi* : when those lines or twigs are deciphered, one knows the decision of Fate. As instances take the following from the *Shi-King* (I. L. 4, O. 6, 2 ; III. L. I. O. 10, 7 ; *etc.*) :—"The tortoise was consulted, and the answer was : Luck."—"The question was asked where should the capital be placed ? and the

* One cannot easily see how any person, no matter who, could have made a change in such a book as the *Yi-King*. It would have been necessary that there should exist one copy only. And then, how should the memory of such changes have survived the lapse of 22 centuries of oblivion ? Nor do successive changes in the Chinese writing give any more satisfactory explanation of the matter, for we still have the *Yi-King* in the Tcheu characters ; and the learned men, too, who transcribed it from the *Ku-wen*, must surely have known the ancient character.

tortoise fixed it:—*Tcheng-tchi*." Such was the case both in the Royal State of *Tcheu* and in the Feudatory Principalities, under the sons of *Wen-Wang* and their successors.

According to the authentic evidence of the Annals of *Tso-Kiu-ming*, it is only in the viith Century that the *Yi-King* makes its appearance and we find it, for the first time, in the hands of the astrologers. One of the Appendices, likewise, says expressly that the *Yi-King* began to be used during "the middle antiquity,"—i.e. between the times of *Wu-Wang* and *Kong-tze*.

And what was it, ever since that primitive epoch? The annals of *Tso-Kiu-ming* informs us clearly and precisely; for there we find the *Yi-King* brought into use a score of times, and the author gives us on this point all the details we could wish for.

Thence we gather,

1. That the *Yi-King* existed in the viith century, B.C., in its present shape; and that there were several versions of the book, one of which bore the name of *Tcheu-yi* or the "*Yi* of the *Tcheus*," resembling our present *Yi-King* in every particular.

2. That the *Yi-King* was used in divination; and that, by lot or chance, they sought out a *Kua* or six-lined figure, and one or more of the sentences corresponding to the *Kua* indicated.

3. That the augurs, who alone possessed this book of divination, separately interpreted, as they pleased, both the figure of the *Kua* and the sentence found, as matters distinct, the one from the other.

4. That the sentences had no (real) relation with the lines of the *Kua*, and did not in any way indicate what the lines were supposed to show:—This is the basis of the system of Dr. J. Legge.

5. That these sentences were taken in their natural sense, and by no means in such mystical and philosophical significations as we find in the Great Appendix and in the commentaries of the philosophers translated by M. Philastre.

6. (and this is an essential point) That the words placed, as headings of Chapters, alongside of the *Kuas*, were taken in their natural meaning, and not as mere sounds, serving, in some way, as proper names for the *Kuas*. As I have given proofs for all these points in the *Journal Asiatique de Paris* (June, 1893, pp. 175 *et seq.*), I need not repeat them here. It will suffice to give a few indications to justify my statements.

Thus we find (B.C. 660) *Pi-Wen*, a chief of *Tsin*, consulting the *Yi-King* to know whether he will become a magistrate? The augur, after having drawn (by lot) the *Kuas Tchun* and *Pi*, explained to him that these terms meant "firmness" and "penetration"; and he cited a passage from the text, which he interpreted by itself, without seeking for any relation between it and the lines of the *Kua* figure.

In a similar way, the augur, in L. ix, An. 9 § 13, explains the *Kua* and the corresponding term *Sui*, and then the four terms *Yuen*, *hang*, *li*, and *tcheng*, precisely as I have done at p. 39 of my book; i.e. as meaning "beginning, development, strengthening and conclusion."

In L. x, An. 29, we find all the phrases of *Kuas* 1 and 2, about dragons,

explained in the same way and serving as a proof that dragons had already become known to mankind.

From the *Mémoires* attributed to *Tso-schuen*, we pass to the books of Confucius. We find two probable references to the *Yi-King*, in these books,—in the chief one of the four—the *Lun-Yu* or "Discourses." There we see—and it is a fact which we must carefully bear in mind—that *Kong-tze* did not treat much except of books on history, liturgy and morals,—the *Schu*, the *Shi* and the *Li*. It was not till towards the end of his life that he expressed his regret for not having studied the *Yi-King*; and as he then used for study the word *hio* which means the work of an apprentice (*Lun Yu*, vii, 16, 17), it follows that, till then, he had not been at all engaged in it.

In chap. xiii, 22, the philosopher seems to allude to a passage in the *Yi-King*,—at least he cites there a sentence which is found in the *Yi-King*, whatever may be the book from which he quoted it. These two passages prove (as I have remarked in the *Journal Asiatique*) that *Kong-tze* wrote no commentaries on the *Yi-King*, and also that he understood the text of it, as I shall explain a little further on.

To the epoch of the immediate disciples of *Kong-tze* succeeds that of the philosophers, of the Great Appendix, and of the other treatises pretending to explain the *Yi-King*, which take us away from the domain of reality to that of fancy, and discuss matters beside the text. Here I close this historical statement.

We have now to face the chief question requiring solution: How should we study and understand the *Yi-King*?

From what I have already said, it will easily be understood that in order to have an exact idea of these texts, we must separate them from whatever has interfered with their nature and meaning; *i.e.*, from all the philosophical treatises, appendices, and all such things, which have nothing to do with the original body of the work. It is in this body alone, that we must seek for the key to its own mysteries, consulting also the books which speak of it before the conceits of Tao-theistic dreamers and others had changed its simplicity. To this end, we must put aside the Appendices 3, 4, and 5. But we must carefully study the other four Appendices; for the two first give us explanations—often very happy ones—of the various sentences in the chapters, and the two last give us a very correct idea of the meaning of the title, heading and general subject of each section.

We have, therefore, only to study the text itself, by the light of the commentaries nearest to its own date, and of the historical annals known to be authentic. In setting aside the rest, we are only complying with the wish expressed on this subject by Dr. Legge, and with the wise remark of the illustrious Sinologist of Leyden, Professor G. Schlegel, as given in the article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, mentioned by me at the beginning.

As every one, except M. Philastre, is agreed on this point, I may without delay proceed further; for this is not all. Even from the text itself we must frequently lop off the terms indicating the nature of the augury obtained. Such are *Tching*, "good, lucky," and *hui*, "sorrow, unlucky ending," according to the *Shu-King*; to which the *Shi* adds *Kiu*, "blame-worthy, sorrowful," and *Wu Kiu*, "not sorrowful." There are also some

other such terms in the *Yi-King*, which it is however unnecessary to discuss. But we must proceed with much prudence when setting aside such terms, as there is risk of mistaking an integral part of the text for terms of augury. That there are, nevertheless, extraneous matters in the text is proved by the incontestable fact, noted also by Professor de Lacouperie, that occasionally they interfere with the rhythm of the versified portions.

Taking, then, the original text as the object of our study, we at length reach the question: How should we interpret what we find there?

The thing is simple enough when we have once freed ourselves from the errors and prejudices created by philosophers and speculative dreamers. We have only to treat the *Yi-King* like any other book that falls into our hands,—to study and translate it in the same way.

What do we find there at first sight? Stated plainly, simply this:—various chapters, with a heading or title, and a text in two parts. Now in all books of this sort we first translate the title, next we study the text, then we seek for the relation between the one and the other, treating the text as a development of the title.

The question may perhaps be raised, Should we treat the *Yi-King* like any other book, as it is not an ordinary work, but a code of divination? There can be no hesitation in giving an affirmative reply. It is quite clear (and the instances, which I am about to produce, will prove it most fully) that the *Yi-King* was not composed for the purposes of Horoscopy, and that with this the sentences of which it consists have, in themselves, no necessary relation. Hence there is no reason why we should not act regarding it just as we would with any other book.

But let us see whether it be possible to find any natural relation between the titles of these 64 sections and their double text. This is the point which I put before myself, when I began my own study of the text. I commenced with examining the first text,—that giving a general explanation of the subject; and all through I found a sure and, generally speaking, a clear agreement. The result of my labour may be seen in the *Journal Asiatique* (1887). This first success encouraged me to study, with the same view, the different sentences of the second text: a good result has, in general, answered also this attempt. (See my *Yi-King: Texte primitif, traduit et commenté*. Paris: E. Leroux; 1889.)

All this, however, is only assertion or vague discussion. Let me show by a few examples, that matters really are as I have stated. Let us take Chapters viii, xx, I, and i, which I have chosen at random.

KUA (Chapter) viii, *Pi*: "union, association, harmony."

Ist Text. *Agreement* is a fortunate thing. *Agreement* is help, the less accommodating himself (to the greater). If peace does not proceed from this, if the great and the small do not agree, great evils will result; the true doctrine (which is connected with it) will perish.

IInd Text. (six sentences):—1. To unite's one-self* with an honest man

* The words here given in *Italics* are the Chinese words placed as headings to the chapters, as *Pi*, etc.

will cause no regret. It is like a vessel full of good things; fresh advantages will always result from it to the end.

2. The *union* of hearts is virtuous, lucky.

3. *Union* with the wicked is bad.

4. *Union* with outsiders, as distinct from one's own family, is happy, just and a source of good.

5. (An example of) *Union* of hearts clearly praiseworthy. The King (while hunting) makes three drives, and allows a head of game to escape. The people, seeing this, make no sign (for seizing and closing the outlet): they *unite* themselves with the merciful intention of the prince.*

6. An *association* without a head (to direct it) is an unfortunate thing.

KUA XX, *Kwen*, "to contemplate, to appear; exterior, bearing, gravity, dignity."

Ist Text. When assisting at a sacrifice,† one should have a bearing, and an air of sincere piety, grave and dignified.

IIInd Text. 1. The *bearing* of a young lad is without blame in a common man; in one of higher rank it is reprehensible.

2. To *look through* an open door is useful to a woman (shut up in her apartments).‡

3. We should *contemplate* (meditate on) our life and actions.§

4. Princes come to *contemplate* the majesty of the Empire.|| It is an advantage to be the guest of the supreme sovereign.

5. Let us *contemplate* our life: thus will the wise man be irreproachable.

6. When he *considers* his life, the wise man is blameless.

Here let us note, (a) The remark already made about *Italics* applies here also. (b) Paragraphs 5 and 6 are identical, except as to the pronoun: this proves that the compiler of the *Yi-King* has repeated a sentence, in order to have the number six. (c) Professor de Lacouperie sees in this chapter a ballad relating the deeds of a Prince Kwen. I find it impossible to see any such thing there as he does.

KUA L; *Ting*, "Cauldron, sacrificial vessel, symbol of sacrifice."

Ist Text. The *cauldron* of sacrifice is a source of blessing, (draws down the blessings of heaven).

IIInd Text. 1. When the *cauldron* is upset, it is easy to eject from it what is bad (or good; when a cauldron is upset, everything goes out of it easily: this is a bad sign).¶

2. My *cauldron* is full, but my guest is ill; he cannot come to my house (the sign of lost labours).

3. When the *cauldron* has lost its handles, it can no longer be used; the fat meat of the pheasant cannot (be cooked or) eaten.

4. When the *cauldron* has one leg broken, it upsets whatever had been

* This passage is borrowed from the *Li-ki*, where it is given as it stands here.

† Literally, washing one's hands and not partaking of the offering,—technical terms, as may be seen in the Ritual, *I-li*.

‡ The woman looking out of her apartments can see what goes on outside, what her husband is doing, etc.

§ "The goings and returnings"—technical terms.

|| A phrase reserved for the visits of princes.

¶ The first phrase is a proverb, signifying that good can come out of evil.

prepared by the Prince. Its outside is all dirty (the picture of an unfaithful minister).*

5. A *cauldron* with handles and rings of gold : a symbol of prosperity.

6. A *cauldron* with rings of jade (signifies) a great happiness, and lasting advantages.

The relation between the sentences of the second text and the heading of the chapter is not always quite so clear. Thus the title of *Kua* (chapter) I. is *K'ien*, "the active heavenly principle"; but the various sentences speak of dragons—of the abyss, the plains, the air, *etc.* This, however, proceeds from a symbolism, in which the dragon represents the same principle, which causes and continues life.

Occasionally, too, we must go back to the more ancient characters, in order to find out the meaning of the title-word and its relation to the text. Some characters, identical in the beginning, have been varied in order to represent different ideas.

I need not multiply more examples. It follows from what has been said, that the *Yi-King* is a collection of various phrases, sentences and extracts, arranged under 64 headings and having a relationship with these 64 titles. Sometimes these phrases are explanatory, sometimes simply examples of the use of the word placed at the head of the section, sometimes quotations referring to it either directly or by a symbolism. It is well known that Chinese dictionaries are formed in this way.

We have, therefore, 64 subjects developed in these different ways, and these subjects can be reduced to certain categories of ideas. It is like the note-book of a collector of thoughts and quotations,—like a complete system of morals. (See the Introduction to my Translation.) There I have carried out this system from one end of the *Yi-King* to the other, without experiencing much difficulty, as each one can easily see for himself. Only a few phrases out of those which compose our text,—from 4 to 500 in number,—have remained obscure. Such a result would certainly have been impossible, if the system itself had not been true.

A strong objection, however, would remain against the system, if it could not be proved that it had been known to the Chinese at some epoch, no matter which, of their history. In part this objection has been already met. I have shown that the *Tso-Tchuen* and *Lun-Yu* prove that down to the 7th century B.C. the nature of the *Yi-King* was held to be precisely such. Not less explicit are the Appendices 1, 2, 6, and 7. The two first have often been the means of my finding out the meaning of sentences and their relation to the heading. The two last prove very fully that their writers considered the headings to be words of their language, taken as such in their natural sense ; for they are nothing else but an explanation of the natural sense, as against fanciful relationship between the chapters. (See my *Yi-King*, pp. 130 *et seq.*) Moreover, the knowledge that such was the nature of the *Yi-King* was never entirely lost. There is a very recent continuous commentary, from which I have given long extracts, (pp. 137

* This phrase may have been taken from some book, possibly a tale, where it may have run : "The cauldron had a broken leg ; it upset the food," *etc.* Other copies have, instead of the last, the statement, "Punishment is inflicted for this fault."

to the end) out of my translation of the whole. It reached me too late to enable me to make full use of it; but this commentary views these matters precisely as I have done.

I do not, of course, pretend that a certain number of the phrases of the *Yi-King* cannot be translated in a different way. Owing to the very fact of their being extracts and quotations of an indeterminate form, many of them are susceptible of various meanings. Besides, several of them may contain allusions to facts, to the discovery of which special reading or study may lead one person and not another: yet in this one must be very cautious not to indulge unduly his own fancy. But as to the system itself of interpreting, I believe I can declare it to be the only true one, as it is the only one which is natural, and in conformity with general usages and modes of thought everywhere. Dr. Legge himself has recognised it in several sections. Finally, it is the same way in which we get to understand all other books.

I conclude, therefore, that the *Yi-King* is not an absurd book,—nor a tissue of nonsense,—nor an incongruous collection, of which no one can comprehend the nature. Nor, on the other hand, is it the work of one who fathoms the profoundest thoughts,—a marvel of knowledge,—and of metaphysics. It is simply a collection of notes on 64 subjects into which they have been divided; and it has been turned into a book of divination, by giving an augural meaning to its various sentences, by means of secret terms. It is probable that in the beginning this collection was more extensive, of which only these 64 sections have been preserved, owing to the fact that not more than 64 *Kuas* or six-lined figures were available. The *Kuas* existed independently of the rest of the work and had their own system of special interpretation. These two means used for Horoscopy were combined together, to lend mutual support to each other; and the second has been sacrificed (in quantity) to the first, which had a limit that could not be exceeded, as 64 is the utmost possible number of combinations that can be formed of two kinds of lines, taken in sixes.

To this, I might add an explanation of the meaning and use of the *Kuas*, as well as of other parts of the book. But I must stop here, having, I trust, accomplished my chief task; nevertheless I am prepared to continue this subject should it prove interesting to the readers of *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

LOUVAIN, 27th February, 1894.

THE *RYOTS* OF THE DEKHAN, AND THE LEGISLATION FOR THEIR RELIEF.

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Dekhan Ryots' Relief Commission.

IN 1879, the Government of India passed "the Dekhan Agriculturists' Relief Act," with the object of relieving the indebtedness and consequent misery of the *Ryots* of that part of the Presidency of Bombay. The Act was the result of several years' deliberation, and of correspondence between the local Government, the Government of India and the Secretary of State. These authorities based their opinions on the report of the Bombay Commission of 1875 for inquiring into the causes of a series of alarming riots that had occurred in the Poona and Ahmednagar districts, in May and June of that year. It consisted of two members of the Bombay Civil Service (one a revenue, the other a judicial officer), one native gentleman of great experience, and a member of the Bengal Civil Service. Early in 1876, they submitted a masterly report, describing the country, the climate, the people, the agriculture, the condition of the cultivators, the causes of indebtedness, the immediate occasion of the riots, and the measures which they thought to be required. In no fewer than 33 villages there had been more or less serious disturbances, and in a vastly greater number of others, similar disturbances had been prevented only by timely precautions. The military had to be called out to help the police. All these disturbances were very similar in character. The houses of money-lenders were attacked by a mob, with the object of seizing and destroying bonds, decrees and acknowledgments of debt in the possession of the money-lenders. If these were given up, the mob dispersed without further mischief. Sometimes houses and stacks of fodder were set on fire ;

occasionally personal violence was used ; in only one case was there wholesale plundering. As a rule, the disturbances were marked by the absence of serious crime.

"This moderation (says the report) is in some measure to be attributed to the nature of the movement itself. It was not so much a rebellion against the oppressor, as an attempt to accomplish a very definite and practical object, namely the disarming of the enemy by taking his weapons (bonds and accounts), and for this purpose mere demonstration of force was usually sufficient."

In reference to the naturally law-abiding spirit of the Kunbi peasantry, it is added :

"It is so far from their natural tendency to resort to physical force that the fact of their having done so is advanced generally by the officers of the disturbed districts as a proof of the reality of the grievances."

What the immediate occasion of the riots was, the Commission could not very precisely determine. For years past a great strain had been placed on the resources of the *Ryots*. In 1875, they were in difficulties about paying the land revenue. The Government with a benevolent intention had ordered that in the case of a defaulting occupant process should first issue against the movable property of the occupant, and that only after this had failed should the land itself be proceeded against. The *Sahukars* (or money-lenders), who had already received the produce of the lands, out of which the land revenue was to be paid, in many instances took advantage of the Government order to withhold payment of the revenue contrary to custom and the just expectations of the *Ryots*. The latter, it is said, looked upon this as a deliberate wrong. In the preceding year, a band of Koli outlaws had been committing dacoities in the western parts of the district, the victims being almost entire *Sahukars*, who were through fear induced to show a most unwonted leniency in their dealings. The example is thought to have encouraged the people in other parts. In 1874 also, district officers had been asked for information regarding the people of their districts for the officer compiling the *Gazetteer* of the Presidency ; and amongst other subjects, the leading characteristics of the money-lender's professional dealings and his relations to the agricultural

class had been inquired into. This fact was well known; and the object of the inquiry was likely to be misapprehended by the masses of ignorant debtors. As is usual in times of popular excitement, a story was circulated bearing on the matter fomenting in the public mind. An English *Sahib*, sold up by a *Marwari* money-lender, had petitioned the Queen, who had ordered that the *Marwaris* were to give up their bonds. The *Ryots* were satisfied that their ill-treatment had become known; that their wrongs were to be redressed; and that in destroying the evidence of their debts which brought on them undue pressure through the Courts, they would not be opposing the wishes of the Government. It is easy to see how, in the circumstances, such outbreaks came to occur. At the bottom of them was the indebtedness of the *Ryot*. How the *Ryot's* position has come to be so unsatisfactory, the report goes on to show. The district is described as having a very small extent of plain country, the rest consisting of level upland slopes and valleys, intersected by ranges of hills. Much of it is bleak and bare; the good soil is very limited; and most of it is poor and shallow. *Bajri* and *Jawari* (species of millet) are the chief crops and occupy the greater part of the cultivated area. The district depends for its fertility on the rainfall, which is most precarious and unequal. One year it may amount to 46 inches; another to 10—a third to 28—a fourth to 18; and differences as startling are found in various parts of the district. The population is under 150 per square mile. The area of cultivated land per head of the cultivating population is from 6 to 9 acres. The land revenue per culturable acre varies from 7 to 10 annas. The country became British territory in 1819, when the Maratha power was broken. It had then suffered severely from the disorders of the times; it had been ravaged by Holkar's soldiers in 1802; and disease had followed on the horrors of the subsequent famine. It had been impoverished by a vicious land revenue system. In the time of Baji Rao

Peshwa the land revenue was very generally farmed out, and the assessments were made according to the ability to pay. If collected by Government officials, the assessments were usually settled in a lump with the headman of the village, who was left to collect it in detail as he pleased. Payments were made by drafts of the chief money-lender of the village. Little was collected in cash. The *Sahukar* usually stood security, and was then allowed to collect the revenue and his own debts together. The *Ryots* had to pay numerous other taxes. Our own early settlements were undoubtedly too high and did infinite harm. After ten years some relief was granted; but not till a second decade had passed, reducing agriculture to the lowest point, was a remedy vigorously applied. The revenue survey and the assessment of 1836 revived agriculture and gradually restored prosperity. Between 1836 and 1860, the condition of the country entirely changed: population, agricultural capital, and cultivation increased; the country was opened out; the construction of the railway poured money into the villages; and prices and wages went up. Then followed such an extraordinary prosperity, during the American war, in spite of bad years and short crops, as the *Ryot* had never experienced. But these halcyon days could not last. From 1866, the tide began to ebb. Bad years followed; the expenditure on public works decreased; prices fell. The grain which could be bought in 1875 for 4 annas could hardly have been purchased five years earlier for one Rupee. The *Ryot* felt the hardness of the times. He had to borrow, and to mortgage his lands; and his creditor pressed him for what he owed. The report describes the ordinary *Ryot* and the most common class of money-lender—the *Marwari Sahukar*. The *Kunbi Ryot*, simple, well disposed, frugal; wanting in education, intelligence, and foresight; imprudently wasting money on an occasional marriage festival, but otherwise thrifty. The *Marwari*, a stranger settled in the Dekhan, industrious, self-reliant, and a keen man of business, careless of

public opinion ; sufficiently educated to transact his law business, outside of which he has no interests ; a bad landlord “ making the hardest terms possible with his tenant who is also his debtor and often little better than his slave.”

These being the types of the people, it is shown that indebtedness was common already among the Dekhan *Ryots* when their country came into our hands. The evidence of the earliest records is thus summed up. There was a considerable burden of debt and many of the *Ryots* were living in dependence upon the *Sahukar*, delivering to him their produce and drawing upon him for necessities. But as the *Ryot* had nothing except his cattle and the yearly produce of his land to give as the lender's security, rates of interest were very high ; and much of the debt consisted of accumulations of interest. The causes of debt were chiefly the revenue system, and sometimes expenditure on marriages, or such occasions. The amount of individual debt was usually moderate. The *Sahukars* were usually men of substance, maintaining establishments for dunning and looking after debtors ; for the creditor received little or no assistance from the State in recovering debts, but had great license in private methods of compulsion. It is said that the burden of debt grew rather than declined before the introduction of regular Courts and procedure in 1827. The Regulations then passed provided for the action of Civil Courts ; but they protected the debtor by declaring the cattle and implements necessary for the support of an agriculturist to be exempt from seizure for debt ; and they limited the rate of interest recoverable to 12 per cent., and also the period within which suits to recover debts could be brought. In 1843, an inquiry was made by the Commissioner of the Northern Division into the condition of the people. The reports received were not favourable. One officer in the Poona district said that few villages in his two *parganas* had one *Ryot* unburdened with debt, and scarcely a village had three persons not involved for sums over Rs. 100. Another stating that the

usurious character of the village *bania* is notorious, attributes mainly to his rapacity the poverty of the Dekhan *Ryots*, the interest rates being generally enormous, and the agreements often fraudulently procured. Others wrote in the same strain—and mentioned bonds renewed at exorbitant rates, interest and principal entered in the fresh bond, and in one instance a debt being trebled in 14 months. This was just the time when the new survey and settlement had been introduced, the result being, as the report says, that

“Strong inducements existed for the *Ryot* to increase his agricultural operations, and the *Sahukar* found enhanced security and a ready machinery for recovery to encourage him in loans. We find accordingly, in the record relating to this subject from 1850-1858, two features which had already become marked characteristics of the relations of *Sahukar* and *Ryot* under the altered conditions of our revenue and judicial systems. These are the growth of small capitalists engaged in money-lending and the unequal operation of our laws to the disadvantage of the *Ryot*.”

Many authorities notice the inequality between the debtor and creditor in intelligence, and position, and there must have been strong evidence to induce Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, to record in 1858 the following resolution on the reports :

“His Lordship in Council entertains no doubt of the fact that the labouring classes of the native community suffer enormous injustice from the want of protection by law from the extortionate practices of money-lenders. He knows that our Civil Courts have become hateful to the masses of our Indian subjects from being made the instruments of the almost incredible rapacity of usurious capitalists. Nothing can be more calculated to give rise to widespread discontent and disaffection to the British Government than the practical working of the present law.”

Already in 1855, the law restricting the rate of interest had been repealed in blind imitation of that of England ; and the *Sahukar* began to take his debtor's land after squeezing him dry. Until the new survey, the *Ryot* himself had no transferable interest in his land, and for some years afterwards creditors rarely tried to enforce their claims by touching the land itself,—partly because this was opposed to usage and public opinion ; partly perhaps because there was not sufficient confidence that Government would uphold the title of the purchaser ; partly

because the *Ryot's* agricultural stock and implements were protected from sale and the creditors got more by leaving him on the land and securing the fruits of his labour. But in 1859, the new Civil Procedure Code passed for all India replaced the old Regulation—exempting the *Ryot's* cattle and implements from seizure for debt, and a new limitation law reduced the time for the recovery of debts in Court. These laws are said to have greatly injured the *Ryots*. Their effect was retarded by the transient period of prosperity already described, which began with the passing of these measures; otherwise the crisis of 1875 would probably have happened years before.

To turn now to the causes of debt as set forth in the report, the first to be noticed is the poverty of the *Ryot*. The country is unproductive. The selling value of an ordinary *Kunbi Ryot's* estate, exclusive of his land and its produce, is estimated at little more than Rs. 200, including his house and live stock: many possess much less. The report says:

“Two crops *bajri* and *jawari* form the great bulk of the agricultural produce—in a large portion of the area under report they constitute $\frac{8}{10}$ ths of the whole. Supposing that the rainfall was sufficiently constant to ensure a moderate return every year, it would still be inevitable that the *Kunbi* should draw the whole of his year's income from land in the lump during the two months of harvest. As however there is one year of drought in every three over much of the region, and a good crop only once in three years, it follows that the income yielded to the *Kunbi* from his land is received in full triennially instead of annually. It is everywhere a serious aggravation of their ill-fortune to the cultivators of indifferent soils, that their land yielding only one kind of produce, they receive the whole return in a lump, while better soils that admit of a variety of crop, enable the cultivator to spread his receipts over six months of the year. This evil is intensified for the *Ryots* by their capricious climate. It is hardly possible to conceive any conditions more certain to produce indebtedness among the poorer classes than these.”

Next, admitting that improvidence is a cause of indebtedness, it is asserted that the result really of many causes has been too generally attributed to this one alone. It adds that

“the constantly recurring small items of debt for food and other necessities, for seed, for bullocks, for the Government assessments, do more to swell the indebtedness of a *Ryot* than an occasional marriage.”

In truth, according to the report, the chief cause of the present indebtedness of the *Ryots* is ancestral debt. Again, instead of the permanent title and light assessment, guaranteed by the survey settlement, having stimulated the *Ryot's* industry, increased his profits and enabled him to free himself from debt, it led rather to an increase of debt. The *Ryot* borrowed to extend cultivation; his land furnished security to the creditor; already existing debt swallowed up more than the profits. The facilities of recovery given by the law enabled the inferior class of money-lenders, dealing at exorbitant rates of interest with the needy cultivators, to deprive them of every advantage which the State intended them to enjoy. Further, population began to press on the land; and yet prices and wages were high owing to merely transient circumstances; and the *Ryot's* credit remained unimpaired until things took an unfavourable turn. The new law of limitation is said to have helped creditors to insist on debtors renewing their bonds at short intervals, when the principal debt was enhanced by the addition of interest. Lastly the revenue system is referred to as one of the causes of debt :

“It is evident that a revenue system which levies from the cultivators of a district, such as that now dealt with, the same amount yearly, without regard to the out-turn of the season, must of necessity lead to borrowing. In bad years the *Ryot must* borrow. The necessity remains even when the assessment is fixed far below the standard of a fair season; for the creditor would not allow him to retain the savings of a good year, even if he were prudent enough to desire to do so.”

The Commission attempted also to gauge the extent of the *Ryot's* indebtedness and said,

“It appears that one third of the occupants of Government land are embarrassed with debt, that their debts average about 18 times their assessment; and that nearly two thirds of the debt is secured by mortgage of land; of the cultivators not included among the embarrassed class, some are in good circumstances, but the lowest stratum is but little removed from embarrassment; continuous bad seasons or further fall in prices would rapidly swell the proportion of embarrassed to solvent *Ryots*, for there is no hard and fast line between the 28 p.c. involved and those above them.”

Within two years occurred the famine of 1877. The relations between the *Sahukars* and the *Ryots* received

careful examination. Frequently no regular accounts are kept ; but almost every transaction is recorded in a bond or written contract. The interest demanded is admittedly very high ($37\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. on personal security); but (considering usury as taking a higher interest than is required to cover the risk) the Commission felt unable to say, on the evidence, whether the rates were fair or unfair ; for they remarked that the risk determining the rate of interest between *Sahukar* and *Ryot* is the risk on the aggregate of transactions rather than on each individual case. Hence whether fair or unfair, the Commission thought it impossible to regulate it by law ; and they put aside as impracticable the idea of Government competing with the *Sahukar* by the establishment of land banks. In other ways, however, some of them admitting of remedy, the *Ryots* were thought to be placed at a disadvantage. Attention was drawn to the large proportion of decrees passed against them *ex parte* (not less than 66 p.c.), owing to defendants being discouraged to appear from their ignorance and poverty, their fear of their creditor, the distance of the courts, and the want of time on the part of the judges to go into cases. The legal powers of the holder of a decree, were thought excessive. For the recovery of a debt the law allowed unlimited resort against the debtor's property, present and future, and against his person. Tremendous pressure could thus be put on a debtor. The law of limitation has already been referred to. In all these cases, the creditor took advantage of the law ; but he was said also to defraud his debtor by withholding receipts for the payments made ; by taking far larger sums than were due as consideration ; by taking bonds in satisfaction of decrees and then enforcing the decrees while keeping the bonds in reserve ; by false promises ; by persuading *Ryots* not to appear in court ; and even by forgery and intimidation. After setting forth the result of their inquiry, the Commission submitted their proposals. The unfavourable conditions of soil and climate were difficult to mitigate, but

something might be done by irrigation works and by working the Land Improvement Act so as to make help more readily available to the *Ryot*. Ignorance and improvidence could only yield to time and education ; but the harshness of the law to debtors might be softened. The Courts might be brought nearer to the people ; the judicial staff strengthened ; imprisonment for debt abolished ; necessities exempted from attachment and sale. The interest of the debtor in immoveable property sold in execution might be ascertained beforehand ; agreements, made by way of adjustment of a decree, might be effected only by the Court executing the decree and not by separate action ; no application for an execution should be entertained after the lapse of a certain period. Fraud might be prevented by having all instruments drawn up by public notaries. Every person making a payment should be entitled to a receipt ; every debtor to an annual statement of account. While considering that an insolvency Act was needed for the country, they thought it might be deferred if the other proposals were accepted ; nor would they recommend any change in the law of limitation ; as,

“if creditor and debtor stand on fair terms with each other a short limitation is advantageous to both parties and the present hardships result from causes which will in time work out their own remedy.”

Of the fixed Revenue demand they said :

“We do not at all underestimate the importance of fixity of demand in the land revenue but we question whether this advantage is not purchased too dearly by the *Ryots* of a large portion of the disturbed district, perhaps also by the Government itself ; for the Government limits its assessment in consideration of bad seasons ; but it is nevertheless forced to give remissions in years of drought. . . . If it were possible to introduce a more elastic system than the present, which should yet be governed by fixed principles and avoid hap-hazard remissions, we believe both the *Ryots* and Government would in the end be gainers. . . . As the out-turn of produce in these ‘drought-stricken’ districts varies directly with the quantity and timeliness of the rainfall, and as these are matters which can be accurately ascertained, it may be possible that some system of adjusting the Government demand to the *Ryots’* capacity within reasonable limits might be made to work without being open to the objection of uncertainty.”

It was not till 1879 that legislation was attempted in the special interest of the Dekhan *Ryot* ; and in the interval

there had occurred the grievous famine of 1877. Some of the recommendations of the Commission had, however, been independently introduced into the New Code of Civil Procedure, which was under consideration when the report was being written. In fact all their proposals for mitigating the harshness of the law of execution and making it fairer to judgment debtors, except the abolition of imprisonment, for debt, were accepted. Space will not permit of an account of the views expressed by the different Governments and by the Secretary of State on the condition of affairs described by the Commission, or of the remedies which each specially favoured. I can only indicate the principal provisions of the law finally passed as Act XVII. of 1879, leaving out details which would only distract attention :—

(a) All bonds and instruments of obligation executed by an agriculturist must be written by a village registrar appointed for the purpose.

(b) All mortgages, liens, and charges on immoveable property of an agriculturist must be treated by an instrument in writing.

(c) Every person receiving money from an agriculturist in liquidation of a debt must tender him a receipt.

(d) Every agriculturist by whom money is due under any instrument is entitled to an annual statement of account.

(e) Every agriculturist in whose name an account is kept by any trader or money-lender is entitled to demand a pass book and to have it from time to time written up.

(f) The period within which a suit to recover money due by agriculturists may be brought is extended to 12 years.

(g) No suit may be brought against an agriculturist until the Conciliator (when the Government has appointed Conciliators in the district) has failed to settle the dispute; but any agreement made must be registered by the Court as a decree.

(h) When a suit is instituted the Court must examine the Defendant as a witness unless, for reasons to be recorded by it, it deems this unnecessary.

(i) If in a suit the amount of the creditor's claim is disputed the Court must investigate the whole case from the commencement ; first to see whether there is any defence on the ground of fraud, mistake, accident, undue influence or otherwise ; and secondly to take an account between the parties. When the claim is admitted, and the Court believes the admission to be true and made by the debtor with full knowledge of his rights, the Court is not bound to inquire.

(j) After inquiring into a case, as above provided, the Court is to open an account between the parties notwithstanding any agreement as to allowing compound interest or setting off the profits of mortgaged property without an account in lieu of interest, or any statement or settlement of account or any contract purporting to close previous dealings and create a new obligation. The account is to be taken from the commencement and the following rules are to be followed : Principal and interest are to be separated ; the debtor is to be debited as principal with money actually received and the price of goods sold ; he is not to be debited with any money he has agreed to pay under pressure by threat of an execution, nor with any accumulated interest converted into principal at any settlement of account, unless the Court decrees such debit reasonable ; in the interest account, simple interest is to be entered monthly on the balance of principal at the time outstanding ; all receipts are to be credited first towards interest, and any balance towards principal ; when the account is finally made up the interest allowed is never to exceed the principal found to be due.

(k) The interest to be allowed in the account above provided for, is to be that agreed upon unless it is unreasonable, in which case the Court shall fix the rate.

(l) No agriculturist can be arrested or imprisoned in execution of a decree for money.

(m) Immoveable property of an agriculturist may not be attached or sold in execution of any decree, unless it has

been specifically mortgaged for the repayment of the debt ; but such property of the debtor as is not required for his support may be managed by the Collector for a period not exceeding 7 years, and the proceeds applied to the liquidation of the debt.

(n) The Court may at any time direct that the amount of any decree passed against an agriculturist shall be paid by instalments, with or without interest.

(o) Any agriculturist whose debts amount to Rs. 50 and upwards may apply to be made an insolvent ; his immovable property shall not, however, if he be declared an insolvent, vest in the Receiver, but any part of it, not required for the support of the insolvent, may be managed by the Collector for the benefit of the creditors, for any period not exceeding 7 years.

(p) In the great majority of cases no appeal is allowed from the orders of the Courts of original jurisdiction, but the superior Judge is invested with a power of revision.

It will be observed that the Act contained a number of heterogeneous provisions somewhat loosely strung together, and the drafting left something to be desired ; but it was at once put into operation. Additional Courts were established for the convenience of the agriculturists and a special Judge was appointed for the supervision which was to take the place of appeal. As might have been expected, there was an immediate and great decrease in the number of suits filed ; and this was far from being balanced by the number of agreements made before Conciliators. It might not be difficult to account for this, and for the fact that the number of suits has never again reached its former standard. First there was the novelty of the Act, and next the law of limitation had been extended. Thirdly there was no longer so much inducement to obtain decrees for small sums as a means of pressure, when extortionate creditors knew that their claims would be inquired into and cut down. Lastly the law of execution reduced the power of the creditor. It was soon found that on some minor points the Act required

amendment; and when, in 1881, an amending Bill was framed the opponents of the measure took advantage of this to assail it as having already produced the most disastrous results. It had ruined the money-lender, if it had not driven him from the country; it had extinguished the credit of the *Ryot*; it had encouraged the debtor to be dishonest; it had compelled the Courts to do injustice; registration as a safeguard was a sham; and the good intentions of the Conciliators were hardly less often questioned than their abilities. It seemed early in the day for so dire an effect to have been produced; and from other quarters very different reports were heard. The Act was amended in 1881 and 1882; and in the following year the Bombay Government deputed a special officer to report on its working. He declared himself distinctly in its favour. After consulting with other authorities, the Bombay Government, in 1884, reported to the Secretary of State, that the Act had been, on the whole, a success, and proposed some further changes, one of them being that standing crops should be made liable to attachment and sale in execution of a decree. This was agreed to and effected by an amendment in 1886. In 1888 a further inquiry into the working of the Act was made by a very able revenue officer, by order of the Bombay Government. His report was very full; and he was satisfied that the Act had done good; but the members of the Bombay Government (which then included the most confirmed and uncompromising opponent the Act ever had) were not agreed in opinion. In 1891 the Government of India accordingly appointed a Commission to make a fresh inquiry, and to report how far the Act and the principles underlying it had been efficacious in the Dekhan. This Commission consisted of six members. The Bombay Government nominated three, *viz.*, two members of the Bombay Civil Service, one a revenue, the other a judicial officer, and the third a native gentleman who had served the Government in many capacities, and had been a member first of the Bombay and afterwards of the Supreme Legisla-

tive Council. The other three members were nominated by the Government of India, and were officers of the Bengal Civil Service from the Punjab, and the North-Western and Central Provinces. They submitted a unanimous report; and I proceed to notice the conclusions at which they arrived, first in regard to each of the main provisions of the Act as already set forth, and then as to its general effect, direct and indirect, as a whole.

Regarding (a) and (b) their report says,

"The system of registration provided by the Act practically prevents the forgery of bonds, and the repudiation of duly executed bonds by debtors. By bringing the registration offices nearer to the homes of the people it also renders false personation more dangerous. It does not appear that the forgery of bonds was generally common before the Act, but it was not altogether unknown. . . . On the other hand registration affords no security as to the payment or the nature of the alleged consideration. The evidence shows conclusively . . . that the bulk of the people treat the recital in a bond or a statement to a registrar, as a mere matter of form. So far is this carried that money is sometimes passed before the registrar only to be returned outside the office. In this respect registration is positively harmful to the debtor; as it raises a strong presumption against him when he disputes the nature or the payment of the consideration. . . . The opinions entertained of the system by the people themselves are very various. . . . When a registrar is conscientious, and explains the terms of the documents to the people, his efforts appear to be appreciated by intelligent *Ryots*, but when he is lazy or corrupt the trouble and expense must be very serious. To anyone acquainted with the average Dekhan *Ryot*, and his apparently absolute inability to remember or understand anything unless surrounded and continually prompted by his friends, there is considerable force in the objection made by the people of Kusigaon that 'it is a bad system because the *Ryot* goes off alone with the money-lender and gets confused.' On the whole the Commission consider that the objections to the present system—the trouble and expense to the parties especially in the case of small bonds, the doubtful character of much of the agency, and the untrustworthiness of the evidence which the system affords, outweigh its advantages"; and they propose that "the village registrar should be abolished, the registration of simple bonds should be made optional; and all sales, mortgages and leases (for more than a fixed term) of immovable property should be required by law to be in writing and should be registered at the headquarters of the *taluka*."

It is to be regretted that this measure, from which so much was expected, has not in reality done much good.

Concerning (c), (d) and (e)—receipts, annual statements of account, and pass books,—they report that the pro-

visions have proved practically inoperative. They are not sufficiently known, and it would require the active co-operation of the authorities to make them effective.

As for (*f*),—the change in the law of limitation—they consider 12 years too long, and would rather see it reduced to 6, making one general law of limitation applicable to all classes of the community. The existence at present of two separate laws of limitation, applying to different classes, is, they think, open to objection.

(*g*) Regarding the merits of the system of conciliation, there has, from the beginning, been a very considerable difference of opinion. Why, some ask, should people be obliged, against their wish, to go before a conciliator and thus be put to trouble, expense, and delay? Statistics too show that it succeeds only in a comparatively small proportion of cases. Some have urged that conciliators cannot do enough; others that they do too much; that they are no protection to the *Ryot*; and that duly qualified persons cannot be found in sufficient numbers. The Commission, while admitting that conciliators have afforded some relief to the Courts and composed some disputes, are decidedly opposed to the system. Their verdict is :

“The trouble, delay and expense entailed even on a successful litigant by a suit in Court are generally considerable; and it is only natural that many persons should prefer to have their disputes decided quickly and cheaply by an unofficial agency, which can be trusted to inquire sufficiently into the merits of the case, to act honestly and to decide sensibly. Such an agency, were it only available, would be of immense public advantage. But the system of unofficial conciliation prescribed by the Act is altogether different, and the Commission are strongly of opinion, that in its present shape, that system ought not to be retained. There is no evidence before the Commission to warrant the belief that conciliators follow any mechanical rule in dealing with cases which come before them, or strike off a percentage of claims arbitrarily. The objections to the system lie deeper. Under the Act the sole function of the conciliator is to induce the parties to agree; he has no power of requiring a witness or party to take an oath unless the party or witness consents in writing; he can only hear such oral and examine such documentary evidence, as the parties may choose to produce; and neither he nor the court has power to reject any agreement, no matter how illegal, unfair or unreasonable it may be. Such a system is totally opposed to one of the main principles of the Act—that an agriculturist

debtor is not on an equality with his creditor, and that neither his registered bond nor even his admission in court is sufficient to saddle him with a liability; and without strict supervision, which entails a considerable amount of trouble and loss of time, the system is liable to serious abuse. From cases which have come to the notice of the Commission it appears that advantage has been taken of the system not merely to evade the stamp and registration laws, but also those provisions of the Relief Act which exempt land from attachment and sale in execution of money decrees."

The Commission advert also to the difficulty of finding fit and proper persons for the functions of conciliator. They say that some of the subordinate judges and other witnesses who gave evidence before them, appeared to entertain very considerable doubts not only whether the selection of conciliators had always been judicious, but also whether better material was in fact available. Unwilling to give up the attempt of enlisting the assistance of the people themselves in the administration of civil justice, the Commission propose that agreements made before conciliators and statements recorded by them shall have a value attached to them, and that statements drawn up by conciliators shall be deemed by the Courts *prima facie* evidence of the statements made by the parties to the conciliators; but they are wholly opposed to agreements being treated as decrees. There can be no doubt that the system established by the Act is liable to the greatest abuse, whether it has led to it or not.

With (h) begins the first of the provisions relating to the procedure of the Courts. The defendant is to be examined as a witness unless, for reasons to be recorded, the Court deems it unnecessary. It has been objected that it is a hardship to compel the defendant to appear against his wish, as his only reason for not appearing is that he has no defence to make; that the rule demoralizes defendants by encouraging them to make false defences; and that it enables creditors to harass agriculturists by dragging them to Court just when they cannot afford to leave their fields. It is said further to cause unnecessary adjournments and delay, as a defendant by keeping out of the way can put off the passing of a decree against him;

and lastly that the provision is of little or no real use, as statistics show that under such compulsory defence, in contested cases, the proportion of decisions for the plaintiff is as large as in districts where the provision does not apply. Some of these objections are far-fetched ; others rest on mistake ; and none have been found valid. The Commission satisfied itself, by examining records, that in a considerable number of cases the compulsory attendance of the defendant resulted in the establishment of a good defence. No complaint was made of any hardship in being compelled to attend ; the Commission saw no necessary connexion between compelling a person to appear and encouraging him not to tell the truth ; there was no evidence that, by this provision, creditors tried to harass their agricultural debtors, and the judges questioned on the point said such an abuse could be prevented ; there was no evidence either that defendants took advantage of the rule to delay the passing of a decree against them, nor could this provision help them in so doing. The argument from statistics will least of all stand a test. The statistics relied on show cases decided in favour of plaintiff *in whole*, or *in part*. In an ordinary debt case the question is generally as to the amount due ; and the claim is far more frequently exaggerated than wholly false. If it is reduced to fair dimensions and a decree passed in favour of the plaintiff for that amount, the decision though recorded in favour of plaintiff, would none the less have proved the value of the provision. It will be remembered that the Commission of 1875 looked upon the large proportion of *ex parte* decrees as bearing on the indebtedness of the *Ryot*. This last Commission similarly thinks that owing to the ignorance and simplicity of the Dekhan agriculturist and the necessity of explaining his position, no decree should be passed against him till he has appeared before the court, and has had explained to him the actual nature of the claim against him. The hardship of having to attend the Court is insignificant ; the consequences of a decree passed against him in his absence may be ruinous.

(i) That the Court should inquire into the history and merits of a case from the commencement in order to see whether there is a defence, and then take an account in a manner prescribed, has been strongly objected to; but why should not a court satisfy itself whether a contract which it is asked to enforce is not invalidated by what strikes at the root of all the contract, when it is certain that the *Sahukar* and the *Ryots* are not really on an equality. The procedure for settling the account no doubt sets aside some arrangements made by the parties themselves; but the special conditions of the Dekhan have to be taken into consideration. The question would require very lengthy discussion if fully argued out; here it is possible to give only the conclusions arrived at by the Commission. They

“consider that the principle of the section, *i.e.*, the obligatory inquiry into the past history with a view to (a) ascertaining whether the contract is valid or legally void or voidable, and (b) taking a proper account, is sound and should be maintained; but the inquiry should be confined to the facts so far as they may be ascertainable, and should not be supplemented by assumption when evidence of fact fails.”

It appears that the Courts had fallen into faulty methods in making inquiries under this provision, and some time elapsed before they were set right by the High Court. As regards the taking of the account, the Commission objects to that part of the direction which sets aside agreements to take the profits of mortgaged property in lieu of interest. Such agreements are very common, and they seem particularly “convenient to an illiterate and ignorant people.” Besides when no accounts have been kept, it is simply impossible to estimate with any approach to accuracy the profits during a number of years. The Courts were called upon to ascertain the profits in a great number of cases, and naturally failed to do so satisfactorily. This direction too has, in many places, had the disastrous result of encouraging the substitution for usufructuary mortgages, of what are, in form at any rate, out and out sales—the sale being accompanied by a verbal promise on the part of the vendee to restore the property on repayment of the

purchase money, and the vendor being continued in occupation of the land as a tenant at will. In such cases there is danger that the vendee may not keep faith with the *Ryot*. Nor are the Commission satisfied that it is right or expedient to refuse to acknowledge all agreements to pay compound interest.

“If compound interest is prohibited by law the necessary result (when the law of *Dām dūpat* is in force) can be either that both parties will collude to evade the law or creditors will be forced into Court in self-defence, even when they would otherwise have been willing to give their debtors further time. . . . It seems necessary to allow the Courts to accept not merely conversions of, but also agreements to convert accumulated interest into principal where such conversions are, under the circumstances of the case, fair.”

Otherwise the method of account-taking prescribed is considered fair, though slightly more favourable to the creditor than that usually adopted by professional money-lenders. The last direction, that the interest to be decreed is never to exceed the principal found to be due is merely the Hindu law of *dām dūpat* and acts as a check on the undue accumulation of arrears of interest.

(*k*) The discretion allowed to the Courts in fixing the rate of interest has, it is said, not been abused to the detriment of the creditor. The rates allowed have been amply high—12 p.c. on mortgages, and from 18 to 24 p.c. on simple bonds. Nor, so far as the Commission could ascertain, had any evil effect followed the grant of this discretionary power.

(*l*) The exemption of the *Ryot* from arrest and imprisonment for debt is looked upon by the Commission as a great protection. There is no evidence to show that it leads to the defrauding of creditors; and there would be danger in withdrawing the exemption.

(*m*) The exemption of immovable property from attachment and sale, unless specifically pledged

“appears to the Commission not only to be sound in principle but to have had, on the whole, a most beneficial effect.”

Their report says

“That the law has led to some extension of mortgage debt cannot be doubted; but the extension has been chiefly confined to men of bad or

doubtful credit, and it has not entailed any increase of indebtedness, but merely an alteration in the character of the debt, which places the debtor and creditor on practically the same footing as they were under the ordinary law. On the other hand, there is a great mass of evidence to show that when the terms on which a loan will be granted are made clear to the would-be borrower, he, in many cases, prefers or contrives to do without the loan rather than pledge his land."

The provision regarding the management of a debtor's surplus property for the benefit of his creditors has practically been a dead letter, simply because the Dekhan *Ryot* has no more land than he needs for his own maintenance.

(n) The power conferred on the Court to direct that the amount of any decree shall be paid by instalments is looked upon as some recognition of the principle that to secure a proper obedience to orders those orders should be in fact capable of fulfilment; and the Commission, regarding the provision as useful and beneficial, remark that the value of the system of payment by instalments, as a means of enabling the creditor to realize his dues, is fully recognised by the people themselves, not only before conciliators but even in their private settlements.

(o) The provisions regarding insolvency have remained practically inoperative. The average *Ryot* has, it is said, no desire to repudiate liability which he does not deny to be due, and has certain sentimental and practical objections to being declared '*nā-dār*.'

(p) The substitution of revision at the discretion of the judge, for the ordinary right of appeal was perhaps the most hotly debated part of the Act when it was considered in the Legislative Council. The Commission show that while in the earlier years after the introduction of the Act it may have had some advantage it is now little more than an appeal under another name, with the disadvantages of not securing to the parties the right of a hearing. and of involving a great waste of power.

It remains to be seen how far the objects arrived at by the Act have been attained, and whether it has been accompanied by the evil results which its opponents confidently predicted. Its object was to relieve the agricultural

classes from indebtedness. Claims preferred in Court against agriculturists have undoubtedly been greatly reduced by the direct action of the Court; and a considerable and probably a very large reduction has been effected indirectly by the creditors themselves in framing their claims; by agreements before a conciliator, and by private settlements. One great effect of the Act has been to make the professional money-lender more cautious in making loans except on the security of land, and the agriculturist more reluctant to borrow where this security is required.

The Commission could not determine the present amount of agricultural indebtedness or express, with confidence, any opinion as to how that burden compares with what it was in 1879. A legislative enactment, they say, whose aim is merely (1) to afford agriculturists equitable relief from unduly inflated claims, and (2) to enable *Ryots* when incurring obligations to understand clearly the terms and the consequences of these obligations, could obviously have little or no effect on the causes which tempt or drive the agricultural population into debt. The main cause of indebtedness would, however, appear to be the capriciousness of the climate. While unable to say whether the amount of debt is greater or less than it was thirteen years ago, the Commission say that there is evidence to

“show that the position of the *Ryot* is much stronger and more independent than it was. Some have become thrifty, and manage to get along without borrowing. Dealings with fellow *Ryots* have, to a much greater extent than formerly, taken the place of dealings with professional money-lenders. . . . Most important of all, however, is the fact that the custom of handing over the crop to the local ‘bania’ has lost ground and the *Ryot* now, as a rule, takes the harvested produce into the market. Much of this striking improvement is doubtless due to the great expansion of trade and the opening of new fields for labour which followed the construction of the Dhond-Manmad and the Southern Maratha railways, and the extension and improvement of other communications; to the introduction, in places, of irrigation from canals and tanks, and to a run of seasons following the commencement of the Act, which if not uniformly good, were for the Dekhan apparently above the average; but there can be no question that the Act has materially helped the *Ryot* to profit from these advantages.”

The Commission are also able to affirm that many objections advanced against the Act may now be dismissed. It has not destroyed or seriously impaired the *Ryots'* credit ; the *Ryots* can still borrow freely ; the Government revenue is collected with greater ease than formerly ; nor has it had as a consequence a restriction of business or injury to commercial activity. Speculative business has been discouraged ; and the lending of money at exorbitant rates to the agricultural poor has been checked ; but capital has in no way been prevented from finding a field for investment. The money-lender has not been debarred by the change of law from suing in Court. The Commission failed to obtain any evidence of reluctance on the part of *Sahukars* to resort to the Courts merely on account of the provisions of the Act, and while

“many of the money-lenders examined complained of losses caused by the famine and the riots, the losses attributed directly to the Act were very few.”

The relations between the *Sahukar* and *Ryot* are much more satisfactory than they were prior to the Act. Agrarian crime has apparently ceased. Far from discouraging thrift and enterprise in the *Ryots*, there is good reason to believe that these qualities have been stimulated. Land improvement has not been checked ; and, finally, the Act has not had the effect of demoralizing the *Ryots* by permitting them to repudiate their debts, a thing the ordinary *Kunbi* debtor does not often do.

“There is no reason to believe that such repudiation has become commoner under the Act. Instances of false defences are unfortunately not unknown ; but it must be remembered that only a small minority of the *Ryots* ever come into court, and those who do come are as a rule the poorest and worst of the class. The evidence indicates, on the part of the majority of indebted *Ryots*, a creditable anxiety to meet their liabilities, and there is something almost pathetic in the life-long struggle with a burden of accumulated debt, which some of them undertake, if not cheerfully, at any rate without complaint.”

The Act, then, has done something. But the Commission point out that it has not arrested the transfer of land from the agricultural to the money-lending classes : “a large and increasing area is still being annually transferred ”

from the one to the other. Mortgages also increase again ; and, in most cases, a mortgage is only the first step towards eventual sale. To what extent the transfer has occurred it is impossible to say. The Commission urge the maintenance of a proper record of proprietary rights, and say that without this Government cannot know what the land question really is, and by what measures it should be treated. It may be necessary both to restrict the occupant's right to alienate or mortgage his property, and to introduce a law of tenant right ; but even if there should be an unwillingness to resort to such measures, there ought to be none in doing executively what is possible to keep the *Ryot* out of debt ; and the Commission say that the rigidity of the Land Revenue system is one of the main causes leading the *Ryots* of the Dekhan into fresh debt ; and that the dates on which the revenue is realized are in some places unsuitable and place the *Ryot* at an unnecessary disadvantage. This matter was referred to by the Commission of 1875. When the Bill which became Act XVII. of 1879 was debated in the Legislative Council, the Bombay representative in charge of it admitted that the revenue system had some share in the *Ryots'* indebtedness ; and several other speakers referred to it, some in strong terms. It was understood, however, that no legislation would be required to give relief in that direction, and it was left to be inferred that the Executive would do what it could. The Viceroy himself appeared to think that reform was feasible. The matter would, however, seem to have dropped. It is very evident that the question of the Dekhan *Ryots* and their indebtedness has not yet been settled ; and there loom behind it larger questions,—not merely local,—not confined to the Dekhan,—but obtruding themselves on attention in other parts also of India. They cannot be touched on here ; and even of the Dekhan question it has only been possible to give a very imperfect and superficial account.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE SIKHS BY CONTEMPORARY AUTHORS.

BY W. IRVINE, B.C.S. [*retired*].

MR. W. IRVINE, late Collector of Ghazipur, N.W. Provinces, has long been known in India as a careful investigator of historical facts. He is now engaged in the task of compiling a complete "HISTORY OF THE LATER MOGHUL EMPIRE" (1707 to 1803). In that *magnum opus*, the rise and fall of the Sikhs as a political power under their 10th, and last Guru, the warlike Govind Singh, and its heterodox re-assertion under the false Guru Bandah, form an important, if obscure, episode, on which Mr. Irvine's labours throw much light. He has kindly placed that portion at our disposal, but we feel that we should be doing injustice to his great undertaking, so important alike to the Government and the historian, by quoting more of the voluminous manuscript than will suffice to give an indication of the absorbing interest of the work to our readers and of the painstaking research and impartial judgment of its Author. We specially call the attention of our Sikh friends to these records of the early vicissitudes of a power, which is now a bulwark of the British Empire. The subjoined extract from "the Sikh Campaigns" describes the end of Bandah and of his followers, whose heroism, under the most tragic circumstances that can accompany death, atones for the errors that challenged their fate. Before however doing so, we would quote a few words from Mr. Irvine's introduction to the Section on "Guru Govind Singh and the First Sikh Revolt" in explanation of the scope and manner of the work in progress, of which a part is already written :

INTRODUCTION.

"The Sikh religion, although quite of modern origin, having first arisen in the end of the fifteenth century, is as fully equipped with myths and miracles as if it had been revealed thousands of years ago. With its

development as a system of belief, however, I do not propose to deal. But turning to its external history as a political force, we find ourselves still confronted with as many difficulties, although of a different sort, as we found on its spiritual side. The order of events, their dates, the places referred to as the scene of their occurrence, on every point we find conflict and contradiction.

"Many English writers have dealt with the rise and progress of the Sikhs, and their passage from the position of obscure sectaries to that of kings and rulers among men. Major James Browne (1788), Colonel Malcolm (1812), the author of an anonymous "History of the Punjab" (1846), Dr. McGregor (1846) and last and best, Captain J. D. Cunningham, are some of the earlier writers to whom Englishmen owe nearly all that they know about the Sikhs. When we come, however, to a critical consideration of these narratives, comparing closely the one with the other, we discover them to be in a great many instances absolutely irreconcilable. All of these accounts, with the possible exception of the "History of the Punjab" (1846), approach the subject from the side of the Sikhs and their traditions. Now, as we all know, the Hindu mind is essentially un-historical and vague in its view of the past; and the Sikh books show to a great extent this congenital defect. Their statements are a combination of great precision in a few dates with the widest, vaguest allusions in every other case. I believe that a residuum of historical truth could be extracted from these accounts, but to sift them thoroughly would require much time and abundant local knowledge. This task I have not attempted for the present. Two living writers, Bhái Gyán Singh (Gyání) and his interpreter into Urdú, Bábu Ráj Indar Singh of Siálkot, in their *Shamsher-i-Khálsah*, have recently made such an attempt. But, so far as I have yet dipped into the work, it seems wanting in strictness of criticism, and in some instances can be easily proved to be self-contradictory.

"My contribution to the early history of the Sikh power is founded almost entirely upon Mahomedan writers, some of whom have never, so far as I know, been quoted or used before. They were all contemporary with the events which they record; of some events they were actual spectators. The most important of these authorities are Muhammad Kásim, Láhorí (*Ibrat námah*), Mirza Muhammad, son of Muta'mid Khán (*Tazkirah*, finished in 1131 H., 1719 A.D.), Kámwar Khán (*Tazkirah-i-Saláftin-i-Chaghtaiyah*), Mhd. Shafí, Wárid, (*Mirdt-i-Wáriddt*, finished in 1147 H., 1734 A.D.) and Mhd. Háshim, Kháfi Khán (*Muntakhab-ul-Lubáb*). There are others, but I need not name them all. Of the above-named, Mirzá Muhammad was at Sádhaurah when the Emperor Bahádur Sháh went there against Bandah, and he saw Bandah brought a prisoner into Dihlí five years afterwards; Kámwar Khán was also with the army at Sádhaurah; Muhammad Kásim was in the besieging army at Gurdáspur, when Bandah was made prisoner. In order to render the sequence of events quite clear, I begin my extracts with the birth and early life of Gobind Singh, that is, a little before I take up the story from the Mahomedan historians, and for this portion I have used freely the *Sákhi-námahs*, translated by my friend Sirdar Sir Attar Singh K.C.I.E., Chief of

Bhadaur, and published by him under the titles of "Sakhee Book" (Benares, 1873) and "The travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh" (Lahore, 1876). There is much critical work required before these books could be considered entirely satisfactory, and there is much material in Gurmukhī, of a similar character, still waiting for someone to closely study and work it up.

CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF BANDAH (JULY 1713—JUNE 1716).

On the 26th Zú, 1 Hajj 1127 (22d Decr. 1715), at the very time when the emperor was celebrating the anniversary of his victory over Jahándár Sháh, Muhammad Amín Khán presented a report from his brother-in-law, 'Abd-us-Samad Khán, governor of Láhor, with the joyful news that Bandah, the false Gurú and leader of the Sikhs, had been made a prisoner. We will now resume the story of the Sikhs from the point at which we quitted it, namely, the recall of Muhammad Amín Khán when Jahándár Sháh started from Dihli in December 1712.

From that time, Zain-ud-dín Ahmad Khan, the new Faujdar of Sirhind,* who had gained a great reputation in 'Álamgir's reign, was left to continue to the best of his ability the campaign against the Sikhs. Close to the town of Sádhaurah, Bandah had succeeded in raising a fort of considerable size, with high and thick walls. Here he maintained his position in spite of all the faujdar's efforts. As soon as Farrukhsiyar had taken possession of Dihli, affairs in Sirhind demanded his attention; and on the 27th Muharram 1125 (22d Feb. 1713) 'Abd-us-Samad Khán was appointed governor of Láhor, with his son, Zakariyá Khán, as faujdar of Jammú. His orders were to expel Bandah from Sádhaurah, or, if possible, to destroy him altogether. Other Mughal commanders were sent to reinforce the new governor and aid him in his task.†

Thus far the garrison of Sádhaurah had made a very stout defence. They had so contrived that they could be ready to continue their fire, even while they were cooking or eating, and the men on duty were protected from both the heat and the rain. The cannon balls, even when they hit the fort, made no impression on the walls. When Zain-ud-dín Ahmad Khán had brought his trenches within forty or fifty yards of the fort walls, he formed a battery, placed a large gun in position, and commenced to fire. Although the fire was ineffectual, the garrison, out of mere bravado and to show their valour, resolved to remove this cannon in such a way that no one should hear a sound or know how they had done it. Opposite the position of the cannon, they dug a long passage, leaving only a foot or two of earth at the outer end. The oxen and ropes used in dragging their carts were held in readiness. It was the rainy season. One night it had been raining heavily from an early hour in the evening, and of the besiegers not one cared to put his head outside of his tent. Owing to the sound of the pouring rain, it was impossible to hear anything else, and it was so dark that nothing could be seen. At midnight

* Zain-ud-dín Ahmad Khán's appointment was made on the 22nd Jamádi I. 1122, (18th July 1710), vice Wazír Khan killed—Kámwar Khán, 71.

† Anon. Fragment, fo. 186, Mhd. Ahsan, Ijád, fo. 1306, Kámwar Khán, 133.

the Sikhs broke through the remaining wall of earth, and ranged yokes of oxen, one before the other, in the underground passage. Then some of them crossed the fort ditch, in which the water was rushing down with great force, and reached the besiegers' earthen battery where they tied their ropes firmly to the gun-carriage. The oxen pulled and the gun with its carriage, once set in motion, began to roll down. On reaching the bottom, gun and carriage fell apart. The loud noise thereby caused roused the sentinels. They saw that the cannon had disappeared. Hearing the disturbance, Zain-ud-din Ahmad arrived on the spot, on foot and without any torch, through all the mud and mire, the water in places up to his waist, and a deluge of rain falling from above. If he ordered lanterns or torches to be lighted, he would become a target for the enemy's fire; without light, he could find out nothing. With much difficulty it was ascertained that the gun and its carriage were lying upside down in the ditch, at the foot of the earthwork. The ropes that had been attached to them had broken off. After a little time, Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khán, collecting his senses, offered rewards of fifty rupees each to one hundred camp-followers, if they would recover the cannon. Before morning broke, they had dragged it away to a position, where it was safe from the enemy.*

When 'Abd-us-Samad Khán arrived at Sádhaurah, the siege was little if at all advanced. The Gurú himself was in Lohgarh; his followers held the fort at Sádhaurah. It was thought advisable to force them first to evacuate Sádhaurah and then crush their united forces at Lohgarh. Sádhaurah was therefore invested. 'Abd-us-Samad Khán encamped on one side, Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khán on another, the third and fourth sides were guarded, one by the Mughals, the other by the local militia. Every other day, sometimes every day, Bandah sent out from Lohgarh three or four divisions, who fell unexpectedly, at different times, on the imperial camps. As soon as these troops were seen dimly in the distance, or the dust they raised began to appear, the besieged came out on all four sides and fell vigorously upon the besiegers. These sorties met with no success, and supplies soon began to run short. The Sikhs had thought that no one could prevent their bringing in whatever they wanted, and they had not prepared any large stores of food. What they had collected was soon exhausted. In spite of all their exertions, they were unable to bring in anything through the lines of the investing army. They now decided on flight, and finding a way out at night on the side guarded by the Zamindári militia, they took their way to Lohgarh.†

'Abd-us-Samad Khán and Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khán followed them at once to Lohgarh. Before a shot had been fired, or a sword drawn, a panic seems to have seized on Bandah and his men; they evacuated their fort and fled into the hills. While a camping ground was being selected by the imperialists, water sought for, and preparations in progress for beginning to dig a ditch and throw up earthworks, a party of horsemen, in the most reckless fashion, rode off towards some high ground, from which

* Anon. Fragment, fo. 19a.

† Anon. Fragment, fo. 19b.

they expected to obtain a better view of the Sikh position. As soon as they appeared on the high ground, the Sikhs streamed down the further side of the hill and disappeared. This panic and flight became the more inexplicable when the imperialists saw the elaborate preparations for resistance. From the first ridge up to the wall of Lohgarh itself, they had built fifty-two defensive posts, arranged in such a manner that each protected the other, thus exposing an assailant to a deadly fire throughout his advance. Many guesses were made as to this sudden collapse of the defence. Some insisted that food supplies must have failed; others argued that their ammunition must have given out. But the prisoners, when questioned, swore in the most solemn way that it was due to a sudden panic on seeing the horsemen appear at the top of the hill and, as they thought, about to charge them. If the advantage had been followed up at once, it is probable that Bandah would have been defeated effectually, but pursuit was delayed for several days, and by that time, in spite of much searching through the hill country, not a trace of the Gurú could be found. The capture of Sádhaurah and the flight of Bandah were reported at Dihlí on the 20th Ramzán 1125 (9th Oct. 1713).*

On the 26th Zúlka'dh 1125 (13th Dec. 1713) Zakariyá Khán, son of 'Abd-us-Samad Khán, brought to court a report from his father, accompanied by a number of heads. A few months afterwards, 'Abd-us-Samad Khán came in person. Mír Jumlah was sent out to escort him into the capital and he was presented on the 20th Safar 1126 (6th March 1714), receiving the usual gifts. Four days afterwards he was posted to the army then proceeding to Rájputánah under Husain 'Ali Khán. On his return from this service, he was ordered back with his son to the Panjáb, where the Sikhs had again raised their heads near Rúpar on the Sutlaj. The two nobles were sent off on the 14th Jamádi II., 1126 (26th June 1714). Not many months after 'Abd-us-Samad Khán's departure, a report was received, on the 16th Sha'bán 1126 (26th Aug. 1714) that a body of Sikhs, estimated at 7000 in number, had attacked the town of Rúpar. Khwájah Mukáram, deputy of Zain-ud-dín Ahmad Khán, the faujdár, made a good defence, although his force was small. He killed about two hundred of the enemy and cut off their heads. The rest of the Sikhs then retreated.†

About this time Khidmat Talab Khán replaced Zain-ud-dín Ahmad Khán in Sirhind. He employed a large force to watch the issues from the hills. As the Sikhs had lost their strong places, with their stores of food, and the country itself had been devastated, it was impossible for them to subsist and they retired again into the hills. After a few months they reappeared in the plains from the direction of Jammú. The parganahs of Kalánaur and Batálah were plundered, in spite of the efforts of the faujdárs, Sahráb Khán and Shekh Muhammad Dáim, and of Santokh Ráe, Kanúngo. Mhd. Dáim left his parganah and retired to his home in Kasbah Bhairúwál, south-east of Amritsar. Rich and poor again forsook their homes, many

* Anon. Fragment, fo. 19, Kámwar Khán, 140.

† Kámwar Khán, 142, 145, 147, 149, Anon. Fragment fo. 216.

went to Láhor, and many took refuge in the country of Jina and Dasohah.* At this time 'Abd-us-Samad Khán had marched southwards from Láhor to repress an outbreak of the Bhattí zamindars in the wild region known as the Lakhí jungle. He wished to carry out his repressive measures thoroughly, and therefore made no haste to return and deal with the Sikhs. In his absence Mír Ahmad Khan, faujdar of Gujarát, Irádatmand Khán, faujdar of Amánábád, Núr Muhammad Khán, ruler of Aurangábád and Parsarúr, Shekh Mhd. Dáim and Sihráb Khán above mentioned, Sayyad Hifz 'Ali Khán of parganah Haibatpur Patti, Rajah Bhím Singh, Kamboh, and Hardam son of Rajah Dharb Deo, Jharothah,† assembled their forces, and marched against the Sikhs. 'Árif Beg Khán, the Názim's deputy, came out of Láhor and camped near Sháhganj, for the protection of the city. The Gurú's first position was at Kot Mirzá Ján, where he threw up earthworks. Before he had completed his defences, the advance of the Mahomedans forced him to evacuate that place, and he then retired with 10,000 men on Gurdáspur, a small town founded by Bhái Díp Chand, a fakir.‡

The reports of the Sikh ravages sent in to the Court caused great alarm, and on the 15th Rabi' I 1127 (20th March 1715) a sharp reproof was administered to 'Abd-us-Samad Khán, and at the same time, Kamr-ud-din Khán, son of Mhd. Amin Khán, Afrasyáb Khán, the third Bakhshi, Muzaffar Khan, Rajah Udait Singh, Bundelah, Rajah Gopál Sing, Bhadauriyah, and other nobles were sent to reinforce him.§

On the 13th Rabi' II 1127 (17th April 1715) reports were received at Dihlí that, after plundering the town of Batálah, the Gurú had taken up his position in an earthen fort at Gurdáspur. This small town lies forty-four miles north-east of Amritsar, in the Bári Dúáb. The Sikh leader made every effort to strengthen his defences and increase his store of supplies. He cut the canal known as the *Sháh-nahr* and other small streams below the hills, and allowed the water to spread, so that owing to the quagmire thus formed, neither man nor horse could reach close to the fort. When the Mahomedans arrived, many of the Sikhs were out in the villages collecting supplies. Numbers of them were seized, brought in, and executed; the rest cut off their long locks, shaved their beards, and hid themselves in Láhor. The rest of the besieged showed great activity in the defence, but 'Abd-us-Samad Khán and his son, at the head of their own men and those of the faujdars, daily met and defeated the sorties of the garrison. Two or three times a day, forty or fifty of the Sikhs would come out to gather grass for their cattle, and when attacked they faced the Mughals with bow, gun, and sword. The common soldiers were so afraid

* Mhd. Kásim, 175, 176. Bhairuwál is 31 m. S.E. of Amritsar (Thornton, 103). For Jina see *Ain*, translation, II. 320, and for Dasohah, *idem*, II. 110, 316.

† Gujarát, 70 m. N.W. of Lahor (Thornton, 358) Amánábád, 33 m. N.W. of Lahor (Thornton 302) Parsarúr, about 60 m. N. of Láhor—Jharothah (or Jarautia), a tribe of Rajputs in the Kangra District (Ibbetson, *Census*, para. 459).

‡ Mhd. Kásim, fo. 178. Mhd. Kásim was present in these operations, and at the siege of Gurdáspur, being then in the service of 'Árif Beg Khán.

§ Kámwar Khán, 154, Anon. Fragment, fo. 22b. Kamr-ud-din Khán had just returned from an expedition against Madár Sáh, zamindár of Ajáon, (*sirkár* Budáon, *Súbah* Dihli?)

of the Gurú's sorceries that they prayed he might soon take to flight as before. The further progress of the investment was reported to Court in a letter received on the 26th Rabi' II 1127 (30th April 1715).*

'Abd-us-Samad Khán soon perceived that 30,000 men would be required to prevent the escape of the besieged and the carrying in of supplies. The reinforcements brought by Kamr-ud-dín Khán were therefore very welcome. When the line of investment had been carried to within cannon-shot of the fort, the work of closing it in on all sides was divided between the several commanders. 'Abd-us-Samad Khán took one side, Kamr-ud-dín Khán and Zakariyá Khán received charge each of one side, and the fourth side was made over to the faujdárs and zamindárs. United efforts being necessary, the tents were pitched close together all round the fort and rope was joined to rope.†

Night and day missiles from the fort fell in the camp. To protect man and beast, the soldiers threw up an earthen bank, ten to twenty yards 'ong, before each tent, and sheltered themselves behind it in the trench thus made. By slow degrees, so that the process might not be noticed, they closed all the openings between each shelter, and before the Sikhs were aware of it, they were surrounded as if by a wall. The Sikhs, relying on their successful evasions on former occasions, tried their best to sweep the obstacle away, but the Mahomedans triumphantly resisted all their attempts to break through and make their escape. So bold and indomitable were the Gurú's followers, that they impressed their adversaries with the greatest respect for their fighting qualities. It was feared that the garrison might by a sortie *en masse*, and by sacrificing themselves, secure the escape of their leader. The superstitious soldiery were fully persuaded that the Gurú by his incantations could turn himself into the shape of a dog or cat. Thus every dog or cat they saw from their entrenchments was at once a target for stones or arrows. The struggle continued for two months and many lives were lost on both sides.‡

By this time the investment had advanced a musket-shot nearer to the walls and it was resolved to surround the fort with a field-work. A thousand axemen and a thousand carpenters were employed in cutting trees, two thousand carts and two thousand camels carried wood and earth to the spot. When the circle round the fort had been completed, mounds of earth were raised on the trunks of the trees, from distance to distance, and at the foot of the stockade, a deep and wide ditch was made. In spite of this the Sikhs continued their defence without any relaxation of effort. Nor were the besiegers idle. They drove subterranean passages towards each corner of the fort. Before 'Abd-us-Samad Khán's approach had reached the main gate, Kamr-ud-dín Khán succeeded in capturing the ditch and a bastion, from which the artillery and musketry fire of the garrison had done great execution. Zakariyá Khán obtained possession of a second gate, the one chiefly used by the garrison. Other

* Kámwar Khan, 155, Mhd. Kásim, 178, 180, Kháfi Khán II, 764. For Gurdáspur, see Gazetteer of India, V, 214.

† Anon. Fragment, 22b.

‡ Anon. Fragment, 23a, Kháfi Khán, II, 764. Yahyá Khán, *Tazkirah-ul-Mulúk*, fo. 12a.

commanders also advanced their works, and on all sides the Sikhs were much hampered. Their provisions had now come to an end, not a grain being left in their store-houses.*

Men would make overtures to the Mahomedan soldiers and buy from them a little grain at the price of two or three shillings a pound; also as the Sikhs were not strict observers of caste, they slaughtered oxen and other animals, and not having any firewood, ate the flesh raw. Many died of dysentery and privation. Many began to pick up and eat whatever they found on the roads. When all the grass was gone, they gathered the leaves from the trees. When these were consumed, they stripped the bark and broke off the small shoots, dried them, ground them down, and used them instead of flour, thus keeping body and soul together. They also collected the bones of animals and used them in the same way. Some assert that they saw a few of the Sikhs cut flesh from their own thighs, roast it, and eat it.†

When things had come to this pass, all food being exhausted, and the smell of the putrid bodies of men and animals making the place untenable, the Sikh leaders made overtures for surrender on certain conditions. 'Abd-us-Samad Khán refused to make any concessions, and at length the Gurú submitted unconditionally; the Mahomedans entered the fort and made prisoners of everybody found alive within it. Of these prisoners two or three hundred were executed by the general's order, their heads being then filled with straw and fixed on spears. As it was known that many of the Sikhs had swallowed whatever gold coins they had, to save them from plunder, the dead bodies were ripped open, and thus much wealth fell into the hands of the low camp followers and the Mughal soldiers. The rest of the prisoners were placed in fetters and kept to grace the triumphal entry into Dihlí. The surrender of Gurdáspur took place on the 21st Zú, 1 Hajj 1127 (17th Dec. 1715). The list of arms taken and money seized does not give a very exalted notion of either the military strength or of the wealth of the Sikh leader.‡ In spite of this, he and his men had resisted all the force that the Empire could bring against them for the space of eight months.§

'Abd-us-Samad Khán asked for permission to come to Dihlí in person with his prisoner, but he was told to remain and attend to the government of his province, sending in the Gurú and the other prisoners in charge of his son, Zakariyá Khán, and of Kamr-ud-din Khán, the son of Mhd. Amin Khán. On the 15th Rabí' I 1128 the arrival of the party at 'Ágharábád, just north of the city, was reported at Court. Mhd. Amin Khán was sent out at once to make all arrangements for bringing the Gurú and his followers in procession from 'Ágharábád to the palace. The

* Anon. Fragment, 23a.

† Kháfí Khán II 763, 764, Mhd. Kásim, 181.

‡ The arms delivered into the armoury at Dihlí were 1000 swords, 278 shields, 173 bows and quivers, 180 matchlocks, 114 daggers, 217 long knives. The valuables were a few gold ornaments, 23 gold coins, and a little over 600 rupees—Kámwar Khán, 163 (entry of 15th Rabí' 1128).

§ Kámwar Khán, 162.

ceremonial to be followed was that observed after the capture of Sambhá Ji, son of Shivá Ji, the Mahratta.*

The triumphal entry with the prisoners took place on the 17th Rabí' I 1128 (10th March 1716). The road from 'Agharábád to the Láhorí gate of the palace, a distance of several miles, was lined on both sides with troops. Bandah sat in an iron cage placed on the back of an elephant. He wore a long, heavy-skirted court dress (*jámah*) of gold brocade, the pattern on it being of pomegranate flowers, and a gold-embroidered turban of fine red cotton cloth. Behind him stood, clad in chain mail, with drawn sword in hand, one of the principal Mughal officers. In front of the elephant were carried, raised on bamboo poles, the heads of the Sikh prisoners who had been executed, the long hair streaming over them like a veil. Along with these, the body of a cat was exposed at the end of a pole, meaning that, even down to four-footed animals, everything in Gurdáspur had been destroyed. Behind the Gurí's elephant followed the rest of the prisoners, seven hundred and forty in number. They were seated, two and two, on camels without saddles. One hand of each man was attached to his neck by two pieces of wood, which were held together by iron pins. On their heads were high caps of a ridiculous shape made of sheep's skin and adorned with glass beads. A few of the principal men, who rode nearest to the elephant, had been clothed in sheep's skins with the woolly side outwards, so that the common people compared them to bears. When the prisoners had passed, they were followed by the Nawáb Mhd. Amín Khán, Chín, accompanied by his son, Kamr-ud-dín Khán and his son-in-law, Zakariyá Khán. In this order the procession passed on through the streets to the palace.†

The streets were so crowded with spectators that to pass was difficult. Such a crowd had been rarely seen. The Mahomedans could hardly contain themselves for joy. But the Sikhs, in spite of the condition to which they had been reduced, maintained their dignity and no sign of dejection or humility could be detected on their countenances. Many of them, as they passed along on their camels, seemed happy and cheerful. If any spectator called out to them that their evil deeds and oppressions had brought them where they then were, they retorted, without a moment's hesitation, in the most reckless manner. They were content, they said, that Fate had willed their capture and destruction. If any man in the crowd threatened that he would kill them then and there, they shouted, "Kill us, kill us, why should we fear death? It was only through hunger and thirst that we fell into your hands. If that had not been the case, you know already what deeds of bravery we are capable of."

By the Emperor's order the Gurí, Bandah, with Táji Singh and another leader, was made over to Ibráhím-ud-dín Khán, commander of the

* Idem.

† Mirzá Muhammad, 256, Anon. Fragment, 24a, Kámwar Khán 162, J. T. Wheeler, *Early Records*, 180, (letter of 10th March 1716 O.S. = 20th March N.S.) and Orme Collections (India Office) vol. VII., p. 1708. Mirzá Mhd. joined the procession at the Salt Market (*Mandavi-i-Namak*) and marched with it to the palace. The embassy from the E. I. Company, at the head of which was Mr. John Surman, was in Dillí at the time.

artillery, and they were placed in prison at the Tirpoliyah or Triple Gate. The Gurú's wife, his three-year-old infant, and the child's wet-nurse, were taken by Darbár Khán, the Názir, and placed in the harem. With the exception of between twenty and thirty of the chief men, who were sent to prison with the Gurú, the remaining prisoners were made over for execution to Sarbaráh Khán, the city Kotwal or Head of the Police. The work began at the *Chabútrah*, or chief police office, on the 22nd Rabi' I (15th March 1716), and one hundred men were executed every day for a week. All observers, Indian and European, unite in remarking the wonderful patience and resolution with which these men underwent their fate. Their attachment and devotion to their leader were wonderful to behold. They had no fear of death, they called the executioner *Mukt*, or the Deliverer,* they cried out to him joyfully "O *Mukt*! kill me first!" Every day one hundred victims met their fate and artificers were kept in attendance to sharpen the executioners' swords. After the heads had been severed from the bodies, the bodies were thrown into a heap, and at night-fall they were loaded into carts, taken out of the city, and hung up on the trees.†

Although life was promised to those who became Mahomedans, not one prisoner proved false to his faith. Among them was a youth, whose mother made many supplications to Kutb-ul-Mulk, through Ratn Chand, his dīwán or principal man of business. She said she was a widow, had but this son, and he had been unjustly seized, being no disciple or follower of the Gurú but only a prisoner in his hands. The wazír interceded and obtained the boy's life. The woman took the order of release to the Kotwál, who brought out the prisoner and told him he was free. The youth said "I know not this woman, what does she want with me? I am a true and loyal follower of the Gurú, for whom I give my life, what is his fate shall be mine also." He then met his death without flinching.‡

At length on the 29th Jamadi II 1128 (19th June 1716) Bandah and his remaining followers were led out to execution. The rich Khatris§ of the city, who were secretly favourable to his tenets, had offered large sums for his release. But all these offers were rejected. The execution was entrusted to Ibráhím-ud-dín Khán, *Mir Atash*, or general of artillery, and Sarbaráh Khán, the Kotwál. The Gurú, dressed as on the day of his entry, was again placed on an elephant and taken through the streets of the old city to the Shrine of Khwájah Kutb-ud-dín, Bakhtiyár, Kákí.|| and there paraded round the tomb of the Emperor Sháh 'Álam, Bahádur Sháh. After he had been made to dismount and was seated on the ground, his young son was put into his arms and he was told to take the child's life. He refused. Then the executioner killed the child with a long knife,

* *Mukt* is the final deliverance of the soul from the body, and exemption from further transmigration (Shakespeare, "Dictionary," Col. 1938).

† Kámwar Khán, 163, Mirzá Muhammad, 259, Shiú Dás *Manavvar-ul-Kalám*, fo. 10, J. T. Wheeler, *loc. cit.*

‡ Shiú Dás, fo. 106, Kháfi Khán, II, 766, Khushál Chand, *Nawádir-uz-Zamáni*, 405b.

§ A high caste of Hindus, numerous in the Panjáb, and chiefly traders.

|| The place is familiarly known to us as the Kutb Minár.

dragged out its liver, and thrust it into the Gurú's mouth. His own turn came next. First of all his right eye was removed by the point of a butcher's knife, next his left foot was cut off, then his two hands were severed from his body, and finally he was decapitated. His companions were also executed at the same time. His wife was made a Mahomedan and given over to Dakhiní Begam, the emperor's maternal aunt.*

The Mahomedans looked on this ruthless execution as a fitting retaliation for the cruelties the man had inflicted on their fellow-religionists. Kháfi Khán sententiously sums up the matter with the proverb "Who gets not what he has done ; who reaps not what he has sown?"† and he quotes the lines

Forget not the retribution for transgression !
Wheat springs from wheat, barley from barley.‡

THE SIKH SPIRITUAL SUCCESSION.

The Sikhs, as a body, deny the spiritual authority of any one who came after Gurú Gobind Singh. But in a modified form he had successors, and as a conclusion to this paper, I will add a few words carrying on the story into the reign of Muhammad Sháh (1719-1748).

Gobind Singh left no surviving natural issue. But at his death in 1708, as already stated, a boy named Ajít Singh was brought forward by the disciples as his adopted son. After receiving an imperial *mansab*, he was raised to the seat of authority as the head of the sect. He finally found his way to Dihli, in charge of Gobind Singh's widow, Mátá, or Mother, Sundari. In Farrukhsiyar's reign, when he grew up to manhood, evil advisers persuaded him to set up entirely on his own account. Mátá Suudari was turned out, and necessarily a schism arose, she claiming for herself a separate spiritual head-ship. Many Sikhs forsook Ajít Singh and followed her. At length in the seventh year of Muhammad Sháh, a false accusation was brought that one of the Wearers of Patches§ had been killed by him. Some two to three thousand Mahomedans raised a disturbance and with much clamour brought their complaint to Kamr-ud-din Khán, I'timád-ud Daulah, the wazír. Fearing a serious riot, the wazír sent some troops, who captured Ajít Singh and he was executed.||

Jahi Singh, son of Ajít Singh, was at that time very young. His well-wishers, fearing that some harm might come to him, carried him off to Mathurá and in 1173 H. (Aug. 1759—Aug. 1760) when Chatarman wrote,

* Kámwar Khán 165, 166, Mirza Muhammad, 289, Shiú Dás, 11a, Anon. Fragment, 24b, Kháfi Khán II, 765.

† K. K. II, 766, and see T. Roebuck "A Collection of Proverbs" No. 1723 : *Kih kard kih na yáft ; Kih kishit kih na dariyad*.

‡ II, 766 :

Az makáfát-i-'aml gháfil ma shau,
Gandum az gandum baroyad, jau az jau.

§ *Khirkahposh* = Religious mendicant or dervish.

|| Ráe Chatarman, *Chahár Gulshan*, my copy fo. 143a, and *Tarikh-i-Mhdi*, year 1137, "Gurú Ajít Singh, son of Gurú Gobind Singh, successor of Nának, killed on Friday the 4th Jamadi I (= 18th January 1725) at Shahjahánábád for rebellion, by the Emperor's order."

he was still living there. Many believed in and followed him, but some of the sect had betaken themselves to others.

Mátá Sundari, Gobind Singh's widow, when the quarrel with Ajít Singh took place, started on her own account and drew many after her. On her death, her party transferred their allegiance to Sáhíb Dei, known as the *Kuwárah Dúláh* or the Virgin Bride. She was the daughter of some hill rajah, who had sent her to Gobind Singh. Before her arrival, he had departed to the other world. But she refused to take any other husband and adopted the life of a religious mendicant. On Mátá Sundari's death, Sáhíb Dei succeeded, but after a year she too died. These ladies had continued to live in Dihli. In 1173 (1759-60) the only religious leader of the Sikhs, was Jahi Singh, son of Ajít Singh, who then lived in Mathurá with a good following of from one to two hundred persons.*

* Ráe Chatarman, *loc. cit.*

THE PROGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN INDIA.

By H. H. RISLEY,

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AN attempt will be made in this paper to review the progress made during the last two years in Anthropological work in India, and to indicate the lines of research which can most profitably be pursued in the future.

The scientific study of Anthropology is of comparatively recent growth, and has only been introduced into India within the last ten years. Hodgson and Dalton, the earliest labourers in this field, were quite unacquainted with the methods of research followed in Europe, and were to some extent hampered in their own inquiries by their ignorance of the line that European ethnologists were taking. A conspicuous illustration of this is afforded by their treatment of the important subject of exogamy. Hodgson does not refer to it at all, while Dalton only mentions casually that certain groups are "what Mr. McLennan calls exogamous." Had Dalton realised the extreme scientific importance of the subject, it can hardly be doubted that he would have given more attention to it and collected more extensive data than the meagre lists of exogamous groups given in the *Ethnology of Bengal*.

Within the last few years all this has been changed. The necessity of working in concert with European ethnologists has been fully recognised. A paper read by me before the British Association in 1889 led to the formation of a special sub-committee consisting of Sir William Turner, Professor Flower, Dr. Garson, Mr. Bloxam and myself, for the express purpose of looking after Indian Anthropology; and all recent inquiries in India have followed the instructions laid down by the Committee of the Anthropological Institute which sat in 1874 and drew up a set of instructions for inquirers.

Working on these lines, we have now got for Bengal a fairly complete account of the tribes and castes found in the census of 1881. This is contained in the four volumes of the *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* of which a small official edition was printed for criticism early in 1891. The work consists of two volumes of Anthropometric data, and elaborate tables of physical measurements for the chief tribes and castes of Bengal, the N.-W. P. and the Panjab. These measurements were taken on the system drawn up by Professor Topinard of Paris and with instruments designed by him. They furnish ample means for determining the relations which exist between the various castes, and the differences of physical type which separate the higher from the lower groups. In a recent number of *L'Anthropologie*, Professor Topinard himself has minutely analysed my observations and I am glad to say has drawn from the statistics precisely the same conclusions as I had already formulated in a paper read before

the Anthropological Institute of the United Kingdom, in June 1890. A few months ago, a fortunate chance gave me the opportunity of extending the series of measurements beyond our frontier by measuring a number of representatives of the Hunza Nagar and Kanjut tribes,* who were on a visit to Calcutta in charge of Surgeon Major Robertson, C.S.I., Assistant Political Officer of Gilgit. These yielded very interesting results which I hope to publish shortly. The general characteristics of the tribesmen measured were much the same as those of the natives of the Panjab, only all the dimensions were larger. The degree of dolicho-cephaly was higher, the facial angle was of the Greek type, the nasal index was extremely fine and the subjects presented all the characteristics of the higher Aryan groups developed to a remarkable extent. Nothing could be more striking than the singularly Greek cast of their faces; it seemed as if one had hit upon a colony of Alexander's soldiers still settled there in the region of the Rock Aornos. There was the oval outline of the face, the wide eyebrow space, the fine nose, the low forehead—all that one sees in a bust of Antinous.

The Ethnographic Glossary which forms part of the *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* purports to give a detailed Ethnographic description of all the principal castes and tribes in Bengal. The official edition of this work has been out for two years, and criticisms have been freely invited from all classes of the public in Bengal. Notwithstanding this, and although great interest is taken in the subject of caste precedence, no criticism of any kind has been received. A revised and expanded edition of the book is now under preparation, containing the caste statistics of the census of 1891 and showing the local distribution of castes as then ascertained. I hope also to have an opportunity while on leave in England, of embodying in this edition the valuable information relating to the Bengal castes which is stored up in Dr. Buchanan's MS. report on his survey of certain districts of Northern Bengal and Behar, undertaken under the orders of the Governor General in 1811. Portions of this survey were embodied by Mr. Montgomery Martin in a work on Eastern India; but there is ample internal evidence in Mr. Martin's book to show that he did not understand the materials he was dealing with, and that he omitted to reproduce many of the most interesting portions of Dr. Buchanan's book. Dr. Buchanan, as is well known, employed a very strong staff of pandits, and laid great stress upon inquiries into the castes and tribes of the people, which in his day had not been disintegrated by the spread of English education, and the development of Islam in Eastern Bengal.

For the N.-W. P., Mr. Nesfield's interesting sketch and Mr. Croode's valuable Ethnography give as much information as can be looked for without special inquiries being instituted. It is to be hoped that the extensions recently undertaken will result in similar works being published for other Provinces. I will state briefly what extensions of Anthropological work I refer to.

* "Kanjūti" is the name given by outsiders, such as Yarkandis and the Kirghiz, to the Hunza Section of the Burishki tribe of Hunza-Nagyr, where Shins and other Dards are also settled. (See Dr. Leitner's "Dardistan.")—ED.

The Government of Bengal has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 2,000 a year to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the encouragement of Anthropology and Ethnography. The Society has started a special branch to deal with these subjects, and proposes shortly to publish a third section of its journal dealing exclusively with Anthropology and Ethnography. Arrangements have also been made for prosecuting systematic inquiries under the supervision of the Anthropological Secretary. Under the head of Anthropology it is proposed to work on the lines approved by Professors Flower, Turner and Topinard, and to measure representative specimens of the chief tribes and castes in India. Mr. Kitts of the Civil Service has undertaken this work in the North-West Provinces; Surgeon-Captain Roberts proposes to measure the very interesting tribes subject to the Gilgit Political Agency; Dr. Saise, of Giridih, is engaged in measuring the tribes of the Hazaribagh district, and it is hoped that no difficulty may be found in getting similar assistance in the Panjab and in other Provinces of India. Our Anthropological data will then be fairly complete, and we shall be in a position to attempt to draw the conclusions which the statistics indicate. Under this branch of the subject I should mention that Dr. D. D. Cunningham, F.R.S., has undertaken to make a microscopic examination of any specimens of hair that may be sent in. The microscopic structure of the hair is regarded by European ethnologists as a very important racial character, and Dr. Cunningham's inquiries will fill an important gap in the Anthropological record.

Turning now to Ethnography it is satisfactory to be able to report that the Government of the North-West Provinces have adopted certain proposals, put forward by me two years ago in a letter addressed to the Government of Bengal, for the systematic prosecution of Ethnographic inquiries. A Standing Committee, with Mr. W. Crooke as President and Messrs. Nesfield, Kitts and V. Smith as members, has been appointed to deal with the subject in Northern India, and they are understood to have a regular plan under preparation. The Provincial Government gives a grant of Rs. 1,000, and the Committee have agreed to work in concert with the Asiatic Society of Bengal and to follow the same methods of research. In Madras, the Government have given the Asiatic Society a grant of Rs. 500 a year, and have told off a special officer, Mr. F. C. Mullaly of the Police, the author of an excellent book on Criminal Tribes, to be Provincial Director of Ethnography. During a recent visit to Madras I had an opportunity of conferring with Mr. Mullaly on the subject of Ethnography, and arranged with him the system on which operations should be carried on. Dr. A. Crichton Mitchell, Principal of the Travancore College, and M. P. Soondram Pillay, M.A., Professor of Philosophy in the same, are willing to assist in the inquiry. The field open in Madras is virtually untouched and promises to yield results of great interest; the caste system has developed there on peculiar lines, and there seems to be a rich growth of survivals of archaic usage. In Bombay, my attempts to secure the co-operation of Government, without which no scientific inquiries can be expected to make much progress in India, have been less successful than in Madras. The Bombay Government has

refused either to make a grant to the Asiatic Society, or to appoint a special officer to supervise Ethnographic inquiries locally. They consider that the information already available in the Provincial Gazetteer volumes, in addition to that furnished in the Census caste tables, will suffice for all practical purposes; and they suggest that the work should be done through the agency of the Anthropological Society, official co-operation being limited to the supply of the necessary census papers. No doubt it will be possible to effect something in this manner. I can supply the Society with copies of my Anthropometric Instructions and Manual of Ethnographic Research; and they must then endeavour to induce members of the Society and others resident in the districts to take the subject up on those lines and to send me their replies to the questions. Those replies I should then work up into monographs on the castes concerned. In this way we should, by degrees, get together a complete account of the chief tribes and castes in the Presidency. The Chief Commissioner of Assam has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 1,000 a year for Ethnographic purposes, and has appointed Mr. Gait, C.S., the officer who had charge of the census, to be Provincial Director of Ethnography.

In the Panjab Mr. M. L. Dames, Deputy Commissioner of Firozpur, has accepted the appointment of Honorary Director of Ethnography; and a sum of 1,000 Rs. has been placed at his disposal for incidental expenses. The Director will receive all the assistance that can be afforded by District Officers and the Director of Public Instruction consistently with the demands on their time for the discharge of their ordinary duties. In the Central Provinces it is proposed to appoint Mr. Robertson, C.S., to be Honorary Provincial Director. The Chief Commissioner of Burma has not yet been addressed; but Major Temple, who is a recognised authority on these subjects, has expressed his willingness to supervise any inquiries that may be started, and in the last resort we could therefore commence operations in that Province without asking for any assistance from Government.

Last year I visited Ceylon and the Asiatic Society of Bengal deputed Civil Hospital Assistant Kumud Behari Samanta, who was trained by me to measure by Topinard's system, and in fact carried out all the Bengal measurements, to accompany me for the purpose of taking a full series of measurements of the types available in Ceylon. The result of this undertaking was a complete set of measurements for the three main types of the population of Ceylon—the Tamils, the Cinghalese and the Moormen representing the Dravidian, Aryan and Semitic elements of a singularly varied *colluvies gentium* which has flowed into the island from various sources. The Cinghalese, of course, are the descendants of the original Aryan-Buddhist immigrants from Behar; the Tamils are the regular Dravidian population of Southern India, which continually finds its way by thousands into Ceylon from Madras in search of work on the tea gardens; while the Moors are the remnant of an ancient Arab colony which has maintained its original type in remarkable purity. It is satisfactory to the Ethnologist to find that the Dravidian population of Madras is virtually identical in type with the Dravidian population of Central India and

Western Bengal, so that the black race has now been shown to be continuous throughout the Peninsula. This result was one that had been anticipated all along, and only needed to be verified by actual experiment and observation.

This completes my sketch of the work actually done at present in the way of extending Ethnographic and Anthropological operations throughout India. It remains to indicate lines of inquiry which might with advantage be taken up in addition to those already in operation.

The first is the formation of an Ethnographic Museum, such as exists in a high state of perfection in the Museum for Völker-Kunde in Berlin, which owes its existence to the exertions of Dr. Adolf Bastian. Here the student may watch the gradual evolution of all the objects which have exercised the ingenuity and taxed the resources of primitive man, and can see how steady the progress has been from the simpler to the more complex. It is easy, I may here remark, to over-estimate the value to Ethnographic science of collections of material objects, such as tools, weapons, means of locomotion, and the like. All these things are the products of many forces. The surroundings of a people, the materials available, the climate, the fauna and flora, and a variety of factors which it would be tedious to enumerate, have played a part in shaping the wants which have eventually found an expression in some instrument or invention: and here one may remark that similarity of circumstances rather than affinity of race seems to have contributed in the most marked degree to the development of these activities. External conditions have in this connexion a stronger influence than inherited tendencies. Nevertheless, after all allowance has been made for these limitations, there remains a large field within which the work of collection might profitably be carried on, and India, containing as it does so many tribes in very various grades of material progress, offers special facilities for forming a representative collection.

Another object which ethnologists would do well to bear in mind is the formation of a good collection of photographs of the different castes and tribes of India. Such a collection was made many years ago, with brief letter-press notices, by Dr. Forbes Watson and Sir John Kaye, under the title of the *People of India*. But permanent processes had not then come into vogue, and the book, which is extremely rare and costly, has now lost much of its value by reason of the photographs having faded. There is believed to be no prospect of Government undertaking a new edition, and the only chance of anything of the kind being done is for private inquirers to lose no opportunity that presents itself of taking characteristic photographs. Such photographs should always include one view directly front face and one exactly in profile. It is of course not suggested that any precise scientific value attaches to photographs of people; but they serve to illustrate dress and peculiarities, and help to render intelligible the verbal description which the Manual of Ethnography provides for.

A more precise value belongs to accurately made casts of typical representatives of particular tribes and castes, especially if they are coloured and made of some durable material like plaster of Paris. Some casts, prepared under my supervision for the Paris Exhibition of 1889, attracted consider-

able notice there, and were admitted to possess a definite scientific value, as they were made to measure. The difficulty about casts is that they are very expensive, especially when made life-size, and no other agency but that of a Government is ordinarily in a position to undertake them.

Lastly, I wish to invite attention to the desirability of making a representative collection of the skulls and skeletons of the chief castes. This sounds simple enough ; but it is really beset with very special difficulties, that cast the gravest doubt upon the collections of Asiatic skulls which are found in European Museums. Skulls and bones must be cleaned by somebody : in India, work of this kind is done by low class people, and there is no security against their mixing the skulls made over to them to be cleaned. Special care must, therefore, be taken to attach some sort of label to the head before it is given out to be cleaned, and to see that this is securely attached, so that it cannot be removed in the process of cleaning. Neglect of this simple precaution has rendered worthless many of the specimens now preserved in Museums. It should be added that, if it is desired to make a craniological examination of any skulls, they had better be sent to Dr. Paul Topinard of Paris, Professor Flower of the British Museum, or Dr. Garson of the Anthropological Institute. These gentlemen have the requisite laboratories and instruments at hand, and can work with a degree of accuracy to which no one in India can hope to attain.

Now that anthropological and ethnographic research in India has been placed on a footing which promises to lead to regular and uniform progress, we may hope that the unrivalled facilities which that country offers to inquirers will appeal to European students and induce them to visit India in quest of classical parallels. India at the present day is in much the same stage of social and religious development as Greece was four centuries before Christ ; and although the surroundings of the Indian religions are less picturesque than those of the Greek, still there is much that is extremely attractive to a sympathetic observer, especially in the cult of the domestic and village gods. I can imagine no better training for a classical student, no more instructive preparation for the comparative study of Greek and Indian institutions, than a carefully planned visit to India directed to the observation of religious and social phenomena. A student engaged in such researches may count on the most hospitable reception from all Indian officials ; and he would find the administration ready to place ample facilities at his disposal for studying the institutions of the country under the most favourable conditions.

NOTE.—The influence of Greek Art and Mythology on India has been recorded by classical writers and is specially referred to in a paper on “Græco-buddhistic Sculpture” in our last issue as also in “a Note” by Dr. Leitner on “Classical allusions to the Dards and to Greek influence in India” republished from the *Calcutta Review* of January 1878. In last October’s issue of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* will also be found “Anthropological Observations on 12 Dards (including Hunza-Nagyris) and Kafirs in Dr. Leitner’s service,” containing photographs and detailed measurements taken by Dr. Beddoe and others between 1866 and 1886 and published as Appendix V. in the Supplement on “Dardistan” to Dr. Leitner’s work on “Hunza-Nagyris.” We await with interest the anthropological parallels that Mr. Risley promises between the Greek type and the people of Hunza-Nagyris, though the possible colony of Alexander’s soldiers round the Panjab “Aornos” Rock would indicate Mahabharata rather than Hunza-Nagyris.—ED.

THE LIFE OF THE HEBREW WOMAN OF OLD.

BY THE REV. DR. CHOTZNER.

AN erroneous notion prevails in many minds regarding the place assigned to the Hebrew woman at home and in society by the Mosaic law in olden times. Even now the idea obtains that the law put the Hebrew female almost on a level with the low-born slave, and denied her all mental and spiritual enjoyment; that, because polygamy was silently tolerated by that law, and because it gave a certain amount of authority to the fathers and husbands over their daughters and wives respectively, the position of the Hebrew woman must have been low and degraded. But the student who closely examines the Old Testament passages relating to the domestic and social life of the Hebrew woman of antiquity will soon see that this is devoid of foundation. Nay, a review of her life during Biblical times will show that she enjoyed more freedom than other Oriental women of that period, and that in some respects her position was not much inferior to that of the fair sex in modern times.

The Old Testament gives two distinct periods in the history of the Hebrew woman. The *first* extends from the creation to the time when the Israelites became established in Palestine, the *second* from that date to the building of the second Temple. The most prominent feature of the first period is an extreme simplicity of manners in both sexes, occasioned by their living either in the open air or in tents. It resembles in many respects the heroic age of the ancient Greeks in reference to the social position of the female sex. But, while in the Hebrew world the woman is known as "Ish-shah" (יִשָּׁה), "wife," being equal in moral, as well as in literal etymology, to "Ish" (אִישׁ), "man," the Greeks had separate words for *man* and *wife*, namely, ἀνὴρ, γυναῖκα, proving the inferior rank held by the weaker sex

among them. Again, while the latter represented their *first* woman, called Pandora, as having been sent with all sorts of evil for the ruin of man, the first woman of the Bible, Eve, is introduced to us as a part of her husband's being, and as having been created to be "a help meet for him" (עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ) (Gen. ii. 21).

Except Eve, who seems to have lived with her family in the open air, the women belonging to that period dwelt in tents. Such a tent was called in Hebrew "Ohel" (אֹהֶל), and sometimes "bait" (בַּיִת), Arabic, بَيْت (bait), and consisted of a walled enclosure covered with curtains of a dark colour (Cant. i. 5). It was divided into two or more apartments, one being always reserved for the females of the family; but sometimes each female had a separate tent (Gen. xxxi. 33). (Compare also Homer, *Iliad* vi. 247-249). When travelling, the tents destined for women were fastened on a broad cushion (כֶּרֶם), and placed on the backs of the riding camels (Gen. xxxi. 34). The occupations of the married woman were multifarious. Having risen early in the morning, she divided the hours of the day between attending to the children, distributing food at meal times, and manufacturing various textures for the use of her family (Prov. xxxi. 15). (Compare Homer, *Odyssey* x. 221; and Virgil, *Georgics* i. 293-295:

"Interea longum cantu solata laborem,
Arguto conjux percussit pectine telas.")

The cooking was also done by the mistress of the house, and even women of rank did not consider it beneath their dignity to help in the kitchen and the pantry (Gen. xviii. 6). Sometimes a nurse was kept for the younger children of the family, and was held in great estimation by her employers (Ibid. xxxv. 8). The surplus of their manufactures the Hebrew women used to sell to merchants (Prov. xxxi. 24), and sometimes they gave it freely away for use for religious purposes (Ex. xxxv. 22.)

The unmarried women had, besides their share of the domestic duties, the daily task of tending the flock, and of

taking them to the well. There they spent some hours pleasantly with the damsels and shepherds of the neighbourhood, indulging freely in gossip and merriment (Gen. xxix.). On those and other occasions they moved about freely, and could even dispense with the veil usually worn out-of-doors by Oriental women (Ibid. xii. 14). These diversions ended when they entered upon matrimonial life, which they did at the comparatively youthful age of between twelve and eighteen (Buxtorf, Synag. vii., p. 143). Sometimes courtship preceded marriage, as instanced in Jacob and Samson; but the mediation of a third party was usual for effecting a marriage (Gen. xxiv. 4). When the parents approved of the bridegroom's proposal, the bride was sometimes asked for her consent; but when she was of a higher rank than the bridegroom, her father offered her hand to him as a mark of special favour. Thus did Jethro offer his daughter to Moses, and later on the same was done by Caleb to Othniel, and by Saul to David. The wedding itself had no definite ceremonies connected with it. At the weddings of Rebecca and of Ruth only a blessing was pronounced by those present. At a much later period an oath was added in ratification of the union (Ez. xvi. 18). Indeed, marriage was always considered among the Hebrews as an institution proceeding from God (Gen. xxiv. 50; Judg. xiv. 4); and the name given to it in post-Biblical times, and retained to the present day, is "Kiddushin" (קִידוּשִׁין), *i.e.*, *sanctification*. The Greeks and the Romans, on the other hand, called it *συζυγία* and *conjugium* respectively, which means "yoking together of two persons."

Though polygamy was not actually forbidden by the Mosaic law, yet it may be seen from the words of its first institution that monogamy was the only legitimate practice (Gen. ii. 2): "Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave unto his wife," and not his "wives." Elkanah's *second* wife is, quaintly enough, called in 1 Sam. i. "Tsara," which term means in Hebrew also "misery."

As simple as were then the manners of the Hebrew women, were also their dresses. They were generally of a primitive make. On festive occasions, however, these were replaced by apparel of a more elaborate character (Gen. xxiv. 53). Personal ornaments were also sometimes worn by them, mostly articles of gold, perhaps even jewels, since precious stones are mentioned in the Pentateuch. While in Egypt, the Hebrew women learnt the use of mirrors, which were then made of a mixture of copper and tin. These mirrors, indispensable at a woman's toilette, they gave freely for the fabrication of the laver of the tabernacle (Ex. xxxviii. 8). They appear also then to have acquired some proficiency in singing, dancing, and playing on musical instruments; for on the shore of the Red Sea they gave ample proof of possessing these accomplishments by singing an ode in company with Miriam. Later on they shared with the men the privilege of being summoned to hear the reading of the Law (Deut. xxxi. 12). An old Sanscrit proverb says: "Women are instructed by nature, but men obtain learning by books"; and, indeed, what we have seen of the life of the Hebrew woman in this early period of the world's history gives the best illustration of the truth of this saying. She, a child of nature, without books to learn from, or teachers to be instructed by, acquired merely by instinct more knowledge as to what is good and useful and beautiful than many a lady can boast of at the present day. Thus we find that some of those Hebrew women of old had already cultivated a taste for flowers, (Gen. xxx. 14),* song, and music; that they were active in their households; kind and charitable to the poor and needy (Prov. xxxi. 20); and last but not least, were also sensible to the blessings of freedom and independence.

During the *second* period of Biblical history, from the settlement of the Israelites in Palestine, to the rebuilding

* From the circumstance that Rachel longingly wanted to get from her sister some of the newly plucked flowers, one may judge that she must have been very fond of them.

of the second Temple, a remarkable change was wrought in the life, habits, and social standing of the Hebrew woman. The simplicity of manners characteristic of the *first* period was, in course of time, changed into luxurious habits of life, resembling those of some capitals of our own day. During this period, too, the germs became first visible among the Hebrew women of that modern civilization which, in spite of its faults and drawbacks, has certainly contributed much to elevate the position of the female sex. This change was principally caused by the Hebrew women living then in large commercial towns and in permanent dwelling-houses, and by their coming in closer contact with the male sex of their own and of foreign nationalities than their ancestors had done. The females of the poorer and middle classes occupied the same room or rooms with their husbands; but the wives of the rich and nobles had a separate set of apartments for themselves, called "harmon" (הַרְמוֹן) (Amos iv. 3), most probably derived from "harem" (חֶרֶם) (*forbidden*), and akin to the well-known *Harem*. Yet the seclusion of the women among the wealthy Hebrews was then much less strict than among the modern Muhammadans, or the ancient Persians and Greeks. Like the Grecian women of old (Homer, *Odyssey* i. 329-331) did the Jewish females occupy the upper part of the house, as instanced in 2 Sam. vi. 16, and 2 Kings ix. 31-53,* in connection with *Michal* and *Jezebel*. But while the former were not allowed to see anyone except their nearest relations (comp. Wieland, *Attisches Museum* ii. 131), the latter moved freely about, and took frequently an active part in public life. As instances of this may be mentioned Jephthah's daughter, Deborah, Jezebel, Athalia, Huldah, Esther, and Noadiah. Deborah and Hannah distinguished themselves as composers of excellent odes, being thus the first poetesses on record. Other women, from their technical skill, were

* The fact that Michal and Jezebel had looked *down* from the window, seems to indicate that the house they were in had actually an upper part, or second storey.

often hired to chant doleful songs or lamentations at the funerals of persons of high rank (Jer. ix. 18). Sometimes women were even employed to plead causes at the royal court (2 Sam. xiv. 2; 1 Kings i. 11). Occasionally women saved by their bravery and oratorical powers a whole town from destruction (Judg. ix. 53; 2 Sam. xx. 18-23).

The recreation of the women of those times consisted mostly in paying visits to their relations and friends—on which occasions refreshments were offered (Cant. viii. 2)—and in attending the public festivals. These were of frequent occurrence: religious celebrations, or weddings, when the women assembled in the streets to watch the gay procession of the festive guests (Jer. xxv. 10); or vintages, harvests, when, amidst merriment and laughter, men and women danced to the tunes of sweet music (Judg. xxi. 21; Is. xvi. 10; Jer. xxxi. 3, 4). Recreation-houses* also existed, and were frequented by women of rank (Micah ii. 9), but their nature is not clearly defined. In fact, life was for a considerable time as gay in the Jewish capital and in other large towns of Palestine, and women were then as luxurious in dress and punctilious in etiquette as the fair sex in our own time. The prophet Isaiah devotes a whole chapter to describing the various dresses and trinkets worn by the Hebrew women of his times; and even as far back as the days of King Saul women wore rich dresses of scarlet and gold. David, bewailing the death of that king, says: "Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul, who clothed you in scarlet with other delights, who put ornaments of gold upon your dresses" (2 Sam. i. 24). This extravagance in women's toilette continued to the times of Christ; and according to Edersheim ("Life and Times of the Messiah"), a lady could then get in Jerusalem "from a false tooth to an Arabian veil, a Persian shawl, or an Indian dress." The Jewish, like the Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman women, used precious ointments and perfumes for their heads and

* The original Hebrew means actually 'house of pleasure,' or 'house of recreation.'

dresses (Cant. i. 3). The cost of a moderately-sized bottle of those perfumes is stated to have been equal to £6 of our money. Women of rank used also cosmetics for the eyelashes (2 Kings ix. 30 ; Jer. iv. 30) to increase the apparent size and lustre of their eyes. Isaiah, deriding that harmful practice, says, that the women of his time were "lying with their eyes" (משקרות עינים, from שקר, Is. iii. 16). The Hebrew term for that paint is "puck" (פוך), being equal in etymology to *phūxos* and *fucus* of the classics. Job's daughter was called *Keren-ha-puch*, or "horn of cosmetic paint."

The natural beauty of the Hebrew women of old must have been both great and common, for many such are introduced to us in the Old Testament. According to Canticles ii., pet names were usually given to females, such as *rose of the valley, dove, Aurora, sister, sun, and star*. If the character of a nation is reflected in its proverbs, the passages in the Bible relating to the worth of women prove the high estimation in which the Hebrew women were held by their husbands. They joined the latter at meals (Job i. 4), and mixed with them freely on other occasions—a privilege, withheld from other Oriental women, even to the present day.

It is evident, therefore, that the common idea as to the low position of the Hebrew woman of old is erroneous. She enjoyed, at all events, much greater freedom and liberty than the wives of the highly-cultured ancient Greeks. She was more thought of than the female sex has been in the times of Luther, who, in his *Table Talk* quotes, and as it seems approvingly, an old Latin proverb, which says : "*Tria mala pessima: ignis, aqua, fœmina* (The worst among evils are three : fire, water and woman)." And finally, the liberty granted by the Mosaic law to the Hebrew women at large was never found fault with by their contemporary poets and prophets, while comparatively modern writers and philosophers, such as Hartmann, Schopenhauer, and others, often grudge the privileges granted to the female sex in modern society. In his book "*Ueber*

die Weiber" (On Women, Vol. vi., p. 649), Schopenhauer says, that the low position occupied at present by Oriental women suits the female sex better than that universally granted to them in the West. In his opinion, it is wrong that women are revered and respected by men, since their general character is but a compound of all sorts of human vices, such as falsehood, cunning and dishonesty. It is true that the Old Testament has also its gossiping, over-curious, quarrelsome, and superstitious women; but they only form a small proportion in the majority of model women enumerated in its pages. No better compliments could be paid to the Hebrew fair sex than those found in their national literature, a few of which may be quoted here in corroboration of the proof intended to be given in this essay of the high-standing of the Hebrew woman of antiquity. "Whoso findeth a wife findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour of the Lord" (Prov. xviii. 22). "A gracious woman retaineth honour, as the hand of the industrious increaseth wealth" (Ibid. xi. 16). "A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband" (Ibid. xii. 4). "House and riches are the inheritance of fathers; but a prudent wife is from God" (Ibid. xx. 14).*

* It would take too much space to speak here of Jewish women of note, who lived in post-biblical or talmudical times. A brief reference, however, to an incident in the life of *Beruria*, the wife of Rabbi Meir, who formed one of the most noble womanly figures of that period, may not inaptly close our sketch. Beruria was the mother of two handsome and most promising sons, who one day, while their father was absent from home, fell into a deep well and were drowned. The woe-stricken mother, most anxious to spare her husband the sudden shock of the ghastly sight, placed the two bodies in a dark room in the house. When the Rabbi came home and inquired for his sons, Beruria pretended not to hear his question, but said: "Oh Rabbi, some time ago a treasure was given to me by someone to keep it for Him, and now He asks it back. Shall I return it to Him?" "Do so at once," said the Rabbi unhesitatingly. Whereupon Beruria led her husband to the room where the two bodies were lying; and when he broke out in loud lamentation at the unexpected and fearful sight, she said: "This is the treasure entrusted to me by God, which He has now reclaimed." These words produced the desired effect upon the Rabbi, and, somewhat calmed and resigned, he exclaimed: "The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken. Blessed be the name of the Lord" (Job i. 21).

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

EARL GREY ON COLONIAL FEDERATION.

Lord Grey having been applied to for a statement of his opinion on the question of Colonial Federation, has replied that he can write nothing in favour of that scheme because he entirely disapproves of it, being convinced that its adoption instead of tending to unite more closely the different members of the British Empire, would have precisely the opposite tendency. On the other hand at his advanced age he cannot undertake to write any explanation of his reasons for entertaining this opinion which he holds very strongly as being most anxious for the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire.

THE BEHAR CADASTRAL SURVEY.

Referring to Sir Roper Lethbridge's article on the Behar Cadastral Survey, which appeared in the October number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, I think that every Indian official would protest against the use, even in jest, as was the case with the original irresponsible writer from whom Sir Roper Lethbridge quotes, of the term "the Pindarries of modern India," as applied to the officers and establishments of the Settlement Department.

It is indeed an unfortunate necessity of our position in India that, in every measure of our administration, however wisely conceived and carefully worked out, we must depend upon the subordinate officials of our various Departments, who are themselves natives of the country, for its execution; and, as is well known, few Asiatic Officials can resist the temptation to turn to account more or less personally the influence derived from their official position, however great may be the supervision exercised over them.

In this however, unfortunately as I say is the case, the Settlement Department differs in no way from the Judicial, Magisterial, Revenue, Police, Forest and a score of other Departments. But Sir Roper Lethbridge applies this epithet in his article evidently in earnest, and in a peculiarly invidious manner, to the Settlement Department, as if oppression and corruption were its special and exclusive characteristics.

He can surely hardly have considered, when making such a sweeping imputation, that the Settlement Department in India is one of the most important branches of our Administration, and forms one of the sheet-anchors of our position in the country, for by its provisions the rights of all classes of the population who have any interest in land are defined and secured.

It is indeed the "Magna Charta" of the cultivating classes, which constitute more than four-fifths of the population, and, as such, it binds them indissolubly by the bond of personal interest to our administration of their country, for from no other ruling element have they experienced such easy

terms as they get from the British Government. In the place of 33 per cent. land revenue exacted by the Mogul Emperors, and one-half of the entire produce, as was done by the Mahrattas, or three-fifths, as is still the case in most native states, we only take a money payment estimated at from 3 to 10 per cent. upon the value of the crop, according to the district. The Settlement Department again has, from the importance of its duties and the intimate acquaintance with the conditions of all classes of the population acquired in their prosecution, been the training-ground for the ablest of our Indian Administrators. Does Sir Roper Lethbridge class the brothers Lawrence, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Richard Temple, and many another distinguished name amongst his "Pindarries of modern India"? As regards the pleas put forward by the Zemindars or "Landlords," as the term is rendered in English, there are many who think that, so far from having any grievance in the matter, the rights upon which they base the same are themselves open to very great question. The term "Landlord" is by no means the equivalent of the vernacular "Zemindar" and is misleading in its application, from the false impression which it gives of the position, and supposed rights, of the class to which it is applied. As a matter of fact the principle universally recognised throughout Asiatic countries, and more especially in India, is that the Sovereign is the sole "Landlord" of all land contained within the limits of his rule, with the exception of such portions as may have been alienated by himself, or his predecessors, in gifts to specified individuals. These latter are called "Jaghir-dars," and they are the only class to whom the term "Landlord" could be applied with any justice, for they occupy with regard to the land thus assigned them the same position that the Sovereign power does to the land in general. Even in these cases however the fact of the position that they thus occupy being only held with the sanction of the Sovereign is generally recognised by the payment, on the part of the Jaghir-dars, of a small sum annually, or the exaction in return of some service. The "Zemindárs" are a class who originally were officials, or persons of some position, entrusted with the collection of Land Revenue, and subsequently, in course of the laxity of the times, developed into "farmers" of the same. As such they got hold of large areas of land on condition of paying a fixed assessment, being left to make what profit they could themselves. All that the Permanent Settlement did was to fix the amount of Revenue to be paid by these "Zemindars" or "Farmers" in perpetuity.

Whether such an alienation of the Sovereign rights of a Ruling Power by one of its officials would be held valid in any other country is a matter that is open to question. It is extremely doubtful whether, if the British Government were to disappear from India and were to be replaced by any other, the "Zemindárs" would find that much respect would be paid to Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement.

The position is very much the same as though the Landlord of several large estates (say in Ireland where it is difficult to collect rents), had farmed them out severally to his Bailiffs, leaving these to do what they liked with the estates in question, provided they paid him a fixed rent. Such a disposition of his property would hardly be recognised in a Court of Law if disputed

by the heirs or successors of this Landlord, particularly if, owing to a better system of administration, or a more settled Government, the land thus farmed out had increased enormously in value. Supposing indeed a gold mine were to be discovered on one of these estates, the Law would hardly consider the Bailiff-farmer as entitled to all its profits. The very fact of his paying any rent at all to the heirs of the original Landlord would prove the priority of the latter's rights.

And this is exactly what is the case with the "Zemindars" of Bengal.

Owing to the advantages of British Rule, landed property has increased enormously in value in these parts since the date of the Permanent Settlement, till the area which only realized 4 million pounds land revenue at that time would now realize 20 million pounds at the same rate. Is the British Government, owing to the recklessness and want of foresight of an official in years gone by, to be no benefitter by this improvement? The imposition of an assessment of £20,000,000, upon the Zemindars of Bengal nowadays would be no greater hardship than that of £4,000,000, at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and they would still be enormously the benefitters by the claim which they have established through long possession to the retention of the land, as well as the advantages which they have derived from a lengthy occupation of it at a nominal rent. As it is, owing to simply the increase of the value of land, the Zemindars of Bengal are the wealthiest class in India, and yet they contribute less than any other class to the Public Revenues.

It is not suggested that they should be deprived of their rights to the land which they have acquired in the course of many years, due though this was to a misconception of their position on the part of an official, but merely that they should retain these rights on the same terms as those granted to the poorest "Ryots," viz.—the payment of a suitable rent to the British Government, which is the real "Landlord."

The Zemindars have foreseen the possibility of some such argument as this being brought against them and have realized the justice with which it could be urged. This is the real reason of their opposition to the introduction of the Behar Cadastral Survey which would open the eyes of the public to the enormous access of wealth that has accrued to them since the date of the Permanent Settlement.

C. E. BIDDULPH,
Assistant-Commissioner, Berars.

Note.—The fiction that Government is the universal Landlord in India is of European feudal origin and is supported neither by Hindu nor Muhammadan Law, for, according to the former, "land is his who first clears away the jungle," and the "King," is defined as "he who has a" *de jure* "share in the produce," which was generally one-sixth in the Hindu States and one-third under the Muhammadan Government, for, although, according to a mistaken theory of Islám, the property of infidels is liable to confiscation by believers, this extreme view is, in practice, hedged round with so many safe-guards as to make every infidel proprietor under Muslim rule the full Landlord of his property, provided he pays the Jazia or capitation tax, generally a nominal amount, to the State. Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell,

our greatest authority on Land Revenue in India, repeats the view which he had previously expressed and which is now officially accepted, in his last work on "Land Tenure," just published by the Oxford Clarendon Press. On page 125 he sums up the question: "In the face of declarations affecting so large a portion of the cultivated and occupied area in British India, it is impossible to go on speaking of the British Government as universal Landlord." Indeed, were this believed, except in the complimentary sense of Oriental submissiveness to Authority, there would be a general rising, for the loyalty of the land-owning classes has been almost entirely secured by our guaranteeing to them their private ownership of land.—ED.

Dr. Hyde Clarke has favoured us with the following observations on two articles in our last issue:

"A NEW DEPARTURE IN LANGUAGE."

(P. 4) "Arrow is masculine." (Review of the "Hunza-Nagyr Handbook.")

In primitive spoken language arrow is masculine, because it assimilates to the male sign, and was originally a dental. In the Semitic languages, as you know, in the name of the Tigris it had similar relations, because Arrow = River. This symbol is derived from gesture language and consequently existed before spoken language was invented.

Genders in many cases are derived from this primitive condition, and not as imagined by grammarians. Your "New Departure" gets nearer to primary conditions.

RUSSIA IN ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

P. 154. General Tyrrell quotes Morfill for the origin of Russia and Russians, whereas at p. 166 he shows from Al Mas'ûdi that this cannot be. I quoted this author years ago.

Have you noticed that in the last Scottish Quarterly Review, and again in German periodicals, Karl Blind has a long article on my old discoveries as to Russian, Waring, Waringhian etc.? Tyrrell's "Rús" are not Slav, but English and Germanic.

There can be no reasonable doubt now that my determination was and is right, and that Russian is Rugii, and the Waregs of Nester, the Russian chronicler, and the *Ῥαγγροι* of the Byzantine chroniclers, the Varini, the allied population of the Angli, (the Angli et Varini of the Germania of Tacitus).

Russia was founded, as Nester says, by the English and Waring Russians. The vanity of the Scandinavians has induced them to claim these feats, and the English negligence of their national history induced them to neglect the claim, until I established it above forty years ago, and it has been more than once pirated.

P. 175. Musikánci is Turkish Muzikaji, like Topji, etc.

"Samavar" is used not only by Persians, but by Turks and Tartars, because tea is used and the Samavar adopted.

P. 86. In Don Quixote, there is a well-known passage as to the hierarchy

of lamb, mutton, kid, goat, etc., in which beef comes last, as over the South of Europe, and I believe in South America. Beef is there only used in the special form of *chòrqui*.

HYDE CLARKE.

INITIATION AMONG THE DRUSES AND FREE-MASONRY.

I have a slight knowledge of the Khojahs, from the time of Hassan Sabbah, when he and Nizam-ul-Mulk and Omar Khayyam were students at Naishapur, down to the present Head of the sect.

The subject of Initiations has a great attraction to me,—and is one I believe that will be found of great importance in relation to many branches of Archæological inquiry as well as in relation to our modern masonic system.—This has long been my idea, and I have wrought out one or two lines of ancient ideas on the matter, but much remains yet to be done. Our modern Masons, I find, have not realized the importance of this subject,—and my friend Mr. Gould, although he is about our highest authority on the modern History of Masonry, takes little or no interest in it.

It is generally assumed that the rites of masonry are ancient, and are of Eastern origin, but how they came West, or how the masons acquired them, no one at present can tell. There are all sorts of theories,—and among them is one that they were brought to Europe by the Crusaders. This is of course a possible theory,—for some things were brought to the West by these people. Still we have no certainty of this so far as masonry is concerned. The Druses are said to have had initiation rites,—and if so, such rites were perhaps common among Esoteric Muhammedans. The Dervishes are said to have masonic rites. Now any light on such rites,—if they existed,—would be valuable in relation to the general subject of initiatory rites, and also in relation to masonic rites. These remarks will show you what is wanted, and if you find anything of this kind in the MS. of the “*Kelám-i-pir*” which you have received, or in “*Esoteric Muhammedanism*” I should like to hear about it.

A paper of mine was lately read before the Royal Institute of British Architects, *on the Classical Influence in the Architecture of the Indus Region and Afghanistan*.—I have given up the Greek origin, and think that some of the influence at least is Roman, and that some of the forms came through Palmyra. My paper is confined wholly to Architectural forms, not touching on the coins or sculpture.

WILLIAM SIMPSON.

THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER.

If your readers want to know how near the Ruskis are to Herat, the line of the Kushk is the nearest, and the one that would be followed as it is on the direct line from Merve,—and you will see that the frontier there is only about 60 miles from Herat.

The line from Zulfaqar is not a direct one, either by the river or the Paropamisus.—There is a very rocky gorge on the Heri Rud, south of Zulfaqar, called the “*Tengri Daria*,” which stops all passage along the line of the river,—that would lead to a road being found on the east of it,—which I suppose is possible.

Zulfaqar, as you undoubtedly know, was the Sword of Ali,—who is supposed to have cut the grand pass with it. It is a fine wild gorge. I have sketches of it from the west side of the Heri Rud.

WILLIAM SIMPSON.

NATIONAL DEFENCE A NATIONAL DANGER.

PROPOSAL OF A WAR TRIUMVIRATE.

In my letter on the *Franco-Russian Scare*, which was too late for insertion in your January number, I pointed out:—

1. That it was due to an announcement made by that mysterious entity the *Times* of a grand discovery of what had not been a secret: namely, the ratio at which the naval preparations of England on the one hand, and of France and Russia on the other were proceeding.

2. That the naval strength required by England depended not on the amount of her property at sea but on the strength likely to be engaged in attacking it.

3. That it is a want of sense to consider the security of this country as a question of *force*, naval or military, *without* considering the state of our relations with other European Powers, who at present are not in a league against Great Britain.

4. That Russia is the enemy of all the other Powers; that her present mode of injuring them is to incite them to increase their military forces to such an extent as to ruin their various national resources, that the Franco-Russian Scare in England is a part of this scheme, and that to excite it was at least one of Russia's objects (not France's) in the French fêtes to the Russian fleet.

If this view be accepted, the only way to obtain a real peace in Europe is to disabuse the States that are ignorantly pursuing Russian objects, of the delusion that these objects are patriotic. It would be a task more than Herculean to convince Germany that in annexing Alsace and Lorraine she was carrying out a scheme of Russia's to injure her. But that such is the truth is borne out by the results. For 54 years Germany was not invaded by France, nor in very great fear of such invasion. Now this danger is the thought of every day. But would France have invaded Germany had Bismarck accepted Emile Ollivier's proposal for a mutual disarmament? But till Central Europe disarms she can expect no peace. The expense of her armies is eating her up.

The disagreement between England and France is perhaps a still more hopeless affair, because they have been for half a century rivals in the attempt to detach Egypt from Islam. But here the example of Germany ought to be a warning to us. Our possession of Egypt is advocated as a means of securing our rule in India. On the contrary, it is a danger and may destroy the loyalty to our rule of the Moslems in that region. Besides it has opened to Russia a Treaty right to send her ships through the Suez Canal to attack us.

The anonymous authors of the *Franco-Russian Scare* appear to be satisfied that they have secured an increase to the Naval Expenditure; a certain and regular amount of which was their palladium of security. But it is

only for this session that the expenditure is considered as certain and a new palladium has been proposed in the amalgamation of the office of Secretary of State for War with that of First Secretary of the Admiralty. The author of this ingenious, but insidious, scheme has the courage to put his name to it, and an ex Parliamentary Secretary of the Foreign Office offers to the heads of both parties a scheme for the salvation of our imperilled nation.

The following appeared in the *Times* of 1 March :

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

The following letter was delivered on the 12th of February to Mr. Gladstone, to Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, and to the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain. Its inception, as the opening sentences show, dates from a period before Christmas, and an earlier draft of it, somewhat longer and fuller, was communicated between Christmas and the meeting of Parliament to some of those addressed :—

SIR,—(1) The late debate in the House of Commons on the subject of the Navy was one of many symptoms of a widespread uneasiness with regard to the defences of the Empire. There is a doubt of the sufficiency of the naval establishments and of the efficiency in some respects of the systems under which the Navy and the Army are administered. The failure of confidence has been of gradual growth. Those who think it justified do not attribute the responsibility for it to any one Administration or to either party in the State. Yet it seems difficult to discuss these doubts in Parliament without, at least, the appearance of censure upon the Government of the day, a result which is unfortunate, for the subject should unite rather than divide parties, and upon its paramount importance there is no difference of opinion.

(2) For this reason a service may perhaps be rendered by the communication to the Prime Minister and to the leaders of the Opposition of suggestions which commend themselves to men of different parties who have from different points of view for many years given attention to questions relating to national defence.

(3) No arrangements which aimed at or resulted in a subversion of the principles which experience has shown to be essential to the working of constitutional government could be seriously considered. But no system of defence, however constitutional, can avail unless it be shaped with a view to war. It is to the conciliation of these two necessities—that of compatibility with the Constitution and that of adaptation to the purpose of war—that our attention has been directed.

(4) If the preservation of peace depended upon the good will of the British Government there would perhaps be little need for a navy or an army. The existence of these services implies that this is not the case, and that safety in time of war depends upon forethought and preparation in advance. Such preparation involves a view of the nature of a possible war and an estimate of the intensity of the effort it would impose, this view and this estimate furnishing the standard for the quantity and quality of the means to be kept available.

(5) The design without which even a defensive war cannot be carried on, and in the absence of which preparations made during peace must fail to serve their purpose, is properly the secret of the Government. Yet, where the Government is responsible to a Parliament, it is indispensable either that so much of the design should be communicated to Parliament as will enable it to judge of the necessity and of the sufficiency of the preparations for which supplies must be voted, or that Parliament should know who are the professional advisers upon whose judgment the Government relies. Neither of these conditions seems to us at present to be fulfilled, and, as a consequence of the omission, there has arisen in the public mind that distrust to which we have alluded.

(6) The leading decision in the administration of the national defence, governing the whole course and character of any future war, is that which settles the total amount of expenditure upon preparation and apportions it between the naval and military services. For this decision the Cabinet is, and must ever be, responsible. Yet in the distribution of the business of the Cabinet into departments there appears to be no office specially intrusted with the consideration of war as a whole, embracing the functions both of the

Navy and of the Army. Of the sums usually devoted each year to warlike preparations the larger part is spent upon the Army and only a lesser part upon the Navy, upon which the maintenance of the Empire and the security of Great Britain must ever chiefly depend. It is difficult to believe that this apportionment is the result of deliberate examination of the requirements of war. It would seem more probable that the separate existence of a department of the Navy and a department of the Army leads in practice to the management of each for its own sake rather than as an instrument serving a more general purpose.

(7) In order to secure the special consideration by the Cabinet of national defence as distinct from, and superior to, the administration either of the Navy or of the Army we would suggest the appointment of one and the same Minister to the two offices of Secretary of State for War and First Lord of the Admiralty, or the amalgamation, with the consent of Parliament, of these two offices.

(8) We would further suggest that the Cabinet should select for each service an officer whose professional judgment commands its confidence, to be at once the responsible adviser of the Cabinet upon all questions regarding the conduct of war so far as his own service is concerned and the principal executive officer of that service.

(9) We understand by a responsible adviser one who stands or falls by the advice which he gives. He would, of course, have at his disposal, in the formation of his views, the best assistance which the professional staff of the Navy or of the Army could supply. But the opinion which, after mature consideration, he would submit to the Cabinet and formally record, would be his own and would be given in his own name. It follows that a difference of opinion between the Cabinet and its naval or its military adviser upon any important matter of naval or military policy would lead to the resignation of the latter. In our view the essence of responsibility for advice is that the officer giving it is identified with it and remains in the post only so long as his judgment upon the professional matters with reference to which he is consulted is acceptable to the Cabinet which he serves. In order to facilitate his independence in this respect provision should be made in case of his resignation for his employment in another post or for his honourable retirement.

(10) If these suggestions were adopted the passage in case of need from peace to war would take place without personal or administrative change. The adaptation of the whole service, whether naval or military, to the necessities of war, as understood by a competent officer studying them with full responsibility, would be assured. The House of Commons and the public would have in the person of the naval and of the military adviser a guarantee of the sufficiency and of the efficiency of the Navy and of the Army. The authority of the Cabinet and the control of the House of Commons would be unimpaired.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

CHARLES W. DILKE.

G. CHESNEY.

H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

SPENSER WILKINSON.

The reception given to this letter does not seem to have been favourable. On the 6th of March an excellent letter from General Sir John Adye disposed of the "widespread uneasiness" asserted to exist, and showed "that the nation has no cause for alarm, and I believe that, speaking generally, no widespread uneasiness exists or need exist." Admiral Field has since exposed the inefficiency of the scheme, which he treated as a *bonâ fide* one, though unnecessary as well as futile.

It is admitted that the scheme of amalgamating the two offices is not new; and that it has been condemned by Lord Hartington's Commission.

The promulgation of a *bonâ fide* scheme for improving the efficiency of our defences, though it be a bad one, might not necessarily be a danger; but a subject of such real importance is just the thing which, in a moment of terror, people may be jostled into accepting, if there be anything mysterious

about it, the very circumstance that the scheme does not manifest any sign of efficiency inducing the frightened patriots to fancy that their own confessed ignorance of the subject is evidence of the mysterious advantage in the scheme. Were such a scheme to originate in treacherous intentions, it would be proposed again and again, whenever there was a chance of its being brought to bear.

Paragraph 7, which proposes to make the same Minister Secretary of State for War and First Lord of the Admiralty do so to secure the special consideration by the Cabinet, of national defence as distinct from, and "superior to, the administration either of the Army or the Navy." If the thing wanted is the consideration, *by the Cabinet*, of national defence, how this is to be secured by placing these two branches of administration under one head we do not see.

Paragraph 8 reverses this plan of single administration by proposing that the Cabinet shall appoint for each service a separate officer, to be the responsible adviser on his own branch on all questions connected with the conduct of the same.

It may be suspected that these two contradictory paragraphs did not stand in the original draft of the scheme as they do now. Reading between the lines, I understand the intention to be that these two "responsible advisers" are to give their advice, not to the Cabinet, but distilled through the double-headed phoenix of War and Marine.

A "responsible adviser" is explained (paragraph 9) to be one who stands or falls by his advice. If his advice is not followed he is to be discharged, and in order to insure his independence he is to be provided for either by a pension or by another post.

The management of any war would thus be under a triumvirate. If we are to suppose that the double-headed phoenix is to be the first triumvir he would hold a part which if he were at the beck of any foreign Power, would make it very difficult to dislodge him.

I admit that the combination of this trinity in unity, appointed to a very important work, may very easily crumble away, should no deep design animate any of the three. But triumvirates are apt to split into fragments, in which the man who has the deepest designs gets the mastery of the others and Julius or Octavius supersedes his "responsible advisers" and transforms the whole character of the State. The one chance I cannot see in these arrangements is that of any security for the State. With ordinary men to fulfil these extraordinary functions we may have a muddle like that at the commencement of the Crimean War, but out of this chaos the designing man may again arise and surrender to the enemy all the resources of the State.

The state of things while Lord Palmerston was at the Foreign Office was one which Sir Charles Dilke's plan is well calculated to reproduce. In the Cabinet while the papers of other Ministers were freely submitted to mutual inspection those of the Foreign Secretary were intact. This, I take it, is to be the position of the double-headed phoenix, whose omniscience is to be our salvation and whose secrecy will make him master of everything, because he alone is the "one who knows." He alone will be

trusted "to barter lie for lie" with some foreign Chancellor, and to garble the despatches of British diplomatists.

Ever since the death of Lord Palmerston the mischievous vitality which animated the Foreign Office has abated, but the schemes in which he engaged, to the injury of the British Empire, have not all been given up. His scheme for the separation of Egypt from Turkey has ripened into one for its acquisition by this country and the hatred which he inspired in France for "perfidious Albion" may pursue us till we reap its natural consequences. His annexation of Pegu in 1851-52 has been followed by that of Upper Burma, in spite of all the efforts of some English statesmen to prevent it.

No attempt has been made to abrogate the Declaration of Paris. At the very time of a Franco-Russian scare, there is an entire acquiescence in a principle which in the supposed war with Russia and France, would forbid us to capture any of the property of our enemies, who would carry it under a neutral flag, while our enemies would be able to capture ours because there would not be neutral ships enough to carry it.

A great increase in our expenses in India is caused by our having no longer that power of controlling Russia which, by the right of search, compelled her to give up her assault against us in 1800 without any attempt at a contest.

And if this increased expenditure in India should excite a very natural insurrection, if this and other occurrences in the East should excite the two Powers whom we have proclaimed as our united enemies to send troops to assail us there, we are forbidden to ally ourselves with Turkey to close the Suez Canal against them. *We* have coerced Turkey into giving to every European Power a Treaty Right to send her ships of war into the Suez Canal even if at war with the Sultan.

This insane convention came out of the British invasion of Egypt and the Statesman who was at the Foreign Office at that time and who is the most "responsible adviser" now living of the Bombardment of Alexandria comes forward with his project for placing the safety of the nation in the hands of an unconstitutional triumvirate.

Paragraph 3 of his scheme contains in the following words a severe condemnation of it.

"No arrangement which aimed at or resulted in a subversion of the principles which experience has shown to be essential to the working of constitutional government could be seriously considered."

C. D. COLLET.

ORIENTAL NEW YEAR'S WISHES.

Mrs. C. M. Salwey, in sending us a Japanese New Year's Card with the words "Manzai, Manzai" and a half-opened fan with a floral device depicted on it, writes as follows on the Sanscrit New Year's Stanza in our last issue:

"It is delightful to find this good custom of wishing each other well at the commencement of successive years is being established in so many countries, and I am taking the opportunity of reciprocating heartily in the manner of the Eastern nation, whose customs I have studied.

A fan with the Japanese is the Emblem of Life, and is presented as a New Year, birthday, and coming of age day, offering, as well as on other marked events in the life of the people. The rivet end is regarded as the starting point, the sticks or limbs the Road of Life widening out towards a Prosperous Future.

The expression *Manzai Manzai* is adopted by strolling minstrels, who come round to the homes, on New Year's day, carrying fans and wishing every one, "A thousand years of life to you." "A thousand times long life to you."

The touching and poetic thoughts of the people of the East, are particularly noticeable in Indian literature. "God being pleased to shower down the buds of the Kalpadrunna Tree on men" is indeed a beautiful idea. Could I have the greatest wish of my heart fulfilled it would be to find one tenet in all different religions, that would bind His many families in a Universal brotherhood. Though so many centuries have passed away, the races of mankind are only just beginning to understand each other. There is much work in store for those who like yourself are gifted with the interpretation of tongues.

CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY.

A DANGER TO ISLAM.

The note of warning uttered by the late Lord Mayor of London at a religious meeting against the inroad of Muhammadanism in England has been followed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, hitherto so appreciative of Islâm, repeating the erroneous view that women in that religion are not supposed to have souls. Fortunately, the Archbishop, shortly afterwards, warned the Students of a Working Men's College against the danger of "a little learning" and so we must hope that this eminent Christian Divine and Scholar when he has drunk deeper of Muhammadan theology than he has done hitherto, will discover and acknowledge his mistake. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the aggressiveness of the would-be Anglo-Muhammadan propaganda in this country and its connexion with Englishmen mainly belonging to the less educated classes is provoking a resistance to a sister-faith of Christianity which may prevent a dispassionate study of its tenets. To the Muhammadan States the invasion of English neophytes, eager for place and power, bodes no good. In Turkey it is not allowed to convert Muhammadans to Christianity, though every creed in that country enjoys an almost complete autonomy. Similarly, Muhammadans, whilst practising the tenets of their faith and securing every respect for its observance, should abstain from proselytism in this country as a matter of good feeling and of expediency.

VERBUM SAPIENTI.

DEFENCE OF MUHAMMADANISM.

We republish a letter in "Defence of Muhammadanism" which appeared in the "Globe" of the 16th February in answer to an attack on that faith made in a Lecture at the Society of Arts, omitting, however, the names of the Lecturer and of the writer of the letter :

SIR,—I have been much grieved to find in an interesting lecture on "Morocco and its Races," which is published in a recent number of the "Journal of the Society of Arts," a

most offensive and unjustifiable attack on the Mahomedan religion, which is that of so many of our fellow-subjects. This is how the lecturer speaks of the Korán, which they revere, and which, from a literary standpoint, is unrivalled in classical Arabic, and, as a mere question of style, is in itself a miracle of composition, requiring no other proof of its "inspiration" in Mahomedan opinion. "A book which now soars into incoherent rhapsody, now descends to vapid nonsense, in which childish fable and passages suggested by the Jewish Scriptures are blended together with a confused jumble of some excellent moral maxims, precept, and declamation, which has neither connection nor narrative."

No doubt that to persons unacquainted with the language and history of the Korán, there may appear to be some incoherence in the English translation of several of the chapters, but when the circumstances under which, and the persons to whom, they were delivered are borne in mind (which should be the special task of future annotated translations), what is obscure almost invariably becomes a masterpiece of appropriate exhortation or admonition. No other book with which I am acquainted so happily combines the piety of the psalmist, the fervour of the prophet, the impartiality of the legislator, the eloquence of the orator and poet with the kindest heart and the shrewdest knowledge of the world of its author. To these qualities, and not to the "license to animal passions," which Islám is alleged by the lecturer to permit, does the sacred volume in question owe the influence which it must exercise wherever it is properly studied. Spain itself, where what there is left of culture is mainly Moorish, is alone a refutation of the assertion of the lecturer that "Wherever Mahomedanism has passed, it has left ruin behind it." The piracy of the Reefs and the fanaticism of the Moroccans of the plains towards Christians and Jews, were the immediate results of the expulsion of the art and science-loving Moors from Spain, and the better treatment that the Jews receive in the Atlas and the Reef is due to European interference not having yet penetrated into these Mahomedan mountain recesses. The lecturer seems to reproach Mahomedanism for exalting charity, as, according to him, "it is the most easily exercised of all virtues," yet he forgets that the Christian religion similarly places charity above all other demonstrations of piety, and that, in no sense, is Moslem charity less comprehensive than our own conception of that grace, which, alas! an able man, like the lecturer, has not shown towards the professors of a sister-creed that, with all its own features, is mainly a form of Oriental Christianity, minus the teaching of St. Paul and of Judaism plus the desire to proselytise.

The word "Sayad" is not an equivalent, as is asserted, to "holy man," but merely denotes a descendant of the Prophet, while "Shareef" indicates, in a special princely or official sense, the lineal descent from Mahomed through his daughter Fatima, who was married to Ali. It is the title of "Muléy" or "Mulái" (really "Maulái"), which is so significant of the Shareefs of Morocco, and, unlike the orthodox Grand "Shareef" of Mecca, brings them into historical relation with the Muláis in the Hindukush and the Lebanon, to which I have drawn attention in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review." As for "Sayads" being either "crétins" or "in most cases men of dissolute, or even most infamous character," I deny that they are worse than any non-criminal class, as such, either in Morocco or elsewhere. No doubt there are bad men among them, as there are even among the British clergy, but a "Sayad" is not necessarily a priest, though, in his case, "noblesse oblige," or should do so, as with others of illustrious descent. It is such views as those expressed by the lecturer that do Europeans an infinity of harm in Mahomedan countries, and retard the adaptation of such features in our civilisation as may, perhaps, be suited to them. All battle is due to misunderstanding, and it seems to me that it is rather the function of the Society of Arts to remove misunderstandings than to encourage their perpetuation by such remarks as have found a place in its journal.

G. W. L.

His Excellency, the Persian Minister, has addressed the following letter to the writer in the "*Globe*," which shows that a Defence of Islám by a Christian is appreciated by thoughtful Muhammadans as it is certainly more likely to promote good feeling between Christians and Muhammadans than the most successful propaganda on either side:

"I have read your very interesting article, headed 'A Defence of Mahomedanism,' in the *Globe* of February 16th, and I am prompted by the sense of gratitude as a Musulman

to acknowledge the fervour of your sympathy with our religion and to attest to the tone of veneration and respect with which you write of our Sacred Book.

“Such defence deserves the gratitude of every Musulman, and I am happy to take this opportunity of expressing mine.”

CASTE AND THE LAST INDIAN CENSUS REPORT.

A dispassionate and objective enquiry into the history and philosophy of Caste, would aid in solving not only much that is enigmatical in the past, but also many of the problems of modern life. My own studies, chiefly from a native standpoint, have convinced me that the preservation of Caste is that of our Empire in India and of, what is far more important, that of the ancient civilization and unparalleled culture of India, inclusive of its Arts and Industries, which is perfectly compatible with every legitimate demand of modern requirements or aspirations. The ideal of Caste is the perfection in one's own calling, whatever that may be; a far nobler ambition than our own of trying to do in a supposed superior Class of Society what one ought to have done in one's own. The recognition of the principle of heredity in abilities and defects, so tardily recognized by our own Physiologists, has maintained Indian Society, Indian wisdom, Indian bravery and Indian arts and can alone preserve Indian loyalty and ensure Indian progress on the lines of its own genius. It is only imitation of foreign models that can kill what thousands of years and the various vicissitudes of conquest have spared. If there is anything to be regretted about Mr. Baines's Census it is that his enumerators cannot also be philosophers and that the demands of hurry and reports, in India as here, frustrate those important enquiries which, above all, demand leisure. I remember how from a slavish translation of the English words “Can you read and write”? a number of Classes were returned as illiterate, that *could* write and decipher their own Mahājani, Sarrafi, Lunde and other characters, with their admirable system of arithmetic, but who could not read a *literary* character, even of the modest pretensions of Hindi. From that standpoint also, many learned Gurus can read but not write. What wonder when even some of our most learned Orientalists in Europe can neither speak nor write an Oriental language, though they may be able to speak or write *about* it in good English? Again, to ask a native lady in some of our Punjab Frontier Districts whether she can write or read (which there would be identified with Persian) is tantamount to asking an English Lady whether she reads French novels or writes love-letters. In either case, there might be a decided negative and the Indian Report would class her as illiterate. I am one of the few Europeans who have been allowed to read the Koran in a Mosque School. It was frequented by as many Muhammadan girls as by boys of that denomination, but few of the former would ever own the soft impeachment of being blue-stockings. As a rule, the husband teaches the wife, the brother the sister, but female modesty in the East holds with Pericles, that she is the noblest woman about whom the least is known in public, whether for blame or praise. Indian reformers make the best of both worlds and please the British Government and public by advocating female education and late marriage—for the daughters of *others*, but getting their own married at 8 and 10 years of age. Caste in

India is an ethnical and professional, not a religious institution, except in so far as every secular action is invested with a religious, sanction. Among the gods carved into the walls of the Council Chamber at Madura figures the bust of the Jesuit De Nobilis, who was "a white Brahmin" and thus obtained respect for his creed. The Jews at Cochin had the privilege reserved to the Brahmins and to the Aristocracy respectively of riding on elephants and having porches in front of their houses, because they were looked upon as a Caste marrying only among themselves and avoiding certain kinds of food. The Nestorians also still enjoy a certain respect and so do the Lutheran Caste Christians. I remember asking the stalwart Stationmaster at Madura what Caste he belonged to. "I am a Christian," said he, and noticing my astonishment at his being unlike other native Christians, explained that it was because, in the case of Lutheran Caste Christians, their heathen brethren, considering them as Caste-men, "looked after their sons and daughters," whereas non-Caste Christians had no such controlling public opinion, but were really outcastes given over, in many instances, to "Massa's religion,"—drink.

CASTE then is the main lever for good in India. Were Englishmen to be particular, say, as a Caste of Yavana Kshatryas, or "foreign warriors," their influence for good would be increased a hundredfold.

I do not expect people to agree with me after so short and inadequate a treatment of one of the widest subjects, but those who wish to know more about it can refer to a previous Lecture of mine at the Society of Arts and to my work on "Indigenous Oriental Education."

G. W. LEITNER.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF DULEEP SINGH.

The learned Mr. J. Beames has done us the honour of addressing to us the following question :

"Sir Lepel Griffin writes *Duleep* ; you write *Dhulip* ; the former says that his spelling is not scientific. What is the real name ? I have always written it "Dallip" and held that there is no *h* in it. It is *d* not *dh*. As a youngster in the Panjab in 1859-61 I used to be told the word was *dal* 'army' and *lip* 'lamp.' I never met with *lip* as a separate word, but my teacher Bhāi Mihr Singh used to say it was a form of *ḍip*, which is possible."

We addressed the Secretary of the Khalsa on this puzzle, who has replied from Lahore as follows :

I have tried to find out the root and meaning of the word "Dalip."

There was a Raja, the great-grandfather of Rama Chandra, whose name was Dalip.

The opinion of the learned here is that it is a *rurhi* (rootless) word which cannot be traced. Some take it to be the word Dari from which Tarai (the tract of land below Nepal) is named, and which was changed into Dali and thence Dalip—that is King of the Dari or Tarai Country. But this is conjecture only.

Dehli was founded long after Raja Dalip and therefore the City might have been named after Dalip and not Dalip from Dehli.

The Sikh regarded it in a different light.

The Sandawalian Chiefs, who were against Sher Singh, brought certain books from Thanesar and showed them to the soldiers at Lahore, to prove that the Crown was to descend to Dalip. Some men who believed this were imprisoned in the fort of Govind Garh. It happened that Maharaja Sher Singh once went to see the fort, and there said

in joke that the prophecy about Dulip Singh was well fulfilled, since those who believed in him were put in chains.

No, said the prisoners, we did not mean by "Dalip" any other "Singh" (or "lion," the Panjabi patronymic of all Sikhs) than you, for "Dalip" means Lion and as your name is Sher (the Persian for "Lion") Singh, our prophecy is fulfilled.

The Maharaja was pleased and released them all. But it was *the word* "Dulip" that caused revolution after revolution in Lahore and that also put into the head of Dulip Singh himself that he was foretold to rule again.

Some believe that the name was originally "Dip" and was purposely changed by the Sandawalians into "Dalip."

In Mr. Keene's recently issued "Oriental Biographical Dictionary" the word is spelt *Dilip* and that rendering has much force. Lady Login in her admirable account of "Sir John Login and Dulip Singh," published by Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., adopts the usual spelling, but makes no attempt at explaining its etymology. Nor does Colonel Malleson do so. The Sanscrit Dictionary suggests "Dalipa" or the name of the Deity that protects "Deli" or "Delhi" = "Dali-pa." We trust that the puzzle may be solved in our next issue by a learned Panjabi, the Pandit Hemraj Shastri.

In connexion with Dr. L. A. Waddell's article in our January issue on "The Sects of Lamaism," in which the learned author endeavours to show to what slight extent Buddhism enters into Lamaism, including the Gelugpa school, and how little of Buddhism there is to be found in Thibet generally, we have received a communication from the well-known scholar, Babu Sarat Chandra Dás, in which the latter expresses his disagreement with many of Dr. Waddell's statements and conclusions and also announces his preparation, for our pages, of an essay on this subject with special reference to the Gelugpas.

Vivisection in India.—A protest signed by the Lord Chief Justice of England and others has been forwarded to the Viceroy of India, and the members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, with reference to the Indian Bill now under consideration which is on the model of the English Act of 1876 for the regulation of vivisection experiments. In this document the attempt to control and restrain vivisection in this country is declared to have been a signal failure, so far as justice and mercy to dumb animals are concerned, and seeing that vivisection is now illegal in India the signatories trust that members of Council may see fit to retain the present law which is an efficient preventive of cruelty and that a door may not be opened to the repetition of the cruelties perpetrated in the laboratories of Europe. If it should be deemed advisable to legislate on the subject they suggest (a) that the higher animals, such as horses, asses, mules, dogs and cats for which special certificates are granted in England, and also monkeys, should be wholly exempted from experimentation; (b) that it should be made essential to keep the animals under an anæsthetic throughout the investigation; (c) that the use of curari should be entirely prohibited; (d) that it should be provided that one inspector at any rate shall be selected on account of his recognised humanity, not his scientific knowledge. The executive committee of the Victoria Street Society for the Protection of Animals from Vivisection have also recently transmitted

to the Viceroy and the members of the Executive Council a protest against the establishment of a Pasteur Institute in India. They represent that similar institutes in Paris and elsewhere have so far failed to prevent deaths from the bites of dogs and other animals alleged to be rabid that a well authenticated list of 256 who have died in spite of the preventive treatment invented by M. Pasteur has been compiled; and they state that, apart from and beyond this fact, the maintenance of the system of M. Pasteur involves and depends upon the cultivation and penetration of the malady of rabies in series after series of sentient animals, to their great misery.

We infer with pleasure from a letter received from H. H. the Mihtar of Chitrál, Nizám-ul-Mulk, that Captain Younghusband is earning golden opinions for Great Britain by his residence and demeanor in that country.

Some years ago the attempt of the Russian Censorship to revise the Korán, drove the Muhammadans about Kazán into open disaffection. We have since received a copy of the Korán, recently printed at Kazán, to which little objection can be raised beyond its inferior printing and the occasional omission of the place (Mecca or Medina) at which the various chapters of the Sacred Volume were delivered. The use also of the title "Kelám-i-sherif" = "Holy word" instead of "Korán" or "Furqán" is open to misapprehension. At the same time, it has not the serious oversight which we find in Prof. Palmer's otherwise admirable translation of the Korán, in "the Sacred Books of the East" Series, edited by Professor Max Müller, where the sentence of "if infidels kill you" is actually omitted before the permission of "kill them," which makes a vast difference and looks like a wholesale invitation to Muslims to destroy those of other religions without the greatest provocation, than which nothing can be further from the true doctrine of Jihád.

Dr. H. Jansen has published a treatise in German on Urdu Prosody as also a transliteration of the text of the Wasokht of Amānat which are of great value to the students of that most epigrammatic of languages.

The researches of Mr. Purdon Clarke, C.I.E. of the South Kensington Museum into the Silpa Shastras, the ancient Holy Books of various Indian Industries, are likely to create considerable interest. Mr. F. Fawcett, whose excavations at Bellary were much appreciated by the Oriental Congress of 1891, is, we understand, bringing out a work on the dialect of the silk-weavers (originally from Guzerat) at Madura, which, together with other forthcoming publications, will show what a mine of culture and tradition ennobles Indian handicrafts, each of which was based on a science, literature and mythology of its own, and has been, or is being, destroyed by the intervention of Europeans, whether as rivals in trade or as mistaken reformers. Thus has the substitution by the French of designs for the traditional "Ta'lams" or alphabetic directions of the Kashmir shawl-weaver killed his art and only two or three weavers are now left in the Happy Valley who on their work can still pourtray the sinuosities of the river Jhelam.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

W. H. ALLEN AND CO., LONDON.

1. *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, by J. W. BEALE. (London : W. H. Allen and Co., 1894 ; £1 8s.) Mr. H. G. Keene, well known for several good works on Indian History, has done a real service to oriental students by the new edition of this book, which the enterprising publishers have brought out in excellent style. The work, however, still requires careful revision. It is not to detract from its great worth, but only to help in making it yet more complete and perfect that we proceed to notice some defects. Names are inserted which are not those of orientals,—as, Perron, Dupleix, George Thomas : yet Lally and Bussy are omitted, and while Jerome Xavier is given, St. Francis Xavier is not. On the other hand, orientals who should have a place have none ; as Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir Dinkur Rao, Sir Salar Jung ; even the great mathematician Ram Chandra of Delhi, a valuable convert to Christianity, finds no mention : but we have the *well*, Zam-zam. The sketch of Nur-mahal is incorrect, and so too is that of the last of the Moguls, Bahadur Shah. The cross-references are very defective, especially considering the difficulty of finding names owing to conflicting systems of transliteration : who could guess that our old friend *Jenghiz* should be sought under *Changhez* ? At p. 239 we have dates given as A.D. for A.H. A salute of guns is mentioned as fired from the *Fort* of Delhi, in 1839 : the Mogul then lived in the Fort, and salutes at Delhi used to be fired in the old Cantonment, near the Flagstaff. A great work like an Oriental Biography, however, cannot at once attain perfection. Errors, such as we here notice, must occur at first, and must be eliminated by the light of friendly criticism. In a future edition, Mr. Keene will doubtless rectify all that is amiss ; but even as it now is, no library or oriental student should be without this pains-taking book, the value of which for reference will be gladly acknowledged by all who have had occasion to write of or to study oriental literature.

2. *A glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms used in British India*, by H. H. WILSON, M.A., F.R.S. (London : W. H. Allen and Co.) This large quarto is a very full dictionary of the principal words used in official documents and proceedings in British India, in the Revenue, Judicial and administrative departments. They are derived from all the numerous languages current in India, and the author has been careful to give the derivation of each. There is an Appendix of additions and corrections, and a careful index, the need of which, in a work written in alphabetical order, is not evident. It forms an invaluable help to officers in the Indian services, and as a book of reference should find a place in all libraries devoted to legal studies.

3. *Sir John Login and Dulip Singh*, by LADY LOGIN. (London : W. H. Allen and Co., 1890.) The recent death of Dulip Singh, invests Lady Login's work with a fresh interest ; for besides being an excellent biography of the eventful life of her late husband, the book puts, at its best, the case for Dulip Singh *versus* the India Office, and gives a very full history of his

life till his first marriage. After that event, but little information is given of him and his : his second marriage is not even mentioned. The numerous extracts from letters,—especially from those of Henry Lawrence, Dalhousie, Dulip Singh, Sir John Login, Sir C. Phipps and John Bright—are of great interest. The narrative of Lady Login unintentionally throws important light on Dulip Singh's conversion to Christianity. Sir John, a sincere and practical Christian, distinctly belonged to the class of the "unco guid," who were then very numerous in the Indian Services,—at that time full of Scotch names. Sir John's letters show plainly that from the first mention of his appointment as guardian to Dulip Singh, his chief thought was to impress the lad with the excellence of Christianity, by example not by interference. He was surrounded by a Christian *entourage*, besides his own people. The constant intercourse with "Tommy Scott" and especially with "Bobby Carshore" the son of the Chaplain, the use of mission school books, and the constant attendance of a Brahmin educated in a mission-school could not but bias him in the one direction; and however honourably Dr. Login himself acted in the matter, by avoiding all direct interference, the boys, at any rate, would have no such scruple. As a matter of fact, they did converse about religion. The result was not, therefore, so very wonderful, under the circumstances. Lady Login passes unmentioned a most important matter about Dulip Singh and his claims:—the more than doubt regarding his royal paternity. Her stout volume, however, is full of interest and is very well written.

4. *India's Princes*, by M. GRIFFITH (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1894; £1 1s.), is a superb volume, in quarto, giving biographical sketches of 22 of the leading chiefs of India, with very fine illustrations from photographs, of many of the chiefs, and of scenes in their territories. The letterpress contains short histories of the States and biographies of the actual rulers. We note that Maharaja Sir Jaswant Singh of Bhartpur is given as the ruling chief, though he died before the end of 1893, and there was room enough to mention the fact at page 97. At p. 146 we have the old story of the poisoning of Phayre, regarding which the best thing we ever heard was a junior subaltern's remark: "If Phayre had stuck, like a man, to the orthodox 'peg' instead of going in for a cup of villainous 'sherbet,' we should never have had this awful row." The work is as beautiful as it is well written, and is sure to be a universal favourite, both at home and in India.

5. *Words on Existing Religions*, by the HON. A. S. G. CANNING. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893; 3/6.) The existent religions, according to our author, are Parseeism, Brahminism and Buddhism which he clubs together and dismisses with 18 pages, Judaism, Christianity, Muhammadanism, and (strangely enough) "Modern Free Thought." On each of these Mr. Canning discourses at varying length; and his thoughts and expressions are interesting to read, though they do not call for any special note. Mr. Canning has read much on the subject; it is strange, therefore, to find him stating, at p. 37, that the wise men from the East were seven in number, and at p. 45 saying that *Suttee* was unsanctioned in Brahmanism. If Mr. Canning propounds nothing very novel or striking,

he is fair and just in his treatment of the various religions, and he has given us a work which the student of comparative religion will peruse with profit and pleasure.

BANGKOK TIMES PRESS.

6. *Thet-Maha-Ch'at*, by G. E. GERINI. (Bangkok Times Press ; 1892.) The *Thet-maha-ch'at* is the ceremonial recital of the *Vessantara Jataka* once a year, which has, later on, become a State ceremony continuing for several days. Captain Gerini attributes its institution to the time before the sacred books were committed to writing and to the desire of guarding against their loss, from lapse of memory, which was then the sole means of their preservation. The annual recitation naturally assumed a more impressive and solemn aspect when associated with some young member of the royal family becoming a *Sumanera* (novice). Later on this has been reserved for the Crown Prince or Heir Apparent's case, when special constructions are created for the purpose, of which Capt. Gerini gives instances. He tabulates the 13 Cantos of the *Maha-Ch'at* Kam Luang, and gives a summary of its contents. In Chap. VI. we have an elaborate explanation of the symbolical ship of the Law ; but here we regret to find (p. 50) phrases sure to be offensive to some ears, which are both quite unnecessary and sadly out of place. Appendices 2 and 5 give extracts from the *Maha Ch'at* ; and Appendix 3 is a reproduction (in Siamese, with an English translation) of the late King's proclamation against its farcical recitations. A peculiar interest attaches to this book from the fact that an advance copy was submitted to the reigning King of Siam, who was kind enough to make critical observations on 13 passages in the work, which Capt. Gerini has embodied in his Conclusion. The gallant and learned author of this very interesting monograph is now publishing an illustrated work on a cognate subject—the *Culakantamangala* or Tonsure ceremony in Siam.

THE BEYROUT CATHOLIC PRESS.

7. We have been favoured with the third volume of Saïd Al-Khoori al-Shartooni's Arabic dictionary, which forms the supplement to the work. This well-known press is to be congratulated on its labours which are of great importance to Arabists. The volume before us consists of 548 pages large octavo in small Arabic type in triple columns, so that the enormous mass of material contained in the book can readily be imagined. The price of this "Supplement" is the very moderate one of Fr. 15.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

8. *Materials towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay*. Vol. I. (Bombay: Govt. Central Press, 1893.) This—the first of three volumes—deals with the historical portion of the scheme, which, undertaken under instructions from the Secretary of State for India, was abandoned for want of funds principally. It was meant to supply a deficiency in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, in which the Town and Island had been omitted, partly as not needed for administrative purposes and partly as already supplied in Mr. J. M. Maclean's *Guide to Bombay*, of which a

new edition has been recently issued by the author. In furtherance of the scheme, however, before it was abandoned, a mass of materials had been prepared, which MR. J. M. CAMPBELL has now, by order of the Government, begun to issue. It brings down the history to the year 1803, dealing with everything of importance and even with minor matters of detail, such as the rules for the destruction of pariah dogs.

The following books are from the GOVERNMENT OF BURMA, and where not otherwise specified, were printed at the RANGOON GOVERNMENT PRESS.

9. *The Jardine Prize Essay by E. Forchhammer, Ph.D.* MR. JUSTICE JARDINE, among his good services to Burma, offered a prize of Rs. 1000 for an ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT of Burmese Law, which was to show principally its connexion with Indian Law and to continue its history down to the occupation of Pegu, by the British. The prize was adjudicated to the late DR. FORCHHAMMER, who to his other acquirements added a profound knowledge of the Pali and of Burma. His Essay was printed at the Government Press, at Rangoon. In it the learned author has given the most thorough and exhaustive statement of Burmese Law ever written: in fact, the subject was quite a new one, and Dr. Forchhammer has derived it from original sources and authorities, written and traditional.

10. MR. JUSTICE JARDINE himself has given an annotated Text and Translation of MAUNG TET PYO'S CUSTOMARY LAW OF THE CHIN TRIBES. It is a most interesting work, both from its being written by a native, and thus showing Burmese habits of thought, and from its presenting to the reader the manners and customs of a little known race.

11. ESSAY ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE SOUTHERN CHINS, and its affinities, by B. HOUGHTON, C.S., 1892; Rs. 1/8/. The author gives us a grammar of the language, with Chin-English and English-Chin sentences, enriching the whole with valuable philological notes, among which is a comparison of Chin and Dravidian verbal forms. The language, as is known, belongs to the Tonic Mongolian branch.

12. The REV. J. M. HASWELL (Rangoon: American Mission Press, 1874) gives, in his Introduction, a sketch of the PEGUAN people, their religion and customs, and then goes on with their grammar, and a simple vocabulary. The author's infirm state of health, after beginning the work, unfortunately prevented his rendering it more complete; but it well answers its purpose, as a guide to the further study of the language.

13. *Narrative of the Mission to Mandalay* by COL. ALBERT FYTCHE, was published in 1867, at the Calcutta Foreign Dept. Press; but, even after the lapse of a quarter of a century, it is very interesting as showing the state of Burma in those days and the nature of our relations with the country and its then actual Government.

14. *The Burmese Empire*, by FATHER SAN GERMANO, which we review specially: see No. 28 of these Reviews, p. 471.

15. *The British Burma Gazetteer*, in 2 volumes, (Burma Govt. Press, 1879 and 1880), is a carefully compiled description of the country, the

first volume giving the general geography, ethnography, history, trade, flora and fauna of Burma, and the second an alphabetical list of places, which do not, of course, include the recently annexed states. The work, compiled by Col. H. R. SPEARMAN, is executed with all the completeness so much admired in similar publications of the Indian Government; and it contains a few good photographic illustrations, though, strangely enough, it is unaccompanied by any map of the country. It is a regular storehouse of interesting information on Burma, in every branch.

16. *King Wagaru's Manu-Dhammasattham*, (1892: Re. 1) is one of the contributions of the late DR. FORCHHAMMER to the study of Burmese law, in which a careful edition of the Text is given, with an annotated translation: the preface is by Mr. Jardine. The Dhammasat itself is a comparatively recent compilation, containing the civil law of Burma, in which the student will find all manner of crimes enumerated, with the punishment incurred for each.

17. *Notes on Buddhist Law*, by MR. JUSTICE JARDINE. There are 7 numbers. The first two treat of the contraction and the dissolution of marriage; the third gives translations, with comments, of the Burmese law regarding marriage. No. 4 deals with marriage and divorce, preceded by a paper on the Hindu origin of Burmese Law. Nos. 5 and 6 are on Inheritance and Partition; and No. 8 gives the law of marriage and divorce, translated by Mr. S. Minus, from the Mahavicchedani Dhammathat. The entire Series is interesting, not only technically to the Burmese Law student, but also generally to the student of human nature, and of national customs.

CASELL AND CO., LONDON.

18. *The Dawn of Astronomy*, by J. NORMAN LOCKYER. (London: Cassell and Co., 1894; 21s.) Professor Lockyer's is a very important work, interesting to more than one class of readers. He has a theory to prove,—the intimate connexion between Astronomy and Egyptian mythology; and the proofs on which he relies are taken chiefly from the orientation of Egyptian temples. By applying his mastery in Astronomy to a wide reading in many other besides Egyptian subjects,—by observations made in Egypt by himself personally and by other observers,—by careful explanation of every obscure technical point,—and by elucidating his astronomical dissertations with telling diagrams, he makes clear to even the ordinary reader and demonstrates the fact, that the orientation of Egyptian temples was elaborately systematic. This orientation is of two kinds. One points to north or south stars, or to the sun, indicating solstitial observations; the other to east or west stars or the sun, indicating equinoctial observations. Numerous instances, with plans and illustrations, support his hypothesis. As deducible from such astronomico-archæological data, he shows, among other matters, that the number of stars thus observed and worshipped by the ancient Egyptians was very limited—about 7; and as a consequence, that many of the Egyptian divinities are but the one star under different names. He also produces good evidence that there was a Babylonian influx into Egypt; that while these strangers, like their

ancestors in Asia, were east and west, *i.e.*, equinoctial worshippers, the original Egyptians were solstitial star-worshippers; that this foreign influx did not extend far up the Nile; and that the influence of the Egyptian astronomico-mythological system passed subsequently into Greece and her colonies, and is distinctly traceable, with variations caused by local requirements, in existent remains of Greek architecture. Professor Lockyer's view is new, though, unknown to him, Professor Nissen had already touched on it, before he had concluded his own observations. It is capable of still further verification and development; and as it furnishes quite a novel stand-point for viewing Egyptian mythology and verifying dates, it should engage the attention of students not only of Egyptology but also of the early origins of human thought and civilization. These will find in the work additional proofs, that, according to the evidence of permanent structures, man first appeared within an easily measurable age, and at a high state of developed intelligence and civilization. Besides his skill in astronomy and architecture, there is evidence of a great knowledge, among other things, of sculpture and painting, of masonry and carpentry, of acoustics and optics, and of navigation. The publishers have done their part in their well known perfect style.

CHAPMAN AND HALL, LONDON.

19. *Around Tonquin and Siam*, by PRINCE HENRI D'ORLEANS. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1894; 14/.) The wanton dismemberment of Siam by France makes this book doubly welcome; for it is the account of a journey in those regions by an acute observer and experienced traveller. It is interesting from two points of view. As a book of travels it contains a clear and detailed account of the countries traversed, the people met, the manners and customs witnessed, the products, flora and fauna found. Above the usual incidents of travel, the author's remarks on races and customs are of great value. The chief interest, however, centres on the political aspect of the book; for Prince Henri is nothing, if he is not a politician, devoting himself, heart and soul, to the creation of a great Empire in what is called the Far East. In this connexion, two points are clearly visible all through the book. One is the openly expressed desire and intention of building up such an empire, not merely in the territories already seized, but at the expense of neighbours, all around, who may in any way offer advantages for this purpose. Besides Siam, China is to be subjected to such encroachments as may from time to time seem desirable for the development of the future Empire of France in the East. The other point is the deep-seated hatred of England, which breathes in irrepressible fury throughout the book, and to which the writer would not have given such open expression were he not sure that it was not only palatable but even delicious to the taste of the French nation. We should carefully study this feeling, because it means war with England, and that at no distant date. As instances of this feeling, even in matters apparently not calling for its display, we have, at p. 356, "No better authority is to be had than the French naturalist, Henri Morchot, whose scientific missions were paid for with English money," as if that was but one more indict-

ment against us; and, at p. 220, "After all it may be that the English have spread the fashion of horse-racing as a means of diffusing their language. Now there is not a single part of the world, not one coast, that has not its race-course. The result is a population of horses spread all over the globe, with English words always sounding in their ears, since it is universally admitted that they do not understand any other idiom." The work should be widely read, especially by our politicians; and if it only helps to open the eyes of English readers to his and his nation's declared antipathy against England, Prince Henri will have done a service to England which was far from his thoughts and wishes. The book is well illustrated.

THE CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

20. *A Burmese Reader*, by F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press; 1894; 10/6), is a very good volume of the *Oxford Oriental Series*. The introduction (31 pages) gives a concise grammar of the language, followed by graduated exercises from Burmese writings adapted for the use of students. These contain passages from the classics, cuttings from newspapers, and samples of Petitions, Complaints, etc. Thus from the beginning—the alphabet—the learner is conducted by a safe guide, through a short course which will enable him to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the language, to serve as a basis for further study. The absence of a vocabulary, however, renders a dictionary indispensable.

21. *The Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, by C. P. LUCAS, B.A. Vol. III.; *West Africa*. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press; 1894; 7/6.) The excellence of this important Series is on a par with that of the other productions of the Clarendon Press. Preceded by four chapters on their earlier general history, the six groups which form our colonies on the African West Coast, comprising upwards of half a million of square miles and probably over 30,000,000 of inhabitants, are carefully treated, both together and separately. A special section deals with the small islands of Ascension, St. Helena, Tristan da Cunha and Gough. In every part, the history is correct and full, the geography exact and detailed; and the book furnishes the means for acquiring a full knowledge of our possessions and interests in a part of Africa which is generally but little known in its details. The work is quite up to date, including, in every case, the census of 1891. The series itself has an excellent scope, in bringing home to the English-speaking races a knowledge of their great inheritance.

22. *Sir Thomas Munro*, by JOHN BRADSHAW, M.A., LL.D. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press: 1894; 2/6.) The late author—alas, that we should have to write *late*!—has done his work well in this last-issued volume of the *Rulers of India Series*. He depicts Sir Thomas Munro most graphically, from his boyhood to his death; and the long extracts from his letters and journals tend to make the picture all the more vivid and life-like. Occasionally due limits seem exceeded in these extracts; e.g., at pp. 125-129, we have Wellington's defence of his action at the battle of Assaye. It is excellent and most interesting; but so far as Munro and his work are concerned, only its opening sentence is of value. But other

extracts from correspondence show us clearly Munro's system of work, love of the people, soundness of principle and far-reaching glance into the future of our rule in India. We had marked several passages for quotation, but we must reluctantly confine ourselves to noting two as appropriate to our day. "When I see what is done in Parliament against India, I think that I am reading about Edward III., and the Flemings," (p. 152); and (p. 179), "We have already, I think, made too many (innovations) in the country." Munro had a long struggle with poverty, owing to his filial love in attending to his parents' wants; and his character (though the author has failed at the end of the volume to sum up the man and his work) stands out in splendid colours as a gentleman, a Christian, a soldier, a general, an administrator, an organizer, and a judge of human nature. It is one of the best volumes of this excellent series.

23. *Land Revenue and Tenure in British India*, by B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1894; 5/-) The author's larger work on the *Land Systems of India*, in 3 volumes, reviewed in our July 1892 number, has confirmed his reputation as an authority on the subject: it is a standard book upon it. In the present—(a smaller volume, similar in size and appearance to the *Rulers of India* Series)—Mr. Baden-Powell gives a briefer, but still a full, account of the Land Revenue and Tenure in British India, which will serve as an excellent handbook for those who have neither the leisure nor the means to study the larger and more expensive work.

A. CONSTABLE AND Co., LONDON.

24. *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, by S. LANE-POOLE (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1894; 12/-) is a work which supplies a great want. Mr. Lane-Poole republishes the lists of Muhammadan sovereigns prepared by him for his *Catalogue of Oriental and Indian Coins*, adding such dynasties and personages as were there left out, owing to the absence of coins to illustrate them. To each dynasty and country there is a short, pithy historical sketch, which without unnecessary details, gives the origin, succession, end and dates of the dynasty. The order followed is geographical,—from Spain in the west to India in the east. The work is complete, thorough and reliable.

25. *Gold, Sport and Coffee planting in Mysore*, by R. H. ELLIOT. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1894; 7/6) records a long Indian experience of nearly 40 years. The contents are very various, and are as interesting as they are diversified. Descriptions of places are interspersed with information on natural history, on manners and customs, on politics and trade. The remarks on caste are sensible and instructive; but the inevitable silver question is treated very heterodoxically. The author compares India with Mexico, ignoring the difference between the stability and solvency of the Governments of the two countries and their respective balances of trade, and the fact of Mexico being a silver-producing as well as a silver-using country. He gives a good picture of the Mysore State; criticizes, by no means too severely, the so-called Indian National Congress and its leaders; and furnishes information valuable to the planter, and the

sportsman. Altogether, the book is of great importance to all who are interested in Indian questions, to the discussion of which the author brings a deep knowledge of India and its people, and a fund of common sense. The result is eminently readable, and as pleasant as it is instructive.

26. *On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha or India.* By GUSTAV OPPERT, Ph.D. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co.; £2.) Dr. Oppert's conclusion, broadly stated, is, that the Bharatas, mentioned in the Rig Veda chiefly as the followers of Vishvâmitra, were warriors of non-Aryan origin, who, disconnecting themselves early from their aboriginal kindred and gaining access into the Aryan pale, became, by their superior prowess and influence, the representative tribe of the Aryan race, as their relatives beyond the pale were the representatives of the aboriginal inhabitants. They were divided into two great branches, the Kuras and Panchâla-Pândavas, round which were grouped the other smaller clans. Similarly, two great tribes, the Gandians and Dravidians, formed the chief component parts of the non-Aryanised Bharatas, who, split up in numberless subdivisions, were spread over the whole length and breadth of India. Though the non-Aryan population everywhere considerably outstripped the Aryans in numbers, the latter, except in the case of some northern districts, though forming in fact only an infinitesimal fraction of the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula, were nevertheless able to gain and to retain dominion over the numberless aborigines, by the display of their superior mental and physical powers. We are of opinion that Dr. Oppert's conclusions are broadly correct; and that his results are as nearly perfect as they could be made by the method employed by the learned author. There is an element of confusion, due to the limitations of this method: there is no clear ethnical description of the tribes and races noted, according to physical and external character; and, in consequence, we are unable to ascertain precisely the meaning Dr. Oppert attaches to the words "Aryan," "Turanian," and so on; so that, to this extent, this valuable work is imperfect. A more exact ethnical method would have shown Dr. Oppert the difficulties in the way of classing all the Rajputs either with the Dravidians or the Gandians; and would also have shown that the race-difference between these two Indian stocks is very deep, and is rather obscured by applying the name Turanian to them both. But with this exception—the lack of clear ethnical description—Dr. Oppert's work will probably stand, and will form a basis for future progress.

27. *Hand Atlas of India*, by J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1893; 14/-.) The advantages of an atlas, which can be easily held in the hand are great, and this book will, therefore, be a favourite with many. The system adopted is excellent. Each two pages give a map by their opening. The first—a general view of India among the other countries—is a map of the world, showing the routes to India. The next 16 maps give a comprehensive view of the whole of India, under different aspects, e.g., geological, military, missionary, Railway, etc., etc. The three next maps give the Railways, telegraphs and navigable canals. Map 20 is the key to the 14 sections that follow; comprising all India, with Burma and the Straits: but parts of Afghanistan and

Biluchistan do not appear. Maps are also given of the more remarkable cities of India—Delhi, Agra, Calcutta, Bombay, Lucknow, etc., and of most of the favourite Hill stations. A copious index completes the whole, which is one of the best atlases of India we have seen. Thirty-two blank pages at the end are probably left for note-taking.

28. *The Burmese Empire a hundred years ago*, by FATHER SAN GERMANO. (London: A. Constable and Co.; 1893.) The earlier missionaries used to do their work most thoroughly, beginning with acquiring a systematic knowledge of the countries, religions and peoples that they were sent to: it paved a good way for those who were to follow. The book before us is a republication of the translation, made under Cardinal Wiseman for the Oriental Translation Fund; but it is enriched by valuable notes and observations by Mr. Justice Jardine, the Editor, an accomplished Burmese scholar. San Germano's own work is most thorough, dealing in successive chapters, with Burmese cosmography, and the history, constitution, laws, religion, manners and customs, literature, products and commerce of Burma. The final chapter gives a translation of the Dhamasat. The good Father's work still continues to be the standard one for acquiring a complete knowledge of a country, in which though the absolute government, which he so well describes, is a thing of the past, yet the people and their customs and beliefs are still precisely what they were a century ago. The work is invaluable to all who wish to know what Burma and Burmans really are.

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, LONDON.

29. *Handbook of British East Africa*. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode; 1893; 3/-.) H.M.'s Stationery Office kindly sends us for notice this thorough book of information regarding British East Africa (including Zanzibar and Uganda), compiled in the War Office Intelligence Department. The locality, climate, productions and races of each portion of the territory are given, clearly and concisely, with an impartial historical account of events connected with the regions and their occupation. This history, in the case of Uganda, is brought down to the despatch of the lamented Sir Gerald Portal's mission, and is remarkable for both its justice and its exactness. The letter-press, brought down to June, 1893, is accompanied by two excellent large maps,—one, of the various parts of the country, and the other, far more interesting, of the results of Capt. MacDonald's survey for the Mombasa-Victoria Railway. The book is invaluable for giving an exact idea of the state of affairs in East Africa, of what the territory is, and of what our "sphere of influence" there means.

T. FISHER UNWIN, LONDON.

30. *The New Egypt: a social sketch*, by FRANCIS ADAMS. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893.) The author died, early in September last, before his work had passed through the press: his friend Mr. Longsdon has issued it. It is written for the purpose of aiding the policy of Sir C. Dilke and the French, in insisting on the necessity of evacuating Egypt. The author, an Anglo-Australian, gives us a very readable book, both interesting and

instructive. He spent less than a year in the country, conversing with several classes of people, though labouring under the disadvantage of talking only French and English. He interviewed the Khedive, Lord Cromer, Riaz and Tigrane Pashas, besides pumping information from other officials and persons. There are good descriptions of places and scenes, interspersed with ethnological, social, and political remarks. We think that the number of Englishmen who have fault to find with our present occupation of Egypt and wish to see us quit it as soon as may be, is rather small. But all of us can learn much here about the feelings, regarding our presence there, of the classes in Egypt, who would come to the front, if we left it. Even what Mr. Adams himself says proves the necessity of our presence there, and part of his statements is neutralized by the fact that there is no intention of permanent annexation. Of the good results of our administration no details are given; but as a book showing the feelings of certain parties, both at home and abroad, it is invaluable.

31. *Japan*, by D. MURRAY, Ph.D., LL.D. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894; 5s.) This—the 37th volume of *The Story of the Nations Series*—gives the history of Japan, from the earliest times, to the year 1889, the last item recorded being the assassination of Viscount Mori Arinori, on the day of the proclamation of the constitution of Japan, as it now is. Some very interesting illustrations are scattered over the work. Mr. Murray's residence and position in Japan, combined with his own study and his researches into the writings of others, have well fitted him for the task, which he here accomplishes with fidelity and impartiality. After a description of the country and its surviving races, we have the earlier legendary and mythical story of Japan; for as writing (with printing) was not introduced there till A.D. 284, the earlier history is merely traditional, and therefore, in part at least, not quite trustworthy. He follows the complicated history through the early historical, and the troubled mediæval times, the frequent wars, the Christian missions and persecutions, the sanguinary contests and revolutions, the almost perfect isolation, and the subsequent opening of Japan, and its progress, to the year 1889. The appendices give chronological tables, and the laws of *Shotoku Taishi*. Dr. Murray's well-written work is not only a trustworthy handbook of Japanese history, but also an interesting store-house of tales and stories, very entertaining and some of them most amusing. We cite a short one from p. 192, when Akechi's treason against Nobunaga is traced to the insult offered by Nobunaga, who "on one occasion in his palace when he had grown somewhat over-festive, took the head of his general Akechi under his arm, and with his fan played a tune upon it, using it like a drum." Graphic touches like this infuse life into a history, and with such touches this book abounds.

FUNK AND WAGNALLS CO., NEW YORK, U.S.A.

32. *A Standard Dictionary of the English Language*. Vol. I. (Full morocco, \$11.) The 1st volume of this great dictionary to which we referred in a former issue, on the basis of advance proofs sent to us, has just reached us, and fully justifies our expectations. The vast mass of information, in the

compilation of which specialists have been engaged for years, is most conveniently arranged for reference ; illustrations and exquisite coloured plates accompany the text, which is encyclopædic in its fulness of information. As regards the binding and general get-up of this truly monumental work before us, we can only say that we have rarely seen such a beautiful, tasteful and attractive volume.

J. B. KARANI AND CO., BOMBAY.

33. *England and India*, by LALA BAIJNATH, B.A. (Bombay : J. B. Karani and Co., 1893.) The gradually increasing number of Indians who visit Europe and study in England occasionally presents to us the chance, for which the Scottish bard longed, of seeing ourselves as we are in the eyes of others. Lala Baijnath, who writes English well, though his style is at times rather quaint, gives us a revised and enlarged edition of the letters written by him during his European sojourn. They embody his views on all kinds of subjects,—moral, social, legal, constitutional, literary, educational and religious,—and all kinds of persons,—from the Queen to the wife-beating drunkard. The reflections interspersed in his narrative are full of interest, as he draws, candidly and fairly on the whole, contrasts and parallels between India, and England and other States, and gives his prognostications for their future. While our vices and shortcomings are let off perhaps rather easily, he is always generous in praising whatever he finds praiseworthy. Unlike many educated Indians, he is thoroughly loyal and appreciates the benefit conferred by English rule in India. His book will be of the utmost service both to the Englishman, who can there see how he appears in Indian thought, and to the Indian unable personally to visit Europe, to enable him to form a good idea of what Europe (especially England) is like.

KEGAN PAUL AND CO., LONDON.

34. *The Fans of Japan*, by CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY. (London : Kegan Paul and Co., 1894 ; 31/6.) Mrs. Salwey, in her love of Japanese art, has undertaken an exhaustive study of the fans of Japan ; and the results of her labour are given in this superb quarto volume, which contains 10 full page coloured plates and 39 printed illustrations. These are all well executed, and furnish good specimens of the article, from what may well be termed the land of fans. Nor is the literary part of her work less well done or less interesting. There is a detailed history of fans,—a careful enumeration of the modes of manufacture and the materials employed,—an exhaustive description of all the known kinds of Japanese fans, which are many,—and a full statement of the various uses to which fans are or have been put. The application of the arts to fan-work, and the statistics of their export from Japan, will be specially interesting to our manufacturers and merchants, as the whole book is to all classes of readers. We wish to particularize Chap. VII., which gives a series of Japanese Legends connected with fans, most of which are of great beauty. The book should find many readers, and all who take it up will be fascinated with its perusal.

LE CHEVALIER AND LEROUX, PARIS.

35. *Annuaire des Traditions Populaires ; 9^{ième} Année* (Paris : Le Chevalier et Leroux, 1894) details the various Societies devoted to Folk Lore in every country,—gives a list of the Journals and Reviews treating of the subject, the various museums and collections illustrating it, the names and address of persons devoted to the study, and the names classified under the heads of their respective specialities. The last thirty pages present specimens from illustrations in books, ancient and modern, touching on folk-lore. The whole is a admirable manual, which it must have cost much time and pains to render so complete and effective.

LONGMANS AND CO., LONDON.

36. *The Muhammadans*, by J. D. REES, C.I.E. (London : Longmans and Co., 1894 ; 2s. 6d.), is the second volume of the series called "Epochs of Indian History" edited by J. Adams, the first volume of which we reviewed in our July 1893 number. The present one treats the period between A.D. 1001 and 1761. Mr. Rees, whose known reputation as a writer is a guarantee of the excellence of his work, devotes 30 pages—two chapters—to the early history of the Muhammadans ; a few more pages are given to the earlier Mussulman invaders of India ; and Mahmud enters on the scene, at p. 28. With occasional short digressions to fix dates and to give the contemporary history of Muhammadanism elsewhere, Mr. Rees goes down the stream of time, noticing all that is noteworthy, without burdening himself with the useless. The successive dynasties which have reigned in India, the glory of the Mogul Emperors of Delhi, and the decline of the Moslem power in India are all well narrated. There are some defects, which we must not omit to notice, any more than we can fail to call attention to the beauty and charm of his style and to the general correctness and thoroughness of his historical knowledge. It is not quite so certain as the author makes out (p. 166) that the jewelled throne at Teheran is the genuine Peacock throne of Shah Jehan. There are no notices of the Muhammadan cultivation of literature, art and science in India, and—a far graver defect—none of the origin of the Urdu language which should certainly find a place in every history of the Moslems in India. That and their sublime public works are the two imperishable legacies which their rule has given to India.

37. *History of Australia and New Zealand*, by A. and G. SUTHERLAND. (London : Longmans and Co. 1894 ; 2/6) is a plentifully illustrated little book, giving a brief and yet sufficient history of the leading events in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand, down to the year 1890, from the days of de Quiros and the first unprovoked murder of aborigines, by Torres. In a country whose history practically begins with the first convict settlement in 1787, there cannot be much of stirring incident, warlike prowess, scientific discovery or philanthropic heroism. There is, in fact, little to record except the gradual growth and continued prosperity of colony after colony, in detail, from small beginnings. Whatever there was to tell the two authors have here told us clearly, fully, briefly and well.

38. *THE EMPIRE*, by W. E. H. LECKY. (London : Longmans and Co. 1893 ; 1/6.) Professor Lecky, in his inaugural address at the Imperial Institute in November 1893, utilized a good opportunity by dwelling, with true Imperial instincts, on the greatness and glory of the British Empire, on the necessity of upholding it, and on the folly of allowing it to crumble away. The Colonial question was well discussed, with eloquent denunciations of the policy of interference from England with distant portions of the Empire, by amateurs in Parliament, who stand in need of much study before they can be competent to give even an opinion on matters which they pretend to rule. Professor Lecky's work, now issued as a neat little volume, is well conceived and well written ; it is full of interest and is pregnant with matter for the serious consideration of all who love their country and its glory. We warmly recommend it to our readers.

METHUEN AND CO., LONDON.

39. *Commercial Geography of the British Empire*, by L. W. LYDE. (London : Methuen and Co. 1894 ; 2/.) The plan of this book is excellent :—the application of the general principles of commercial geography to each division of the British Empire. It is quite necessary, that British subjects, in all parts of the British Empire, should be well grounded in the material description of what that empire physically is, of its products, trade and peoples, and of its general greatness. To acquiring such a knowledge, this little book is a fair guide ; but it leaves much to be desired. Thus we find no notice of the cessation, during the last decade, of the previous depopulation of the country in favour of towns ;—many accidents are grouped under principles ;—the West Indies, our East and West African possessions, Hong-Kong, the Straits' Settlement, Fiji—all, commercially, of the utmost importance—are omitted ;—India is said to be practically without minerals ;—cocoa nuts are not included in the products of Ceylon. The presence of these and other such blemishes detracts considerably from the merits of a work, a better edition of which we would be glad to welcome, as it could do much good in the hands of the general public. A commercial geography of the British Empire, suited to the mercantile classes, to enable them to trade, with a thorough knowledge of the markets whence we are supplied with materials and those which we supply with our wrought manufactures, is still a *desideratum*. Such a work cannot be compressed into the 154 pages of a small book ;—within that limit, the present one is good of its kind.

T. NELSON AND SONS, LONDON.

40. *Suwartā*, by ANNIE H. SMALL. (London : T. Nelson and Sons : 1890 ; 2/.) The title is that of the first of a set of 17 sketches of Indian life, by a member of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of Scotland ; and the sketches will prove interesting to two different classes of readers. Those who love missionary work will here see how that work is done, by what means and with what results. For such readers, the unction is well laid on, and the sketches appropriately filled in. For the student of mere human nature, the interest lies in the

graphic, if occasionally distorted descriptions of scenes, persons and events,—in the condescending compassion extended to all that is not like ourselves,—in the calm conviction, openly expressed, of a superiority not always evident,—and in the rapid acquirement of the missionaries' phrases, formularies and ideas by their converts. God is continually thanked that we are not like the rest; and converts suck in this spirit like mother's milk. At p. 114, an orphan boy, rescued from starvation, converted and set up as a printer, writes, "I have seen many young boys in Bombay who are heartily fond of earthly pleasures. I thank God he has kept me far from such things. . . . It is not easy for young boys such as I to say such things, but I am sure I can say such words." It is an interesting psychical study.

H. S. NICHOLS AND Co., LONDON.

41. An advance copy of an edition of the late Sir Richard Burton's poem entitled *The Kasidah of Hâji Abdû Al-Yazdi* has been courteously sent to us by the publishers. A hundred copies only (at one guinea each) are to be issued of the work, which will be an *édition de luxe*. The *Kasidah* whose composer, Hâji Abdû, is Sir Richard Burton himself under an Oriental *nom-de-plume*, is preceded by the usual introduction from the pen of Lady Burton, without which it is difficult to imagine, in these days, the publication of the smallest scrap of Burton's writings. According to Lady Burton, this "poem has not its equal," and this "Lay of the Higher Law" (which, whilst professedly treating of the "Nature and Destiny of Man"—that is material man—leaves the subject exactly where it found it,) will only appeal to "large brains" and "ride over the heads of most"; the reward of its philosophy appears to be melancholy and despair. The gospel which this "Higher Law" preaches, is that of "Self-cultivation with due regard to others" as "the sole and sufficient object of human life." Lady Burton thinks that this gospel will appeal to "large hearts." This conclusion is not obvious, if the words employed are used in their ordinary sense. We should rather have thought that it would be a gospel attractive to the worldling, the phrasemonger, the *bon vivant*, and the thoroughly selfish man, whilst the ideal of a "large heart" is, on the contrary, the sacrifice of self for the sake of others. Turning from the preface—this "puff" long drawn out—to the poem itself, we cannot but pay tribute to the many gems of thought, of expression and of sentiment that have been gathered by an industrious hand from the vast treasury of Oriental literature, and which the author, with a heart responsive to Oriental feeling and a vigorous mind and retentive memory, has presented to English readers in an English garb. The Oriental scholar, familiar with the Persian poets, will be reminded of many an old friend, such as Hâfiz and 'Omar Khayyâm, in Burton's verses. Speaking of 'Omar Khayyâm, to whose quatrains the *Kasidah* may be considered to bear some resemblance—far inferior though it be to Khayyâm's verses in beauty—Lady Burton specially assures us that it was Mr. E. Fitzgerald who made the *Rubayât* of 'Omar known to Sir R. Burton in 1861, and that the *Kasidah* was written eight years before, viz. in 1853. Now, considering that the *Kasidah* contains, not only references to 'Omar, but actually also embodies verbatim quota-

tions from Mr. Fitzgerald's translation, this chronological statement by Lady Burton is somewhat of a *معضلة* or "riddle" to ordinary minds not so exceptionally gifted as the author of the *Kasidah* and the eloquent writer of its preface.

42. *The Thousand and One Quarters of an Hour*, edited by L. C. SMITHERS. This is a very charming book, and Mr. Smithers deserves thanks for having so prettily translated these "Tartarian tales" from the French imitation of the Arabian nights by T. S. Gueulette. If the "Tartarian tales" of necessity lack the beauty of their Arabian prototype, they are nevertheless very fascinating and show a considerable knowledge of Oriental manners and customs; the slight imperfections that exist in this respect require a deeper acquaintance with the East to discover, than that possessed by the ordinary reader, who will spend many a pleasant "quarter of an hour" in the perusal of these tales.

P. A. NORSTEDT AND SONS, STOCKHOLM.

43. *Rigveda und Edda*, by FREDRIK SANDER (2s.). The learned author has sent us an essay on what appears to be a new departure in the field of Oriental learning; the subject is a most fascinating one, namely a systematic comparison of the *Rigveda* with the *Edda*, and it is quite surprising how close are some of the analogies which Mr. Sander adduces. However great the difference may, superficially, appear to be between these two religio-philosophical systems, the kinship of the two races is strikingly shown by a very close agreement in fundamental principles. We regret that space does not permit us to enter more minutely into this well-written, well-arranged and well-considered work; suffice it to say that analogies are established between the theories grouped round the *Ymir* of Northern mythology and the *Pûrusha* of the *Rigveda*; the evolution of the gods according to the *Edda* and the *Adityas*; the tree *Yggdrasil* and *Viçvakarman*; the *Norns* and the *Ushas*, *Odin* and *Varuna* (not *Vâyû* as previously considered), *Thor* and *Indra*; and so on. The book is written in German.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION SOCIETY, LONDON.

44. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, January, 1894*, (London: The Society's Office), contains much valuable information on the Holy Land, in addition to the usual financial statements. There are interesting items in the Notes and News,—important letters from Baurath von Schich,—an exhaustive contribution on Dervishes by P. J. Baldensperger, and a very erudite paper, by Major Conder, on the condition of the Jews under the Roman Empire, displaying much Talmudic study. For its size, this publication is one of the best of its kind.

G. PHILIP AND SON, LONDON.

45. *Korea and the Sacred White Mountain*, by CAPTAIN A. E. J. CAVENDISH, F.R.G.S. (London: G. Philip and Son; 1894; 25/-). Korea is still so much of an unknown land that any information regarding it is sure to be interesting. Captain Cavendish spent two months in it; and though

the shortness of the time at his disposal did not permit him to get more than a traveller's knowledge of the country, he journeyed so far and was so long alone among Koreans, that his narrative, though professing to be only an enlargement of his diary, is both instructive and amusing. He was well impressed with the good nature and general good behaviour of the Koreans, though, naturally, he found them very strange folks. His chief complaints against them are, dirt, in which, however, he adds that they thrive and are far from being unhealthy,—their lying, which in the classes he chiefly dealt with is not a merely Korean vice,—and their absolute ignorance of the value of time, regarding which we should bear in mind that the European traveller is apt to be an unfair judge. He travels against time, and for pleasure ; for the natives, the services required of them are only the means of earning their daily bread ; and they have no reason for putting themselves out of their quiet, staid habits because another is, according to their ideas, unnecessarily fussy and hasty. Capt'n. Cavendish had for companion, Capt'n. H. E. Goold-Adams, R.A. So far as sport went, they were unsuccessful, chiefly because their time was too short to do so much in as they tried. Captain Cavendish had, in fact, to return without going up the White Mountain ; his fellow-traveller, however, has furnished him with a good chapter disposing of that subject. The book is simply and plainly written, and is well illustrated, even after most of their photographs turned out to be useless. The copies of native drawings, fully coloured, are valuable, and the descriptions of men, manners and things, incidentally interspersed in the book, are excellent, and show the author to be a good observer.

RICHARDSON AND CO., LONDON.

46. *The Conversation Manual*, by COL. G. T. PLUNKETT, R.E. (London: Richardson and Co., 1893 ; 5/6 or Rs. 4), is written to help English-speaking travellers in India, Persia, and Afghanistan. Its first part, therefore, gives a concise grammar of the Hindustani, Persian and Pushtu languages ; its second contains, in four parallel columns, sentences likely to be of service to travellers. The revision of this edition has not been very thorough in this second part, especially in the Persian section,—a remark equally applicable to the third part, which is a vocabulary, also in four columns, with references to the pages where the words occur. The book is a very useful one for those for whom it is written, especially in the sporting, military and other technical terms given. We must, however, remark that such technical terms are often coined by those who are interrogated on the subject ; and hence one must not be surprised to find that they are not "generally understood of the people." Yet such terms are of the utmost importance and they are numerous enough to require a special appendix to the ordinary dictionaries of Urdu, Pushtu, and Persian. They should be carefully compiled. As an instance we may say we have often wondered why "telegraph" and "telegram" (both absent in the book under review) have not been expressed by the pure terms *dūr-na-vis* and *dūr-narishht*, instead of the barbarous forms commonly used in India, or the incongruous *tar-i-barqi*: we already have *dūr-bin* for telescope.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, LONDON.

47. *The Rauzat-us-Safa of MIRKHOND*, translated by E. REHATSEK, Vol. III., Part II. (London: The R. A. Society; 1894.) Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot gives us another instalment of this work, the previous parts of which have already been noticed by us, as they appeared. It deals with the lives of the first four Khalifs, opening with a spirited description of the election of Abu-Bakr. The history continues, with truly oriental prolixity of detail and record of conversations frequently, of necessity, imaginary; but the whole forms a graphic picture of oriental life, oriental manners and customs, and oriental thought and style. Such a narrative cannot be of uniform interest; yet the tedious portions are very few; and the far larger part is fascinating like a novel.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO., LONDON.

48. *The Life of Muhammad*, by SIR W. MUIR, K.C.S.I. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1894; 16/-.) In 1876, Sir William curtailed his original four-volume work to a single stout one, in which, omitting only the references and the pre-Islamite history of Arabia, he gave the substance of what had already become a standard authority on the biography of the Arabian Prophet. The present edition republishes the abridged work, with a few alterations, the chief of which is the embodiment, as an Introduction of 103 pages, of the essay on the sources from which his book had been derived. Sir William is a learned and erudite man, a judicious critic, a good narrator, and as impartial a biographer as any zealous Christian man can be of a personage like Muhammad. Nothing is passed or glossed over, whether good or ill. All is carefully weighed, and the author's opinion is given in plain, unvarnished, unexaggerated terms. If an ardent admirer of Muhammad may think Sir William occasionally too severe in his condemnation of certain acts and habits, others will find fault with him for much that is said in praise of a character, which the impartial historian must admit to be a singular combination of widely different qualities in human nature. The work—now reproduced in excellent style, with 12 illustrations—is the best biography of Muhammad in the English language, and one without a study of which none should venture an opinion regarding Islam and its founder. It should find a place in every library.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, LONDON.

49. *The "Higher Criticism" and the verdict of the Monuments*, by the REV. A. H. SAYCE. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1894; 7/6.) It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of this book to the Biblical student, though, like the Tract Committee of the S.P.C.K., we must carefully abstain from endorsing all of Prof. Sayce's conclusions. We welcome in his book the beginning of a plan which we have long advocated,—the application to the Biblical record of the facts ascertained by recent research, as opposed to the baseless, visionary, rash, exaggerated or at least premature dogmatizing of the so-called "Higher Criticism." Not that we reject this as a whole, for it has done much good

in its own line, in criticizing the sandals in the painting ; but that, like the censurer of the ancient painter, it requires to be brought back to its own legitimate domain. Prof. Sayce applies recent archæological discoveries to the Old Testament, in order to prove (generally) its perfect accord with what has hitherto been found out, of the places, persons and circumstances of the ancient world. The antiquity of writing has solved one rather absurd objection against the authorship of the Pentateuch. From Babylonian and Assyrian sources Prof. Sayce adduces data which can be used with effect against the undue prominence given by the "higher criticism" to "Jehovistic" and "Elohistic" contrasts. Egyptology furnishes most interesting points of contact between the Bible and (for instance) the Karnak inscriptions of Ramases II., and those at Medinet Habu of Ramases III. The number of geographical identifications is exceedingly great ; and confirmation is given to the existence, doubted by the "higher criticism," of Hittites at Hebron (p. 144). For further details, for interesting translations of Babylonian records, of the "Travels of the Mohar," of the Moabitic stone and the Siloam inscriptions, we must refer the reader to the book itself, which he will find to be not only instructive but also very entertaining to read. In some of his applications (as, e.g. in Chapter XI., on Daniel), Prof. Sayce seems to approximate unduly to the dangerous generalization from insufficient details of the "higher criticism." But the system he has here begun, of fearlessly applying the knowledge of facts to the elucidation of the Bible is an excellent one ; and though he has made considerable progress in the matter, there still remains, for him and others gifted with the requisite learning, a vast field for future labour. But it is not only Biblical students who should be thankful to Prof. Sayce for this learned and interesting work ; all oriental scholars will welcome it, as embodying in its pages, many recent discoveries of the utmost importance to even enquirers after merely secular knowledge. As instances, we may note the ethnological remarks on the Amorites and Hittites ; and others on history, mythology, and similar matters. We heartily wish the book a wide circulation.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO., LONDON.

50. *Land Systems of Australia*, by W. EPPS. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1894.) This painstaking work, of 180 closely printed pages in rather small type, is an exhaustive treatise on the Land legislation, past and present, of Australia and New Zealand. It is written with the view of aiding Australians to learn—for they, generally speaking, do not at present,—how they stand in this matter, what difficulties surround them, and what should be done to secure a prosperous future for their posterity. The author brings to his task a full knowledge of the subject. He treats each colony in succession. In each case he gives the history of the past and the state at the present, preferring, as he sensibly says, to offer facts for consideration rather than opinions for discussion. He hopes it will influence the people to adopting a sound policy in Land Legislation. We fear, however, that he is too sanguine. Demos looks to present gain, and trusts his posterity to the doctrine of chances. But

besides the "people" of the Australasian colonies, there is another public to whom the writer may appeal, not in vain. Both in Great Britain and elsewhere, there are men anxious to get a clear view of how matters actually stand in our great southern colonies, of what the prospects for land are there, and of the direction which legislation is likely to take in the future regarding this most momentous issue. Mines may, in time, become exhausted: the land is the permanent source of wealth. To such enquirers, Mr. Epps' book will be very welcome. The question is fully and ably treated; the statistics are brought quite down to date; and the clearness of statement and order render interesting what might otherwise have been a dry subject.

MARCUS WARD AND CO., LONDON.

51. *Haroun Alraschid*, by the late PROF. E. H. PALMER, M.A. This volume belongs to the "Heroes of History" series which is issued by the above-named publishers, and edited by Mr. Walter Besant and Rev. W. J. Brodribb. The "heroes" included in this series are a strange collection of worthies, for besides Haroun—called *Arrashid* and not by the name given to him in the book, which is the German spelling of incorrect Arabic—they consist of Abraham Lincoln, Joan of Arc, Sir John Franklin and Martin Luther. Histories are, as a rule, somewhat dry reading, but Haroun, the King of Fableland, furnishes the author with material for a really fascinating and entertaining volume, sober history though it be. If the record of Haroun's deeds—even to the last fiendish act of his death-bed—shows what little claim he has to the "goodness" generally ascribed to him, the author thinks that he may justly be called "the Great"; he may, if "greatness" consists in material power and the retention of a few noble qualities and some intellectual gifts under the most unfavourable surroundings.

F. WARNE AND CO., LONDON AND NEW YORK.

52. *Ivanda*, by CAPTN. CLAUDE BRAY. (London and New York: F. Warne and Co., 1894; 3/6.) This novel is well illustrated and prettily got up. The author has taken advantage of the belief in secret religions and societies in the Himalayas, to give us a wild and fanciful romance, with Thibet for its central scene and some ten well-drawn characters, excellent in their diversity. It is a lively and pretty little tale, very pleasantly told; and despite the innate improbability of the plot, the interest is steadily continued to the end. It is a book eminently fitted to while away a few heavy hours, and to recall to mind afterwards: once read, not to be forgotten.

UPTON AND CO., AUCKLAND; WILLIAMS AND NORGATE, LONDON.

53. *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language*, by the RIGHT REVD. W. WILLIAMS, D.C.L. (Auckland: Upton and Co.; London: Williams and Norgate, 1892), has now reached its fourth edition, under the revision of W. L. Williams, B.A., Archdeacon of Waiapu. The arrangement of words has been simplified, in giving the roots, without certain prefixes, and over 1,200 words have been added. The introduction gives some elementary

principles of Maori grammar. As the Editor truly remarks, completeness in dictionaries can be obtained only in course of time, and by the co-operation of many. This particular book is slowly tending to the desired point, and much still remains to be done ; yet the present edition gives a very full dictionary, both in the Maori-English, and English-Maori parts.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE have received, too late for full review, the following : From the Government of Burma, *Judson's Burmese-English Dictionary* (Rs. 15) ; from Messrs. A. Constable and Co., *Memorials of Old Haileybury College* ; and from Askabad, the official *Report on the Transcaspian Province*, in which full information is given regarding it to the minutest details. Also *Dr. Bhandarkar's List of Sanskrit Manuscript, in Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency* ; Sig. C. Tagliabue's *Hindustani Grammar*, written in Italian and showing deep study and patience, being the first volume of the proposed Scholastic Series of the Real Istituto Orientale of Naples ; the *Transactions of the Moscow International Congress of Zoology* (10th Session 1892 at Moscow), and of the *International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology* (11th Session 1892 at Moscow) ; *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, 1893 ; the Bombay Presidency *Report of the Director of Public Instruction*, which with the usual fulness of detail shows a continued advance in education, both in our own and the native states, and both in girls' and boys' schools ; *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, vol. vi., parts 1, 2, 3, and 4 ; Five pamphlets by Romyn Hitchcock (from the Report of the National Museum ; Washington, Govt. Printing Office, 1892-3) on the *Ancient Pit-dwellers* and the *Ainos of Yezo*, on some *Ancient Relics* and *Ancient Burial Mounds in Japan*, and on *Shinto* or Japanese mythology—all, except the last, are beautifully illustrated ; *Behar Cadastral Survey* Blue Book ; *L'état religieux de la Grèce et de l'Orient au siècle d'Alexandre*, par M. Felix Robiou (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1893) ; The *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III., No. 3 ; *Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society* (Calcutta : The Baptist Mission Press) ; *L'Oriente*, a quarterly Review on Oriental matters, edited at the R. Istituto Orientale at Naples ; *Journal of the Elder Scientific Exploring Expedition of 1891-2*, with maps and photographs (Adelaide : C. E. Bristow, 1893) ; The *Function of religion* by M. Rangacharya, M.A. (Madras : Kalyanaram Press, 1894) ; The *Yugas in Hindu Chronology and History*, by M. Rangacharya, M.A. (1891) ; The *Indian Journal of Education*, 1894.

We have, moreover, on our table the following periodicals : 1. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* ; 2. *The Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome : A. Boffani) ; 3. *Biblia*, the American monthly of Biblical Archaeology and Oriental Research ; 4. *Tung Pao*, the Chinese bi-monthly (Leyden : E. J. Brill) ; 5. *La Minerva* (Rome : Società Laziale) ; 6. *La Revue Générale* (Brussels) ; 7. *The Review of Reviews* (W. T. Stead, London) ; 8. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris) ; 9. *Lucifer* ; 10. *The Contemporary Review* (Isbister

and Co.); 11. *The National Review* (W. H. Allen and Co.); 12. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue S. Simon); 13. *The Strand Magazine*, and 14, its comrade, *The Picture Magazine*; 15. *Comptes Rendus de la Société de Géographie*; 16. *La Revue d'Orient* (Buda-Pest); 17. *Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris); 18. *Public Opinion* (Maiden Lane, W.C.); 19. *Public Opinion* (Washington and New York); 20. *Ueber Land und Meer* (Stuttgart); 21. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris); 22. *Marine et Colonies* (Paris); 23. *Journal of the Society of Arts* (London); 24. *India* (London); 25. *Indian Engineering* (Calcutta); 26. *Journal of the East India Association*.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The resignation of the Premiership after a long and glorious career of public service, by Mr. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. (to whom political opponents and followers agree in offering a sincere admiration for his talents and a warm sympathy in the affliction which has necessitated his retirement) has led to a change in the India Office, where the Rt. Hon. H. H. Fowler, M.P., has succeeded the Rt. Honble. the Earl of Kimberley as Secretary of State for India. Lord Kimberley's tenure of office will be remembered principally for his strange action regarding Council Bills, and his over-riding the ruling of his Council in the matter, 1st of the simultaneous examinations, and 2nd of the Cotton Import duties. Lord Lansdowne has returned to England, after holding the Viceroyalty longer by a few days than any of his predecessors; and undoubtedly no act he did in office became him so well as when in quitting it he pithily complained of the severity with which the India Office treats its subordinates, the Viceroy and Council of India: but he lacked the nerve to resist interference by resignation, as Lord Northbrook did. His speeches have been translated into Urdu, and published by Munshi Nawul Kishore, C.I.E., of Lucknow; and a statue is to be erected in his honour at Calcutta, paid for in great part by Indian Chiefs, who somehow seem periodically to contribute to such things. Lord Lansdowne leaves a huge deficit to stare the financiers of India in the face. It is caused almost entirely through losses by Exchange, which again are due in great part to the incompetency of the India Office and the Indian Government to grapple with the difficulties—by no means so great or insurmountable as is commonly assumed,—of Indian currency and finance generally. These could and should have been put on a firm and sound basis long before they reached their present acute stage. A senseless manipulation of Council Bills, a culpable neglect to include the mints of Native States in the closure, against redundant coinage, of that metal, the refusal to impose an import duty on silver, the delay in purchasing gold locally to send in payment of English dues, with Rs. 26,000,000 lying idle in the Indian treasuries, have combined to handicap the good chance that India really had, have lowered instead of raising her Exchange, and have necessitated extra taxation, which the people can ill bear. Here again injustice has been done to India, in the exclusion of Cotton goods from the tax of 5 *per cent.*, to please English manufacturers. Their inclusion would have entirely effaced the deficit; but as they are excluded, a large amount has to be made good by various means, leaving still an acknowledged deficit for which India, under pressure from England, must, it would seem, sit still and trust to a chance rise in the Exchange, for securing which no step is taken. The stereotyped reply of the Indian Government to all remonstrances from Chambers of Commerce and other bodies whose views should carry weight has long been that the “subject is engaging the careful and constant attention of the Government.” If they have really been engaged in such speculative medi-

tations during the year that has lapsed since the disease became so dangerously acute, we can only bewail the ill-luck of India, in having as yet found no man with talents enough to devise and nerve enough to carry out some statesmanlike system of finance and currency. However the stinting of necessary expenditure may reduce the deficit, for the balance recourse will most probably be had to a gold loan in England, which but aggravates the evil under which India groans. We note that in the Legislative Council, 11 votes to 7 were given for excluding cotton goods from taxation. The minority was formed of all the non-official members, including Europeans,—the majority consisted of all the official members, of whom several, though admitting that personally they were opposed to this unjust exclusion, yet voted, against their conviction, for what had been commanded by the Government. The India Office Council have recorded a unanimous verdict against this policy, for which Lords Kimberley and Elgin are responsible. The latter thus begins his career as Viceroy, as the former ends his Secretaryship at the India Office, by as gross an act of injustice to India as ever was perpetrated, and of which the President of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce truly said that "it was a folly to subordinate the interests of India to a small coterie of Lancashire manufacturers." Public Opinion and the Press of India, both European and native, are unanimously against this terrible blunder; public meetings held all over the country have strongly condemned it; and there is a general outcry that India is unjustly sacrificed to English interests. The Secretary of State for India, paid by but not responsible to the people of India, has thus for party purposes, crushed the unanimous verdict of the India Office Council, the opinion of the majority in the Indian Legislative Council, the combined protests of European and native public opinion in India: the Czar of India alone issues irresponsible ukases from Whitehall.

The Budget says that the accounts for 1892-93 closed with a deficit of Rs. 8,330,000, being better than the estimate by Rs. 2,480,000. The revised estimate for 1893-94, showed a deficit of Rs. 17,930,000, being worse than the first by Rs. 1,980,000. On the other hand, the revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 3,190,000—land and railway revenue having greatly increased, while opium and salt had declined. The increase in expenditure is really startling, considering what the circumstances were: Rs. 5,170,000 above the budget estimate. For 1894-5, the revenue is estimated at Rs. 1,550,000 over that of last year,—a rather low figure; and the expenditure also is fixed much higher than last year. The deficit is partly reduced by general economy to Rs. 29,230,000, out of which the new import duties wipe out Rs. 11,400,000, the suspension of the Famine insurance another Rs. 10,760,000 and contributions of Provincial Governments another Rs. 4,050,000, leaving a final deficit of Rs. 3,020,000. The amount to be drawn by the Secretary of State for 1894-5 is given at £17,000,000, besides raising temporary loans of £2,300,000 and renewing at the end of 1894 £6,000,000—a total of £25,300,000. No loans are to be raised in India, where Rs. 26,000,000 lie idle in the treasuries. The worst feature of the budget is that it is expressly and avowedly only an

opportunist one, and that the position must be reconsidered in a year, at the next budget-statement. This we take to mean that the un-masterly inactivity of the past is to continue,—and we condemn it.

Except for losses by Exchange, by reckless waste in expenditure, and by the want deliberately incurred by excluding cotton duties, the finances of India are all that could be desired. The revenue for 6 months (1st April to 30 Sept.) had increased Rs. 283,000—not a large sum, but a healthy sign, if the expenditure had not increased Rs. 4,461,100. The Railway returns for the quarter ending December gave a gross earning of Rs. 6,660,000 in excess of the previous year. Though the stagnation of trade is shown in a decrease in the Bombay Port Trust income of Rs. 150,000 and at Karachi of Rs. 300,000, yet from 1st April to 30th December, the Imports of merchandise were Rs. 531,137,063, and the exports Rs. 751,912,651,—a clear Balance of Trade in favour of India (despite many statements to the contrary) of Rs. 220,775,588. This is the nett or true balance of trade, which was eliminated by imports of specie, and exports by specie, and Council Bills, leaving a clear balance still, which at 1s. 3d. was £268,467. As these are the latest returns published, it is not yet true that the Balance of Trade has turned against India. (*The Statist*, 10th March, p. 326.)

The Indian Government has sent in its reply to the despatch regarding simultaneous Civil Service examinations in India, and has declared itself decidedly opposed to the project. The Bill for amending the Coinage Act, which should have been passed concurrently with the closing of the mints to silver, is still “receiving the careful and constant attention of the Government.” Sir Charles Elliot has returned from furlough to his office as Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, and Sir A. MacDonnell, who had ably officiated for him, has been appointed to the Governor-General’s Council. A great landslip has occurred near Gonho on the Billinga River—the slide blocking its bed, 200 ft. long and 900 ft. high, dams up the river, converting the gorge into a lake which is expected to be full in May. A telegraph office has been opened near the site, communicating with Hurdwar. The experiment of selling quinine at Post offices has been a great success—1,446,600 pice-packets having been sold by the end of 1893: the price is to be lowered. Sanitary Progress in Bengal included waterworks at Nasirabad, Dacca, Howrah, Allahabad, Benares, Cawnpore, Lucknow and Nyni Tal; the drainage of Serampur and Puri has been improved; and the waterlogged country between the Burh-gunga and East Kali Nuddi has been drained.

A religious riot occurred at Yeola, 100 miles N. of Bombay, and was suppressed by the military after some mosques and temples had been destroyed. Some riots, connected with a change in assessments, occurred at Gauhatti in Assam. Other signs of discontent seem visible; but these are nothing as compared with the wave of dissatisfaction which is sweeping over the whole community in India,—native and European, caused by the present action of Government in financial matters. The Opium Commission has concluded its work in India, returning to make its report with a crushing weight of testimony against the assertions and exaggerations of

the Anti-Opium party. The IXth session of the so-called Indian National Congress was held at the end of last December, when some dozen resolutions of the usual type were passed with the usual sort of speeches. The Khalsa Dewan, several public meetings in the Punjab, and many leading Muhammadans protested against the Congress, and some of the delegates elected refused to attend, declaring that they had been chosen against their wish. The notable break-down of the Troopships last season has necessitated a Committee of enquiry; and the Karachi route for reliefs has had to be abandoned under financial pressure. One British Infantry regiment is reduced in the Bombay Presidency. The Imperial Service troops are being armed with the Martini-Henry rifle. An expedition sent against the Abors, a frontier tribe on the N.E. of Assam who had lately begun to make raids, after having been quiet since 1862. After we had taken Dumbak and Silluk, one of our outposts was cut off with a loss of 25, and reinforcements were sent. The Sikkim treaty with China is finally settled for 5 years, a market will be opened for British products at Yatung near the frontier of Thibet. The Amban who concluded the treaty on behalf of China, was not permitted by that power to visit Calcutta. Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore sued the Secretary of State, in India, for damages (Rs. 5,000) regarding drainage dues. The official plea of "no jurisdiction" was overruled by the court as futile; records were found to have been mutilated; and a decree was given for the amount claimed, with 6% interest from 1877.

From the NATIVE STATES we have to record the visit of the Maharajas of Bhownagar and Gwalior to Lord Lansdowne at Calcutta, and that of the Maharaja of Indore to Bombay. The last named has made a tour of personal inspection through great part of his state, easing settlements and remitting arrears with judgment, and examining narrowly into the condition of the people and state affairs in the districts. His revenue amounted to Rs. 7,200,000,—the remissions were Rs. 600,000. The Nizam of Hyderabad has decreed the formation of a Legislative Council, which, subject to the previous permission of the Prime Minister, will frame, discuss and pass laws on all matters, except religion, revenue, the army and the relations with the Government of India. It is to consist of 15 members: 9 official—the Chief Justice, the Judicial Secretary, the Legal Adviser, and six officials nominated by the Prime Minister; and 6 elected non-official members, of whom 1 is to represent the Jagirdars and 2 to be chosen from among the pleaders. Two members are to retire each year by rotation. The second grade College of Mysore is raised to the first grade. Some threatened disturbances at Nyagarh by the Khonds have been allayed by the action of Mr. Cook, Commissioner of Orissa; and as they seemed due to the mismanagement of the native minister, he has been replaced.

The Conseil Général of Pondicherry has succeeded in squaring the deficit in its Budget, by general reductions of 62,000 frcs. and a special reduction in the Survey of 54,000 frcs.

The Amir of AFGHANISTAN, who has been made a G.C.B., has had a special medal struck in commemoration of the Durand Mission. The country is perfectly quiet. The Amir has asked the Indian Government to

expedite the frontier delimitation, some items of which the mission had left for future settlement: the local officers will suffice to carry it out. It is said that an Afghan expedition is to go this summer to subdue the Siah Posh Kaffirs. Some Russians, saying they had been driven down by snow from their post in the Pamirs, arrived at Partung in Raushan, trying to pass through Afghan territory. The Afghan officer refused permission, but promised to report their arrival to the Amir: they eventually took another route. The Anglo-Russian delimitation in the Pamirs was stated, in the speech from the Throne, to be progressing smoothly and satisfactorily.

In CEYLON coffee seems to be reviving, as 51,154 cwt. were exported in 1893, against 39,742 in 1892. The Chincona export was 3,440,715 lbs. Ceylon tea reached 84,406,064 lbs. or 13,252,407 over 1892. On the railways, there was an increase in passengers of 224,775 and in goods of 26,664 tons; and a reduction in the rates was expected. The Kurenegala Railway was opened in February. Palk's Straits are being surveyed for a proposed railway to India; and a daily service of steamers is run by Messrs. Bois Brothers and Co. between Colombo and Tuticorin. The question of compensation to the Civil Service for loss by Exchange was left by the Legislative Council for report by the non-official members. The trouble in the Maladive Islands, consequent on the accession of a new Sultan, was settled by a visit of Commissioner Browne, in the *Brisk*, the discharge of one of her guns much astonishing the natives. The young Sultan was confirmed and presented with a sword of honour from the Ceylon Government. Chief Commissioner Col. Horsford was attacked by a convict in the ANDAMAN ISLANDS, and narrowly escaped death with the loss of two fingers of his left hand.

In BURMA the Kachyns twice attacked our military Police Station, 150 strong, inflicting some loss at Hone, S.E. of Bhamo: a reinforcement of 350 men was sent up. The Kaswa Chins attacked Maing-Taung, and slew 9 men—troops were sent also in this direction. Lord Lansdowne's visit ended in the bestowal on Burmese of 17 titles of honour and personal distinctions. The Anglo-Chinese delimitation officers have discovered gates of stone and brick-work of decidedly Chinese structure at Pantah 38 miles from Bhamo, at Namkam on the East of the Shweli River, and at 8 miles S. of Namkam,—proving Chinese influence there at a previous epoch. The Burma Oil fields yielded in 1893, from Arrakan 308,091 gallons against 219,633 in 1892, and from Pakoku and Magwe 8,390,333 gallons against 5,753,581. The final report on the Wuntho gold fields is unfavourable, as they are not expected to pay their working expenses. In the expenditure for 1893, Lower Burma had a total cost of Rs. 4,062,486 in public works, of which civil buildings took Rs. 1,224,144,—Communications Rs. 945,121,—Military works Rs. 143,515,—Irrigation Rs. 723,498,—Local works Rs. 406,657; while Upper Burma had a total of Rs. 5,116,954, of which Civil buildings took Rs. 2,566,791,—Military works Rs. 1,374,685,—Irrigation Rs. 1,144,166,—and Local works Rs. 50,510. An anonymous donor has given Rs. 18,000 for a statue of the Queen to be erected in Rangoon, to which the municipality has added a sum of Rs. 5,000. A destructive fire in this city caused damages valued at Rs. 150,000.

In the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, Penang continues to complain loudly that her interests are sacrificed to those of Singapore, but seems to find no audience. The arbitrary tripling of the sum payable for Imperial Defence is bitterly resented as a millstone round the neck of the Colony. The Currency question here also is still unsettled. The Royal Dutch Oil Co. discovered a new oil spring at Aroe Bay, 35 miles N. of Lankat. Of the JAVA AND SUMATRA oil fields, one company, with a capital of £29,250, has given a return of 80 per cent., besides the sum carried to the reserve. The oil wells vary from 100 to 150 ft. in depth; and the monthly return of refined kerosene, now 45,000 cases, is rapidly increasing and is expected soon to be doubled.

In SIAM the French have not yet evacuated Chantabong. Col. Woodthorpe, R.E., C.B., goes with Survey Party No. 2 to the Shin Hills, to survey the boundaries of the future Buffer State. A French party, operating against "Pirates" in Tonquin, was attacked and lost its commander, Captain Delaunay, with 10 subaltern officers and 18 men killed and wounded. Three Frenchmen were also captured near the gate of Namquan, where the consulate was attacked, the consul himself having a narrow escape. The Franco-Chinese delimitation of Tonquin is to follow *French* maps.

At HONG-KONG the silver crisis is very acute; but though the Chamber of Commerce proposed the coinage of English dollars, either in England or in India, and objected to having the Japanese *Yen* legalized, the Colonial Office has rejected their proposal, contenting itself with doing nothing. Passports are no longer required in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

The silver wedding of the Emperor of JAPAN was celebrated all over the country with marked enthusiasm, on the 9th March. The dead-lock between the Government and the Opposition led to the dissolution of Parliament; and the general election, carried on with much disturbance and even bloodshed, has given to the Liberals, who are opposed to anti-Foreign legislation, an increase of 30 seats: they number 120. Assaults on foreigners have become unpleasantly frequent in Japan; and there can be little doubt that the sudden changes effected of late years will not crystalize into permanent forms without serious ebullitions. An official report gave the population of Japan, at the end of 1892, at 41,089,240, of which 20,752,366 were males, and 20,336,874 females; the number of houses was given at 7,817,570. The Japanese Mail Steamship Co.'s line between Kobé and Bombay now has 50 steamers alternately exporting coal and importing cotton, touching, *en route*, at Shanghai, Hong-Kong, and Singapore. The competition has already reduced freight at Bombay from Rs. 17 to Rs. 2 per ton. Two Japanese officers have been permitted by the Indian Government to inspect the organization of the Indian army, as a model for imitation in Japan.

In CHINA, Viceroy Li formally opened a Medical College at Tientsin. Rumours were current that the Russo-Chinese negotiations regarding the Pamirs were tending to a compromise by which Russia was to be allowed a free hand in Central Asia, in exchange for non-interference in Korea. Strange revelations of horrible atrocities amounting to murder have come to light at the convict-prison at Onor in Sangalien Island. Captain

Wiggins, for his services in opening the Yennissee route to Siberia, has been presented by the Czar with a punchbowl, ladle, platter and 25 mugs. The exploring party under Captain Roboroffsky and Lieut. Kozloff were at Luk Chin in November last with 14 men and 35 camels; and after establishing a meteorological station near the great Lake, at 1,000 ft. above sea-level, they were proceeding in two divisions to Lob Nor and Koko Nor. The opening of the Petrovsk-Moscow railway places the ancient capital of Russia in unbroken communication with Khiva and Samarkand.

In succession to Sir F. C. Lascelles, G.C.M.G., transferred to St. Petersburg, Sir H. M. Durand, K.C.S.I., has been gazetted British Minister to PERSIA, where he will find as ample scope for watching Russia as he had in India. An interchange of territory has taken place: Russia acquires a wedge-shaped district of 75 sq. *vershs*, including the village of Firuz, for the village of Chiffar in the Transcaspia and of another near Fort Abbasabad. The Caspian Fisheries of Persia have been farmed by the Shah to a Russian, M. Leonzoff, for £16,800 a year. Rumours were rife that a further slice of Khorasan was to be yielded to Russia, in exchange for concessions regarding Customs' duties on Persian exports from the South Caspian coast. Persia seems slowly approaching the Russian ideal of being an "autonomous vassal of Russia." A famine was reported from the northern provinces, where the export of rice had been, in consequence, stopped. The Shah, wiser than the Indian Government, has absolutely forbidden the import of silver into his dominions, after a month's notice.

The Sultan of TURKEY has sent to the German Emperor the 1st Class of the new Order, the institution of which we noticed last quarter. He has also commanded the preparation, as a present to the Nizam of Hyderabad, of an album of photographs showing the uniforms, appearance, etc., of the Turkish Army and Navy. The Municipal Hospital of Constantinople was burnt down, and 30 of its inmates having been courteously removed into the Italian Hospital, the Sultan decorated the Italian Consul. More Armenian disturbances were reported from Yuzgat in the *vilayet* of Sivas, the Armenians resisting the police: sixty men were wounded, several killed, and the prisoners in the jails released; the Konak was captured, and an attempt made to blow up the powder magazine. The Sultan has ordered an enquiry, pending which the governor has resigned his office. There have also been disturbances in Crete, and some fighting in Albania, where a railway is projected but is not likely to be soon opened. A government proclamation requests Yemen merchants to export their goods *via* Mocha instead of Aden. The great mosque of Damascus was burnt down.

In 1893, there passed through the Suez Canal 3,341 vessels, against 3,559 in 1892, and 4,207 in 1891. Ferdinand de Lesseps has been created Perpetual Honorary President of the Suez Canal—a well merited honour.

In EGYPT, the incident of the Khedive's censuring part of his army ended in his explaining away his remarks and virtually apologizing for them. As a counter-demonstration, the Sirdar and Mr. Scott were knighted; and afterwards the Khedive, when receiving the annual report of the latter on the Judicial Department, kindly expressed his satisfaction with it, and congratulated him on the honour he had received. Maher Pasha, removed from the War Office and made an Assistant Commissioner in the

Domains Department and Governor of the Suez Canal, has been succeeded as Under-Secretary for War by Genl. Sir E. H. Zohrab Pasha, C.B., in whose place Major F. R. Wingate acts as Superintendent of Recruiting, in addition to his other duties in the Intelligence Department. When the General Assembly was held, after a lapse of two years, the Khedive, while avoiding vexed questions, spoke of the progress Egypt had recently made,—the reduction in taxation,—the extension of railways and irrigation,—and the establishment of new tribunals. The Legislative Assembly having made several proposals, including a reduction of the Municipal electoral qualification from £75 to £15, the Government, in reply, denied the alleged distress and affirmed a great improvement among the people,—declined to fuse the Slavery Bureau with the Coast Guards and Police,—refused the municipal proposals,—and stated that the expenses of the army of occupation would go on diminishing gradually till the evacuation. This reply, read by Riaz Pasha, was received in absolute silence. The Deir al Bahari excavations are progressing with good results, surpassing expectation. M. de Morgen has found much gold and jewelry of Usertsen II. and III., and of Amemhat III., which Brugsch Bey, who is arranging it at the Gizeh Museum, declares to be the best yet found. £60,000 are voted to render this great museum fire-proof. The project for storing, in a large reservoir, the surplus waters of inundations for subsequent irrigation work, has taken concrete form in 5 rival schemes;—a reservoir at 1. Kulabsha,—2. Philæ,—3. the Assouan Cataract,—4. Jebel Silsila Gate—and 5. Wadi-Rayan;—the cost varying from £4,500,000 to £5,100,000, and the annual profit being estimated at £3,000,000. Sir Benjamin Baker, M. Bouli, and Sig. Torricelli have been appointed to inspect the sites and to report to Government on them. The revenue for 1893 was £10,579,000, the expenditure £9,840,000, and the surplus (estimated at £470,000), was £739,000: this is passed to the reserve funds, only £123,000 being disponible. £920,000 of the Public debt was paid off. The reduction of taxation in 4 years has been at the rate of £1,000,000 *per annum*, and the total reserve stands at £3,642,000. The Daira Budget for 1894 shows a surplus of £E.194,000. The mixed tribunals have been renewed for 5 years; and all the powers, except France, have abandoned the claim for jurisdiction in these tribunals on land questions between natives, which will, in future, be left to the native tribunals.

With MOROCCO, Spain has successfully concluded her negotiations. The Riff leaders are to be punished, and the peccant tribes to be transplanted; a neutral zone of 500 metres will encircle the Spanish territories; the Guaraich mosque—the occasion of the late attack—is to be isolated, pilgrimages to it being allowed only on certain fixed feasts; and an indemnity of 20,000,000 Pesetas is to be paid in instalments, four customs houses being given up as security, if the second instalment is not duly paid.

On the WEST COAST there have been two serious collisions between the British and French forces. The French authorities have also interfered with the hitherto exercised right of freely shipping Kroomen as passengers to English Colonies: the French now claim an absurdly high poll-tax of 40 frcs. Our forces have met a reverse at the hand of a raider called

Fodi Silah, who has, however, been eventually routed and has fallen into the hands of our French neighbours. The Franco-Liberian delimitation, made in December 1892, has just been ratified by Liberia: the frontier is fixed at Rio Cavally, giving France a considerable slice hitherto marked as Liberian. A French column was destroyed near Timbuctoo, which, after a race between the naval and military forces, had been occupied without opposition. Behanzin, with 4 wives and 4 children, surrendered unconditionally, and goes to Martinique. French authorities state that the French Soudan has already cost the republic 140,000,000 frcs., and that the present annual charge is 10,000,000 frcs., with absolutely no trade returns. The Franco-German delimitation has been satisfactorily concluded; and the recent outbreak in the CAMEROONS, said to have been caused by rather bad cases of flogging, has been suppressed by a body of marines. In the CONGO State, a train got derailed, and fell down a precipice 300 ft. deep: the carriages were wrecked, and 4 Belgians, besides many negroes were killed. The Descamps expedition, after 2 months' journey from Nyassa, with 2 cannons and 1,000 porters, had effected a junction with Captain Jacques on the S. of Tanganyika. They pursued Rumliza who with 4,000 guns had gone to raid on the Congo forces in Manyema territory, where the Arabs have since been defeated, with the loss of their best leader, Sefu. The Portuguese at ANGOLA, attacked by a body of 3,000 natives, beat off their assailants after a hard fight. Hendrich Witbooi made a raid in German West Africa, where the troops are said to be inadequate and the officers inefficient, and destroyed the station of Kubbub. Major Leutwin has taken the command as Special Commissioner.

CAPE COLONY imports for 1893 were £11,539,000 against £9,591,000 in 1892, and exports £13,156,000 against £12,206,000. The gold output was 1,600,000 oz., of which the Rand gave 1,470,000. Produce was given at £3,685,000, diamonds at £3,821,000, and gold at £4,250,000; and the total of goods sent to the Transvaal on rebate was £2,500,000. The total credit balance on 1st April was £5,082,535. The revenue for the half year was £2,601,996, an increase of £188,000. Cape fruit now arrives in better condition, the cool chambers having been improved. The general Elections have resulted in Mr. Rhodes' return to power with a good majority. Some candidates of the Afrikaner Bund were defeated. A serious quarrel arose among the native workers at the Witwatersrand mine, nor was the riot suppressed by the police till over 100 had been wounded. While there has been a water famine at the Cape, serious floods have occurred in the ORANGE FREE State, railways and even telegraph wires being submerged. The TRANSVAAL revenue for 1893 was £1,700,000—£350,000 over that of 1892,—and expenditure £1,300,000. The Convention with NATAL for the railway extension from Charleston is made on condition that the rates are not to exceed those on the Delagoa Bay line, and that Natal is not to connect with the Harrison extension further north than Kroonstad. It is decided that PONDOLAND, ceded by its head-chief, Sigcau, shall be under the Cape. The natives had been fighting among themselves and even raiding on Natal territory; and the chiefs—unable to preserve order—have decided on voluntary annexation.

The enquiry into the shooting of the MATABELE envoys exonerated all concerned. The Matabele war was not concluded without the regretted loss on our side of Captain Wilson and his party of 33 Europeans. Lobengula is dead and his warriors are dispersed. It is proposed that Mashonaland and Matabeleland shall be governed by the Commissioner and a Council of 3. A collision occurred between the British and Portuguese at Tete on the Zambesi, about the Rhodes Telegraph Line, the Portuguese, who have telegraph material of their own at hand, objecting to its construction on the ground that the clause in their treaty about communications regards governments and not private companies. Gunboats have been called up on both sides, but matters will end peaceably. The South Africa Co. have passed a law establishing a 5-months' close season for the protection of game. The Shiré highlands were said to be in an unquiet state. On Lake Nyassa, Mr. Johnson, aided by Commander Robertson, R.N., has destroyed Mahanjira's stronghold. Our loss was 1 Sikh and 2 irregulars killed, and 9 wounded; the great slaver's power has been completely shattered. Fresh troubles were reported with the Muhammadans in UGANDA, and Col. Colville had declared war against the king of Unyoro. At Zanzibar (where Mr. Arthur Hardinge succeeds the late Sir Gerald Portal as Agent and Consul General, Mr. Rennell Rodd going to Cairo) the budget for 1894 gives the revenue at Rs. 1,333,000 and the expenditure at Rs. 1,241,000. Osman Digma has become Amir of Kasala. In their brush with the Dervishes in last December, the Italians lost 3 officers, 1 non-commissioned officer and 98 native auxiliaries killed, 2 officers and 123 auxiliaries wounded, while of the Dervishes over 1,000 were killed, and a great number wounded.

In MADAGASCAR, the French attribute the disquiet among the Hovas to intrigues by the British and others, and while not considering an expedition necessary, they have reinforced the garrison of Diego Suarez. MAURITIUS has suffered from another hurricane, but it was not so destructive as its predecessor. The report for FIJI gives the revenue, for 1893, at £71,552, and expenditure at £67,651; surplus £3,901. A new frontier has been agreed upon between the British and Dutch in NEW GUINEA.

The ASTRALASIAN COLONIES, following the lead of Victoria, sent a combined invitation to their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of York, to pay them a visit—an excellent testimony of their loyalty. Unfortunately the invitation has had to be declined, but it is hoped that its acceptance is only postponed, not abandoned. The export of the dairy produce of Australia and New Zealand has increased 200 per cent. over 1892. The total import of wines in 1893 was 554,907 gallons, against 464,561 in 1892,—an increase of 90,346. In the *Costa Rica* packet case, Australia censures the Foreign Office for ignoring the claims of the owners and seamen concerned, by limiting the compensation to £2,500 for the Captain. The Savings Banks deposits for all Australia, at the end of 1892, were £17,873,888,—not quite £24½ *per* head of the depositors, and about £5 *per* head of population: depositors were 1 in 5.

In N. S. WALES, Sir. R. Duff has incurred unpopularity by not attending the Highland Society's annual banquet. The Budget statement for 1894

said that the deficit £1,200,000 (£300,000 less than estimated) has been met by Treasury Bills. The revenue was £767,000 less than for 1892; but the expenditure has been reduced £1,250,000. The revenue for 1894 was estimated at £9,151,000, the expenditure at £9,728,000. Sir G. Dibbs, defeated on a vote of censure by 21 votes, had not resigned, because the new electoral returns could not be ready till August. The *Massilia* alone reported from Sydney 24,177 packages of butter, each 156 lb., valued at £64,000.

VICTORIA has deputed Messrs. S. H. Brown and J. Kelly to visit Ceylon, India, the Straits and Far East generally to seek new markets for Australian goods. The Government have authorized the Savings Bank Commissioners to make advances to agriculturists at 5 *per cent.*: a plan not free from serious danger. The revenue for the last quarter of 1893 was £1,765,100—a decrease of £6,000 over 1892, Customs increased £42,000, and excise £27,000, while stamps fell £20,000 and revenue from Public works £64,000. The total decrease for the year was £797,000. A Russian officer has been appointed Consul at Melbourne by the Czar's Government—a sign of the times.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN revenue, for the last quarter 1893, was £553,000,—a decrease of £38,000: Railways improved but customs fell.

The Premier of QUEENSLAND, Sir T. McIlwraith has been to Canada on a visit from which much good is expected. The revenue for the December quarter was £802,000,—a decrease of £44,000: Land revenue fell £50,000 and railways £15,000. The revenue for the year was £1,845,000, the expenditure £1,688,000. The imports for 1893 were £4,255,754—an increase of £31,257 over 1892, and exports £8,870,454,—an increase of £292,388.

WEST AUSTRALIAN gold exports for 1893 were 110,890 oz. = £421,000, against 59,500 oz. = £226,000 in 1892. The revenue for the December quarter was £164,000,—an increase of £9,000 over 1892.

In TASMANIA the total revenue fell £81,000. The returns for 1893 gave Silver-lead ore 14,688 tons; Tin 110 tons; Nickel 20 tons; gold 2,400 oz.: total value £245,811. The government borrows £1,000,000 for the conversion of its debt.

From NEW ZEALAND, one vessel alone brought, in February, the largest single consignment of dairy produce—16,869 packages of butter and 3,376 cheeses, a total weight of 728 tons. A Postal Inter-Australasian Conference has been held at Wellington. The Federal mail contracts have been renewed for a year, but with the recommendation that their coal storage must be increased and their freights lowered, and crews to and from England to consist of white men, not Lascars. New Zealand offers a subsidy of £10,000 a year to the Huddart Line, on condition of its calling at that colony, and Victoria promises help in return for a call at Melbourne. The Pacific Cable was discussed,—the line suggested being Bundaberg in Queensland,—Samoa—Fanning Island—Honolulu—Vancouver, as being most likely to interest Great Britain, Canada, the United States, France and Germany: the alternate lines we note farther on.

CANADA continues its laudable efforts to form a practical union with the

Australasian Colonies. The Huddart Line,—happily an accomplished fact between Vancouver and Australia—will in 1896 run a fast line of steamers, doing 20 knots an hour, between Canada and England. Distinct efforts are being made for a Pacific Cable entirely in British hands. There are four proposals, starting from Vancouver:—1. to Fanning Island, Fiji, and New Zealand, 7,145 miles, cost £1,678,000;—2. to Necker Island (230 miles E. of Hawaii), Fiji and New Zealand, 7,145 miles, costing £1,585,000;—3. to Necker Island, Gilbert group, thence dividing to (a) Solomon Island for Queensland and (b) to Viti Levu (Fiji) for New Zealand, 8,264 miles, £1,825,000;—4. the same as the last, *minus* the second section (thus omitting Fiji and New Zealand) 6,244 miles, cost £1,380,000. For both the Steamship Line and the Cable, the Imperial Government, though much urged by the Colonies strangely persists in doing nothing. A Colonial Conference (to which Great Britain has been invited) with delegates from Canada, the 5 Australian Colonies, Tasmania, New Zealand and Fiji, is to be held at Ottawa in June, for inter-colonial discussion, chiefly regarding the Pacific Cable and a Trade Union: we wish it every success.

The United States have sent a strong patrolling squadron to the Behring Sea, and the Canadian fishers a strong poaching fleet, of which 34 are for the Asiatic and 15 for the Canadian shore. The total catch last year of Pacific seals was 142,112, of which nearly half were caught by Canadians. The Canadian sealing claims filed against the United States amount to £150,000, which are likely to be reduced to £100,000. The cost to Canada for the Behring Sea Arbitration was \$69,000 and \$2,000 for collecting data about seals. The Alaska Boundaries Commission cost \$31,972. The Chinese Emigration tax yielded \$113,491. Dairy produce exported in 1893 reached the value of \$3,000,000.

The revenue for 1893 was \$38,168,608; expenditure \$36,814,053; surplus \$1,354,555 or \$104,000 over the estimates. Taking the whole year, both exports and imports increased, though the last quarter by itself showed a fall. The Savings Banks had \$41,849,656,—an increase of \$2,320,000. For the 6 months ending 1893, imports were \$60,694,062,—an increase of \$571,389, and exports \$77,104,117,—an increase of \$3,347,410. Among 40, the successful competitor for the proposed statue to the late Sir John Macdonald was P. L. Hebert, the Franco-Canadian sculptor.

In the WEST INDIES, in consequence of the lamented death of Colonial Secretary H. Fowler, Mr. C. C. Knollys, C.M.G., becomes Colonial Secretary of Trinidad, being succeeded at Barbados by Mr. G. Melville, C.M.G., whose place in Honduras is taken permanently by the officiating Secretary, Mr. E. B. S. Escott. The currency question in Honduras also has become alarmingly acute. It has no coinage of its own; Guatemalan, Chilian and Peruvian coins form its currency; there is no paper money, and no established Bank. A change in this state of affairs, which is as great a disgrace to the Colonial as that of India is to the Indian Office, has long been urgently demanded. Lord Ripon while admitting the desirability of having a gold currency, has with marvellous ingenuity discovered a means of postponing all action in the matter, by asking for a

report of the comparative advantages of the gold dollar of the United States and the English sovereign. On the other hand, in consequence of the uncalled-for interference of the Colonial Office, Chief Justice Yelverton has resigned, Mr. C. G. Walpole Attorney General of the Leeward Islands taking his place, and being himself succeeded by Mr. O. Smith.

Obituary :—The deaths have been announced, during the quarter, of—Genl. Sir Samuel White Baker, Kt., the well known African traveller ;—the Hon. Mir Humayon Jah Bahadur, C.I.E., of Madras ;—the Hon. W. W. Austin, for 10 years chief Justice of the Bahamas ;—Sir George Berkly, K.C.M.G., Consulting Engineer in Natal ;—Professor P. Modeliar Ranganadhan, M.A., of the Presidency College, Madras ;—Gen. A. H. Ternan (both Punjab wars, and mutiny) ; Hon. Rudolf Laflamme, Q.C., of Canada, who distinguished himself in the religious quarrel over Guibord's corpse ;—General Arthur Hill (Mutiny) ;—His Exc. Selim Pasha, Physician to the late Khedive ;—Mr. Alonzo Wright, called the "King of the Gatineau," who represented Ottawa county for 30 years ; Sir Gerald Portal, K.C.M.G., C.B. ;—Gen. G. C. Hodding, C.B., Madras Army (Afghan War of 1879) ; Gen. Sir C. P. B. Walker, K.C.B. (Crimea and China), late Director of Military Education ;—Prince Yi Kang, Senior President of the Imperial Court ;—Col. Robert Bickerstaff (Mutiny) ;—Col. B. F. Domville, R.A. (Afghanistan) ;—Gen. S. A. Abbott (Sutlej Campaign) ;—Peter Redpath, the generous donor of the Redpath Library to the Canadian McGill University ;—Professor Marshall of the Owens College, Manchester, and Professor Forchhammer of Kiel, the great archæological and scientific traveller in Asia Minor and Egypt ;—Gen. D. E. Mackirdy, who served with the old 69th Regt. in many parts of the Empire, notably in the Indian Mutiny ;—Mansfield Parkyns, the African traveller, author of *Life in Abyssinia*, and a great linguist ;—Gen. Sir F. Horn, G.C.B. (Crimea) ;—Major Parminter, the Congo explorer ;—the Maori chieftainess Huriata Hongi, wife of Hone Heke of the first Maori War ;—Gen. E. B. Cureton (Maharajpur, Sutlej, Kaffir and Crimean Wars) ;—Gen. F. W. Freemantle, C.B. (Crimea, Mutiny) ;—His Exc. Sung Chin, Governor of Chi-Kiang ;—J. S. Carvel, Lt.-Governor of Prince Edward's Island ;—Gen. C. O. Maude (Maharatta campaign '44-45, and Abyssinia) ;—Col. Baron G. de Rothenburg, of Canada, C.B., Military Kt. of Windsor ;—Prof. T. M. Vinkatasu Sastriar, Indian Musician, who first applied European notation to Indian music and published some Telegu songs and wrote *The Hindu Music Self-Instructor* ;—Sirdar Amar Singh of Sialkote, well known for his charities ;—Pundit Tarachand, late accountant general of Kashmir ;—Professor John von Dümichen, the celebrated Egyptologist of Strasburg, at the comparatively early age of 61 years ;—Sir W. Meredith, late Chief Justice of Quebec ;—Gen. Said Pasha, Turkish director of Artillery arsenals ;—Sirdar Mir Muhammad Khan, of Caubul, nephew of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, and governor of Kandahar, 1882-92 ;—the Hon. B. J. Finnis, the first Premier of S. Australia ;—Lord Matandaira Katamori, the last Daimio who held out for the Tokugawa government, was deposed, became a Bonze, and died a high-priest, at the age of 87 ;—Genl. George Carden (Mutiny) ;

Col. A. B. Ellis, C.B., in command of Sofa expedition (Ashanti and Zulu Wars), author of a History of the Gold Coast;—Genl. Sir W. M. S. M'Murdo, K.C.B. (Scindh, Afridi, Crimea wars);—Sir James Fitzjames Stephens, Bart., legal member of Council after Sir H. Maine, and author of several Indian legal works and of the Code of Criminal Procedure; Genl. Sir Geo. Balfour, K.C.B., R.A.;—Genl. Edwin Venour (Mutiny and Bhutan War);—the Rt. Rev. Paul Ambrose Bigandet, Catholic Bishop of S. Burma, the well known missionary and Pali Scholar;—Hon. A. E. Botsford, of the Canadian Dominion Senate;—the eminent orientalist, Prof. Felix Robiou of Rennes;—Captain Lovett Cameron, R.N., the great African explorer;—and General Sir Richard Meade, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., who during the Mutiny effected the capture of the rebel, Tantia Topee, and whose political career in India gained the affection of native chiefs and was a model for imitation.

V.

23d March, 1894.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE REAL ISTITUTO ORIENTALE OF NAPLES.

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NOTICE.

ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE,
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Anyone interested in Oriental Studies who may wish to visit the above Institute and Museum, or any Muhammadan desirous of praying at the Woking Mosque, *e.g.*, on the occasion of the 'Id festival on the 6th instant, is requested to send his name and address on a post-card to "The Secretary of the Oriental Institute, Woking," who will forward him a card enabling him to get a return-ticket by any class, from Waterloo Station to Woking, on the payment of the single fare only.

Advertisement of forthcoming Work.

In Memory of



SIR PATRICK COLQUHOUN,

Died London, 18th May, 1891,

President (till his death) of the Organizing Committee of the Statutory Ninth
International Congress of Orientalists (London, 1891).



THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS;

*AND THE PELASGIC ORIGIN OF THE
HOMERIC POEMS.*

BY

SIR PATRICK COLQUHOUN, M.A., LL.D., Q.C.,

LATE TREASURER AND BENCHER OF THE INNER TEMPLE, AS ALSO

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE, AND

HON. FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;

AND

PASCO WASSA PASHA,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE LEBANON, AND

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1894.

INTRODUCTION.

A FEW words regarding the publication of the following Treatise in memory of Sir Patrick Colquhoun, in default of his "Summary of Civil Law" as compared with other laws, may not be out of place. He had made over to me several hundred copies, mostly bound, of the above *magnum opus*, and I had advertised it for a considerable time in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, as a second edition by the addition of a chapter on Hindu Law, and of another on the results of recent studies in comparative Law.

On his death, I intended, with the co-operation of a brother-barrister, to bring it out as an "IN MEMORIAM" edition, but, unfortunately, the copies which were going to be despatched to Woking, had been left at his rooms in King's Bench Walk, and they were sold by auction, together with other literary treasures, as waste-paper for a little over £9!! I found out the purchaser and offered him £25 for the unbound copies, but he refused to part with them. I also could not find out what had become of Sir Patrick's manuscript embodying his Shakespearian researches, which he had warmly commended to my solicitude, although I humbly ventured to adhere to the orthodox view regarding the immortal bard. Having thus failed to bring out the works most typical of his genius, I have republished "the Pelasgi and their modern descendants" under circumstances explained in "the Editor's" Epilogue, in the belief that that inquiry also is a proof of his profound scholarship and of his literary *camaraderie*. Sir Patrick Colquhoun was specially endeared to me, not only because of his cosmopolitan sympathies and intellectual many-sidedness, but also because of his pluck, qualities which enabled him to take up, at a crisis, the cause of the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, to prepare which he had been elected President of its Organizing Committee. He did not, alas! live to see the *éclat* with which the Session was held in 36 Sections for 12 days and for 12 hours, daily simultaneously at the Halls of the Inner Temple, and of the Incorporated Law Society, from the 1st to the 12th September, 1891, a monument of Oriental research in all its branches, and an epoch in the history of their practical application. This result was largely due to the fact that two of his warmest friends, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury, and the Rev. C. Taylor, D.D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, his colleagues in the Council of the Royal Society of Literature, of which he was for many years the distinguished President, had succeeded him, out of regard for him and his many virtues, in the offices of President and acting President of a Congress in which 600 Orientalists representing 37 countries and Governments took part, to which Her Majesty sent a most gracious Message, and at which 192 papers were communicated which form a Library of Reference on all Oriental subjects. It may be well to include in this "introduction" a quotation from Sir Patrick's last annual address to the Royal Society of Literature. It prognosticates the success of the Congress with the support of the Legal Profession, which became an "accomplished fact" owing to the devotion of his friends and the merits of a good cause: "This year the Royal Society of Literature has taken a new range of utility in opening its doors and doing its best to enlarge its sphere of operation, by giving all the aid in its power to the Ninth Statutory Congress of Orientalists meeting in London on the 1st September, 1891. In this movement it has been seconded by the legal profession."

At the end of the Treatise will be found a much too short account of Sir Patrick Colquhoun from the last edition of "Men and Women of the Time." I hope that it may induce one of his many admirers to collect material for an exhaustive biography of a man who, in his 76th year, combined the experience and learning of age with all the energy, vigour and public-spirit of British manhood, and who, as a Linguist, Jurist and Classical Scholar had few, if any, equals in this country.

G. W. LEITNER, LL.D.

Of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law, and General Secretary
of the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.

The Oriental University Institute, Woking,
31st March, 1894.

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(The Supplement is independent of the Folio volume, and contains a Map,
numerous Illustrations, accounts of recent events, etc.)

By G. W. LEITNER, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., D.O.L., ETC.,

*Of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law; Deputed by the Panjab Government on a Mission
of Linguistic discovery, in 1866; late on Special Duty with the Government
of India in the Foreign Department.*

THE following exhaustive Review of the "Hunza-Nagyr Handbook," of which the smaller volume is, in a sense, a supplement, appeared in the *Times* of the 9th April, 1890, in connexion with its first Edition, now enlarged by the addition of an outline of the Tour in 1866 which led to the discovery of the Languages and Races of Dardistan as also by an account of the Results of the author's "special duty" regarding the Hunza-Nagyr enquiries in 1886 and 1889. The Review is reprinted, as it contains an extract from the work regarding the Hunza language and gives the scope of the Dardu researches generally:

"A NEW DEPARTURE IN THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE."

Among the many services that the Government of India is so continuously rendering to the cause of science, none perhaps is more immediately interesting or important than the volume on Hunza, Nagyr, and a part of Yasin which it has lately issued from its press at Calcutta. It is called the first part of a handbook on the language of those countries, which our temporary administration of Kashmir has brought into direct political relations with ourselves. The work, however, is ethnographical, and, therefore, of political value, as well as linguistic. It is based on the principle, so persistently advocated by its author, that customs, history, and the surrounding circumstances of a race best, if not alone, explain its grammar. We are provided with a mass of information of a varied, if scientific, character regarding the biography and use of most words in a language which must henceforth take a foremost place in the study of comparative philology, ethnography, and religion, as has been well indicated in a resolution of the recently held International Congress of the Ethnographical Sciences, before which the proof-sheets of the "Handbook" were laid. For instance, if we come across the word "chief," say of Hunza, we are told of his history, fratricidal and parricidal, his amusements, his receptions of strangers (when not kidnapped) and of his subjects, the ceremonial observed in meeting a brother chief, how he organizes a hunting party after the Markhôr ibex, so plentiful in that country, or prepares for war, all in his own language literally translated into English. The washing for gold, the tournaments of archery on horseback, the Nagyr game of Polo, in which our best players at Lillie-Bridge would require points, quarrels,

* "The Hunza and Nagyr Handbook": being an Introduction to a Knowledge of the Language, Race, and Countries of Hunza, Nagyr, and a part of Yasin. In two parts. By G. W. Leitner, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., etc., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, late on special duty with the Government of India in the Foreign Department. Part I. Calcutta: Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1889.

including those of lovers, are similarly described. Do we look for the name of a particular tree or animal or grain, we are treated to the natural history of the country or its mode of agriculture. The word for a particular ailment gives us also an account of the prevailing diseases—to which the approach of civilization is adding cholera—and of their indigenous, sometimes very quaint, remedies. Are “meals” mentioned, we get a culinary *excursus*; and when the eternal chapter of “woman” is reached, we find, embedded in the names of various relationships, a history of endogamy, which gives the most interesting revelations as to the origin of the tribe. All this is in the form of vocabularies and “ethnographical dialogues,” which embrace the mode of trading and, indeed, every occupation of the race that speaks this supposed remnant of a pre-historic language. Of course, legends and songs historical and erotic are not wanting. The fables betray a grim humour, as when the fox that is carried away by a stream bewails the end of the world; and the proverbs show a sagacity worthy of a higher civilization. For men are deceitful; they “laugh with the wolf and weep with the shepherd,” nor ought they to “walk before a chief or behind a horse.” It is in fairy tales that the land abounds. Indeed, as fairies are still supposed to preside over the destinies of Hunza, it may be called “fairyland.” Grimm’s or Andersen’s fairy tales have many counterparts, and ancient Scandinavian coincidences of ornaments, wild chase, drinking bouts, and furious dance (even in mosques), as well as names of relationships (*môr, fâr*), are very striking. “The sacred drum is still struck by invisible hands when war is to be declared, and bells ring in the mountain when fairies wish to communicate with their favourites; for is not the King or ‘Tham’ of Hunza ‘heaven-born’ (his female ancestor having been visited by heaven)? Ecstatic women still sing the glories of the past, recite the events of neighbouring valleys, and prophesy the future, being thus alike the historians, the newspapers, and the oracles of Hunza.”

It is the “Tham” whose invocation brings down rain, but it is the “Dayáll” or witch who dares tell him of his impending ruin, if he acts in a manner that is unworthy of his divine origin or opposed to the popular sentiment. Yet it is an honour for any woman of the tribe to be selected as the “Tham’s” temporary partner, and a ruler anxious for the improvement of the race kidnaps the vigorous men of neighbouring tribes, or retains well-featured strangers in conditions of never-ending domestic bliss. All this is being changed. The influence of the rival and civilized Nagyr, speaking the same language and belonging to the same race, introduces Shiah Mahomedanism with its higher and purer standards. How far the “Mulâis” will stand out for their peculiar practices, or assimilate themselves to a stricter form of life, it is impossible to say, but in the process many interesting customs will be lost. This Mulai creed is that of the Ismailians, the Hashîshin or so-called “Assassins” of the “old man of the mountain” so notorious during the Crusades. Dr. Leitner has had given him some pages of the hitherto mysterious “Kelâm-i-pîr,” which these nominal Mahomedans substitute for the Koran, which he compares to the “Mithâq” or Covenant of the “initiated” among the Druses, which an accident has equally put into his possession. How singular this connexion between the Lebanon and the Hindu Kush! We can only hope for the early publication of the second part of the “Handbook,” which is announced as giving, accompanied by photographs and maps, an account of customs that will be more suitable to the general reader than the biographical treatment of the indigenous words that describe them. What, however, is the key of the Mulai creed? It is the undivided chain of life in the elements, the plants, and the animals; but this is a mystery which should not be told to the laity, for whom blind obedience to their spiritual heads is sufficient. The good man, a passage in the Kelâm-i-pîr seems to say, returns after death as a better man; others are turned into asses, oxen, plants, or even stones. The animal that is sacrificed proceeds to a higher life, but one ought to be punished for replying with a lesson of wisdom to a question of folly. “All sensible men are of one religion, but sensible men never say what it is,” is an aphorism not unlike the above passage, which is so obscurely worded as to deny, whilst affirming, the immortality and transmigration of souls.

Whether the Hunzas will turn out to be Huns, or the very different Honas, whether the language is a prehistoric linguistic remnant, throwing light on the first attempts to clothe human speech with primitive sounds, it is impossible to say at present. Is it a special development of the convenient “Turanian group of languages”? Has it analogies with a primitive type of Hungarian? Or does the reduction that is possible in it from monosyllables to simple sounds give us the key to many unsuspected relationships with an Aryan prototype? Dr. Leitner does not attempt at present to decide these questions, which must be left to the many minds of comparative philologists but treats his subject from the stand-

point of a practical linguist, whilst availing himself of the resources of philology. He rightly tells all students of languages generally in his "Introduction" that—

The time has long passed when even the practical acquisition of a language can be considered independently from customs and from the historical, religious, climatic, or other circumstances which have originated these customs. No grammar should now be possible that does not portray in its so-called "rules" the past and present life of the language or of the people that it seeks to represent.

Vitality must be breathed into the dead bones of declensions and conjugations. Every so-called exception must be elucidated by the custom or linguistic characteristic that can alone explain it. The study of language is no longer a mere matter of memory, but must become one of judgment and of human associations. Beginning with the most logical and complete language—the Arabic—I have endeavoured to show that the 36 broken plurals and the apparently innumerable meanings of Arabic words obey the laws of the Arab's daily life and of the history and literary development of that extraordinary people.

Ending with the Khajuná or Burishki of Hunza, I find the same law, *minus* a written literature, for which I have adapted the Persian character as the only acceptable vehicle to its people for its traditional songs, legends, and other folk-lore, if not for the spread of useful knowledge in the more modern sense of the term.

The difficulty of learning the words or laws of speech from savages with whose language one is unacquainted is proverbially great. Even the highly-cultured Pandit, Maulvi, or Munshi fails to give satisfaction to the European students, but with barbarians the obstacles seem almost insurmountable.

As one of the simple elementary rules, I would suggest that the traveller among savages should first point to objects in order to learn their names, then bring them in connection with such simple bodily wants as can be indicated by gestures. This causes one of the men, if there be two, to order the other to bring this, that, or the other to come, or go, etc., which elicits the imperative form. The reply ordinarily gives either an affirmative or the first person of an indicative present or future. Of course, the same sound or the inflection of the same word has to be closely followed. Then use yourself the first person, which starts conversation, and brings out the second person, and so forth.

Applying now this rule to Khajuná, the result at first sight is unsatisfactory. Say, for instance, that you point your finger to an object, and that your inquiry is mistaken to be for the native name for the finger instead of the object to which you point, you would get a sound, or combination of sounds, which, when referred to another bystander, would apparently be at once contradicted. You point to your heart, and you at once obtain words which sound dissimilar. You point to a little girl or to a little boy and you obtain the same sound. What is the cause of this? The reply is that in Khajuná the pronoun and the noun in all matters affecting a person or that affect people in their daily lives are so inseparably connected that they have no meaning separately—*e.g.*, As—my heart; Gós—thy heart; Es—his heart; Mós—her heart; Mis—our heart; Mās—your heart; Os—their heart; but take off the pronominal sign, and the sound "s," which then alone remains, means nothing. The same rule extends to such prepositions as "before, after, near, far," etc., which are of assistance in finding out other languages, but which in Khajuná still more perplex the inquirer. Again, this same feature is apparent in those verbs of action or condition which affect the human being, as most indeed do, and this is further complicated by the circumstance, whether or no the condition or action refers to one or more persons, to their relations amongst themselves, and other details into which it is impossible to enter within the compass of an "introduction." For instance, to bring one or more apples in a country where fruit is plentiful is very different from bringing bread (if wheat is scarce) or sheep. Again, the right position of the accent, or rather the intonation which it represents, is a matter of extreme importance, for "ái" means "my daughter," "ai," "my son," "áu," "my father," and so forth. "Gus"—thy wife—must be distinguished from "gús," a woman, which word is possibly put in the second person for women generally, because I fear the people of Hunza have not obeyed the injunction "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," and, talking of "wife," they say—How is it possible that the word wife should exist without it is somebody's wife, or that a head, an arm, an eye could exist as such without belonging to a person; or they would say—Do you mean "his (dead) bones" or "his eye that was"? A further interesting inquiry is afforded by the study of the genders, so far as inflections indicate them, for the plurals of many feminine nouns are masculine, and *vice versa*, whilst in the verb "to be," or "to become," as well as in other numerous verbs, there are different plurals, say, for men, women, animals, again subdivided according to sex, and for things again subdivided into male or female according to their fancied stronger or weaker uses—*e.g.*, the gun is used by the men whilst hunting, and is therefore masculine; but the metals are feminine, because plates and dishes are made of metal and are in charge of the women of the household, just as certain clothes are which they sew or otherwise manufacture: therefore, whenever any particular garment is masculine it gives rise to the presumption of its being an article imported from another valley, and whenever there is a word denoting a thing, condition, or action distinct from their own intramural relations it must be one of comparatively recent introduction from a foreign language, or brought in with the Múhammadan religion, which sits so loosely on the inhabitants of Hunza.

Twenty-one years ago, when I learned the elements of Khajuná from a son of the Raja of Nagyr, the district which confronts Hunza across the same river, there were no indigenous words used apart from the pronoun. "The father's house" was then like "my father *his* house." Last year, when I continued the study under another son of the same Raja, I already found that a number of indigenous words were being used in the third person and yet distinct from the person, in consequence partly of an ordinary law, but chiefly owing to the comparative greater accessibility of Hunza and Nagyr to Ghilghit and Badakhshan travellers, and the consequent greater introduction of Persian and Shiná words. (Shiná is the language of Ghilghit.)

As for the change of gender from the singular to the plural, it is not to be wondered at, for elsewhere also we may find that whereas one councillor may be a wise old man, a number of them may constitute a council of wise or unwise old women.

Again, what contains something else is feminine, but the thing contained is masculine—*e.g.*,

arrow is masculine, but the bow on which it rests is feminine. We have before us the first portion of a work which I am preparing for the Government of India, and which might be extended far beyond its present great bulk were the reason given for every grammatical feature. But I will confine myself to mentioning some of the most striking characteristics of this singular language, so far as it may subserv comparative purposes—e.g., the sound “a” represents the *ego*, or self, and in nouns is the sound used for the relationship implied in “my father,” “my daughter,” “my sister,” “my brother,” “my husband,” “my son,” “my mother,” “my son-in-law,” “my daughter-in-law,” “my nephew,” “my niece,” “my wife,” and, above all, “my aunt,” which is, indeed, the same word, being really the sister of the mother, and, therefore, the “elder or younger mother” in a tribe in which, at one time, undoubtedly, if also not now, all the elder members of the tribe were the fathers and mothers of the younger generation. When therefore, the “Tr” of the tribe, or, *tro*, is added to “a,” it becomes a plural for fathers, mothers, sisters, something like the German “Geschwister”; therefore, it is just as if we were to say that the “ter” or “ther” in father, brother, mother, sister, showed the tribe, and this is further borne out by the fact that “mo,” the first syllable in “mother,” is the sign for the feminine throughout the Khajunā language, for it contains the “a,” or self, in other words, “mother,” “mater,” would, as it were, mean the female that contained “me” and belongs to “my tribe.”

“G” or “k,” the guttural, is the gurgling sound of the child to represent the “not-self,” “non ego,” or the one that is brought in relationship to it, and, therefore, stands for the second person or for every relation in which a person must be connected with another person, whether in being killed or kissed.

The contemptuous “i” or “e” is for third persons. “M,” I have already said, is the sign for the feminine, out of which arises the “mi” of the plural, plurality being impossible without female sex.

“N” is the sign of the past participle, but in itself means “to go,” and is very much like the vulgar English “he has been and gone and done it” (os=had; nos=having had), or like the German “ge,” which is also the sign of the past participle, and also means to go—e.g., “getrunken,” “gegessen,” “gone and drunk,” “gone and eaten,” “gethan,” “gone and done”; in Khajunā “nishi, neti, nimen.” The simple inflexion of the past participle of “to go” will show this.

Past.

I having gone=n ā.

Thou having gone=n o ko (compare “gu,” pronominal prefix, 2d person).

He or it (m.) having gone=n i (compare “i,” pronominal prefix, 3d person).

She or it (f.) having gone=n o mo (compare “mo” or “mu,” pronominal prefix, 3d person (f.)).

We having gone=n i men (compare “mi,” pronominal prefix, 1st person plural).

You having gone=n a má (compare “ma,” pronominal prefix, 2d person plural).

They having gone=n u (compare “u,” pronominal prefix, 3d person plural).

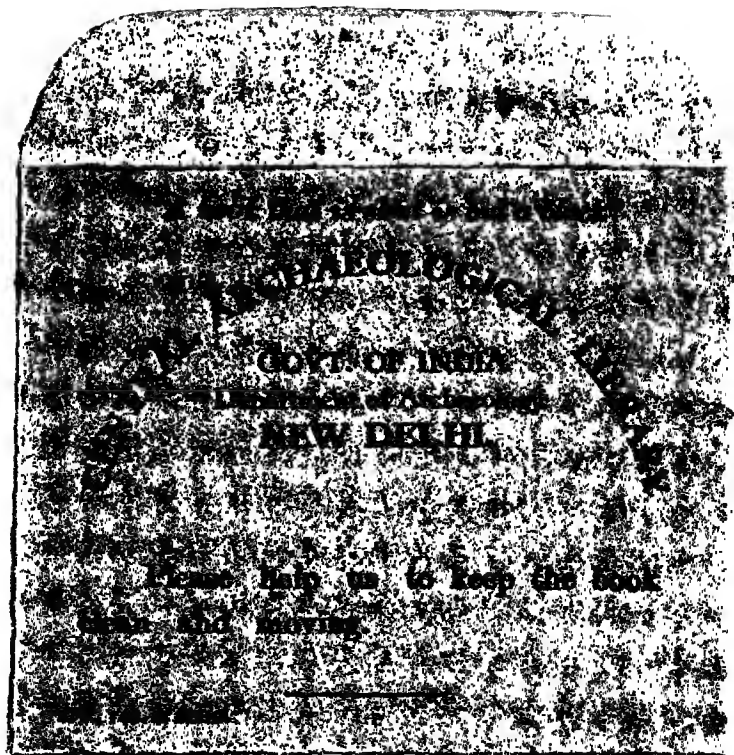
They (objects f.) having gone=n i.

NOTE.—It seems to be clear that “n” represents to “go,” and that the inflexions are pronominal affixes corresponding with the pronominal prefixes already mentioned, the letters “o,” “i,” and “a” in the first syllables of “noko,” “nomo,” “nimen,” “nama” being essential both to make the transition from “n” to “m” possible, and to enable the two syllables to be pronounced by means of a homogeneous vowel—i.e., instead of “no,” “mo,” which would be difficult, if not impossible, to pronounce without the insertion of a vowel between the “n” and “m,” a homogeneous vowel is inserted and the vowels thus become “nomo” and “noko.” “Y” is the sound for “giving”; and you can imagine the difficulty and peculiarity of Khajunā when I inform you that “itshitshibai,” “he is giving him,” is derived by traceable evolutions from the sound of “yū”=“give.” “D” stands generally for a condition in which one is seen, struck, or otherwise subordinate or passive, without there being a passive voice, the language always requiring the agent being known (as in Arabic), and having special forms for “they struck me,” “she strikes them,” “they are teaching us,” “we will kill you,” and so forth.

We can truly say such works as this are rare. It reminds us of the Talmud, or Dr. Leitner’s own truly marvellous “History of Indigenous Oriental Education,” in the great diversity of its information. Yet it is eminently practical as well as learned, and even takes into account the requirements of an English subaltern or a Hindustani Munshi who suddenly finds himself transplanted to those regions, in “Dialogues” written for their special benefit. We wonder how such complete information could have been collected and sifted within the short time that Dr. Leitner, under dangers of every kind, crossed the Indian frontier to make these interesting and valuable discoveries. Besides, this is only a small portion of the material that he collected in his holiday tours in 1866, 1872, and 1886. Numerous learned societies and several international congresses have memorialized Government in favour of its publication, but it comes out at irregular intervals, in what would be called driblets, were they not avalanches of learning. Several other languages and races of the Hindu Kush yet await elaboration at Dr. Leitner’s hands, but it is to the “Handbooks” of Chitrāl, Yasin, the Shin districts, and Wakhan that he announces his intention of confining himself. His linguistic success he modestly attributes to his sympathy and friendly intercourse with the chiefs, two of whom have been his tutors, and with the people of Dardistan; but there must be much in a method which enables its author to speak, read and write more languages than even Mezzofanti.”

Times, 9th April, 1890.

N.C.
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